THE WORD

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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AIR RAID

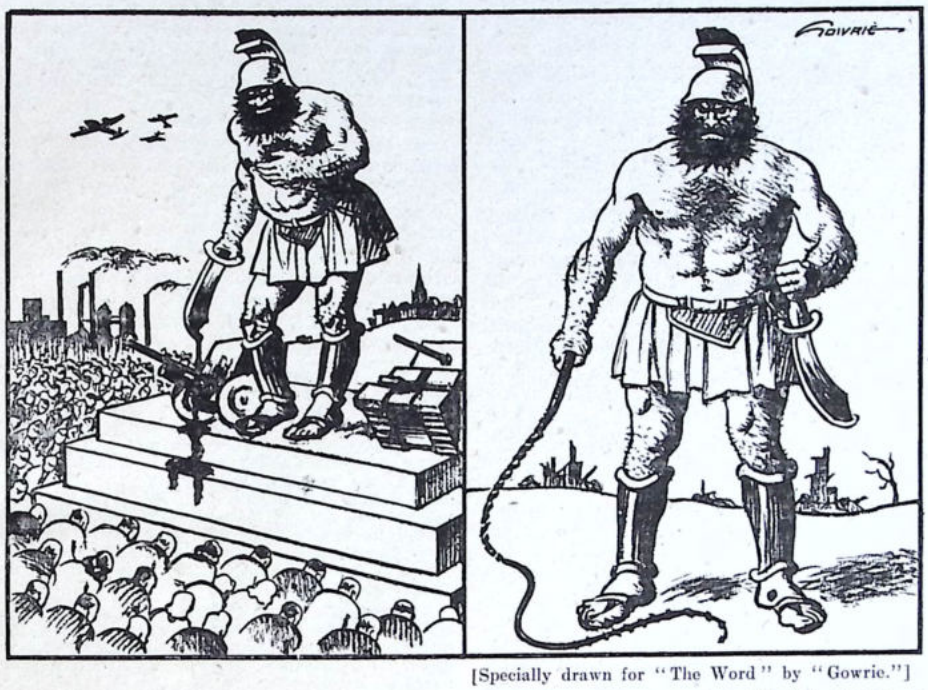
Fire your guns, crash out your sudden death;
Pursue your ends, your self-destructive destiny.
What matters life—or love—or hope
Of Beauty that the world was shaped to bear?
Belch forth your flames, convulse the night
With demonstrations of your maniacal strength.
Enjoy your time—what matters else—
Save noise and fire, the agony of Hell.

Follow on you bombs, release your racks,
Rain down upon your victims numberless.
Stay not your hands from sentimental thoughts
Of desolated homes and military objectives missed.
Why pander to these stupid shibboleths?
The end's the same, and man deserving of no other fate.
Give rein to your sadistic spleen and wreak
Your hideous pleasure on us all.

Crash out you guns, devastate you bombs,
Continue with your dreadful revelry;
Yet remember this,
From out the smouldering ruins and broken hopes
Will come a consciousness from suffering born,
A flaming hate—implacable and stern
'Gainst all you represent of Power and Greed.
From pain and bitterness the weapon will be forged
To smash in turn the might of those you serve.

FREDERICK LOHR.

SLAVES OF MARS



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."]

All Power to Thee, O God of War!

WHAT! My Slaves Late to Work? I'll Teach Them to be Late to Work

THE WAR ISSUE

Immediate Anti-War Socialist Government Wanted

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[The following essays were published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, March 27 and June 12 respectively. Jowett's indictments of Imperialism should be studied and acted on by the entire Labour Movement. He is Labour's most powerful voice of sanity during the present crisis.—Ed.]

(1) DEFEATING HITLER.

We Shall Not Defeat Hitler by Supporting Churchill.

"We must support the war to defeat Hitler," say many of the British socialists who are supporting their Government in this war, although they were whole-heartedly in agreement with the I.L.P. in opposition to the last war.

In this article I want to say why, in my view, those anti-war socialists who believe that by supporting the Government in this war they are helping to defeat Hitler are *wrong*.

But before I begin I wish to state clearly that I speak as an *anti-war Socialist*, not as an absolutist pacifist believing in the policy of non-resistance.

I still hold the view which was expressed in the officially endorsed policy of the British Labour Party, until it swung over to the policy of military alliances in the alluring name of "collective security," in the year 1935. For 35 years the British Labour Party, although anti-imperialist and opposed to military alliances, agreed to the provision of whatever military equipment appeared to be necessary *for defence*. Frequently, the party opposed increases of armaments, but always it was on the ground that the Party was opposed to *The Imperialist Foreign Policy* for which they were intended, and not on the ground that defence of the homes and lives of our people was unnecessary or wrong.

The first question those who say "we must support the war to defeat Hitler" need to ask themselves is: *Are we, in truth, helping to defeat Hitler by supporting the war?* A question that cannot be answered without first of all taking account of the fact that supporting the war means *supporting the Government* in this war, so far as the people of this country are concerned. And supporting the Government to defeat Hitler is a futile policy because it ensures support from the German people for Hitler.

The Government's declared intention is to dictate terms to a defeated and disarmed Germany, which is therefore to be *kept disarmed* by military force of foreign powers for a period estimated by the British Foreign Secretary Eden at *twenty years*. Is it likely that the German people will cease to support Hitler with such a prospect before them in the event of defeat, with the memory of terrible privation and humiliation under the dictated peace after defeat at the end of the last war?

How can it be possible for any anti-war Socialist who has not been deceived by war propaganda to believe it is possible to defeat Hitler by supporting the war policy of a Government, the aims and objects of which cannot be trusted by the German people.

What in heaven's name is there in the present military situation to give the slightest encouragement to belief in military victory to which alone the Government is pledged?

The war which, when it began, was the result of a clash between two chief rival imperialisms—the British and the German—was from its first beginnings bound to spread as the combatants sought new allies and strategic bases and as other imperialist powers came in to fight for a share in the spoils of an imperialist war.

Every extension (save one, and that the least desirable one from the point of view of the most influential and powerful members of the British governing class, namely Russia) has brought with it a new crop of difficulties for British imperialism.

The British Empire is in process of rapid liquidation. Humpty Dumpty has fallen and can never be put together again. As "Observer" in *Peace News*, says:

"The Japanese have conquered Java. Rangoon has gone. . . . The Burma Road has been effectively cut. That is to say that the whole of the Far East is now in Japan's possession; and the possession is secured by natural defences which, when developed by Japan will be practically impregnable."

In this situation nothing in my opinion could be less realistic than to support the Government in the hope or expectation of a military victory to defeat Hitler.

In this situation, more clearly than ever, it has become of vital importance to deprive Hitler and his Nazi Government of support which fear of consequences of defeat with another dictated imperialist peace has induced.

In the war of unimaginable duration to which Churchill and his Government are calling us, and

Hitler is calling the German people, there is hope only that common cause in common suffering may bring the peoples of both these nations into the mind for peace.

And the first step to this indispensable approach to peace born of belief in a common cause that we who are anti-war British Socialists can, and must, take if we do not belie our faith, is to get a Government that will *challenge the world to a new Social Order* by its example.

A Government willing voluntarily at long last to *accept liquidation of the British Empire*, and to issue a call for peace recognising the right, and agreeing to the distribution of the world's resources for the mutual benefit of all peoples.

(2) THE IMPERIALIST DIE-HARD FOLLY

We have not yet won the war and the day of its ending seems to get further away the longer we go on with it.

Speeches such as that of Lord Halifax, given world-wide publicity in the daily press last Tuesday (June 9th) make an early ending impossible and they also make it practically certain, in the light of past experience, that *even if we win the war we shall lose the peace.*

Speaking to America and the world at large as British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax declared for the Vansittart policy of punishing the German people as well as its Nazi Government and Hitlerism. So Nazi Germany's chief propagandist, Dr. Geobbels, after making effective use of Lord Vansittart's warning to the German people of the fate which awaits them if they allow Hitler's Nazi Government to lose the war can now put special punch into this war propaganda by quoting the Prime Minister's most trusted overseas Minister, Lord Halifax.

Lord Halifax, like Lord Vansittart, says that when the Allies have won the war they must not treat the German people so well as they did after the last war! Also, in agreement with Lord Vansittart, Lord Halifax assumes as confidently as if the question had already been considered and settled, that the Anglo-Saxon world (that is to say, Britain and the United States) "will be the guardians of peace after the war." Not Britain and France, chiefly, with Belgium and Italy as junior partners, as on the last occasion when the German people were held in subjection after defeat, but Britain and the U.S.A. only.

Others of the Allied nations, *including Soviet Russia and China*, whose peoples have suffered most and who are the most hopeful of all peoples as future peace-builders, are not thought worthy of notice by Britain's Ambassador, Lord Halifax, in this connection.

Even the *Yorkshire Observer* (June 9th, 1942) expresses serious concern as to the effect of Lord Halifax's speech, and goes as near to calling for its repudiation by the Government as could be expected by a highly respectable pro-war organ of partisan Liberal non-conformity.

"In 1918," says the "Yorkshire Observer," "Government and people were alike swept away by the cry of vengeance which arose in the first intoxication of victory. The cry will be much fiercer now and will have much more substance behind it."

The effect of this mad policy of lumping the whole German people with their Kaiser-headed militarist Government to the conditions of peace imposed on the German people by victorious powers at the end of the last war, and the certainty with which that policy led to another and worse war, can best be understood by referring back to experience and warnings placed on record at the time.

There is evidence recorded by a cloud of witnesses which were accurately prophetic of the sad experience of these days. I will give two examples whose evidence is quoted in current issues of weekly journals. One is the evidence of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, a journalist of the highest character and reputation who went into Germany and Austria shortly after the last war to get facts concerning post-war conditions. The other is that of Mr. J. L. Garvin who denounced, before it was signed, the Treaty which was forced upon the German people by the Halifaxes and Vansittarts of that day and foretold its inevitable result in this war.

How, having regard to this knowledge of the consequences of such madness, Mr. Garvin has become a regular staff writer for the *Sunday Express*, is a matter for Mr. Garvin himself to explain. There are many, however, who, like myself, cannot do so.

For this is what Garvin's *Sunday Express* said last Sunday:

"The real feelings of this country were voiced by Viscountess Simon the other day when she stood on a public platform and said 'I WANT GERMANY WIPED OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH.'

"'That is my view, too,' said Garvin's colleague, John Gordon, and proceeded further to reveal himself in the following manner:—'Pernickety minds,' reluctantly Mr. Gordon admitted, 'might point out that such extermination is impossible. I agree with them as well. BUT IT IS AN IDEAL. AND I WAS TAUGHT TO STRIVE FOR THE STARS; EVEN IF I COULD NEVER HOPE TO REACH THEM.'" (F.W.J. is responsible for giving Gordon's own aspiration in capitals).

And here I will bring to witness what A. G. Gardiner wrote 24 years' ago, of the results of that dictated peace, won by successful war strategy of starvation blockade and propaganda culminating in the devilish prostitution of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Here is A. G. Gardiner's unquestioned evidence, recorded at the time, of what decent people can be induced to do to each other when a vicious hate propaganda has been carried on for years:

"'For five years,' wrote Mr. Gardiner of German and Austrian children—'that is for almost the whole of life they remember—they have been starved. They were never worse starved than during THE NINE MONTHS' BLOCKADE THAT FOLLOWED the war. . . . The fortunate ones die (50 per cent. more infants died in Berlin alone during 1919, a year of 'peace,' than in 1913) the rest are starting their life with a physical and mental inefficiency that will make life a burden. The 'English sickness' (rickets) alone, the result mainly of post-war blockade, has claimed hundreds of thousands.'

"Tuberculosis, in all its variations, has swept the child like a plague. In Leipsig there are 8,000 tuberculosis children, in Cologne 10,000, Berlin 30,000. The mortality of older children has gone up by 85 per cent.—nearly double."

("What I saw in Germany," by A. G. Gardiner. Quoted in "Peace News," June 5, 1942).

And this is what J. L. Garvin said at the last dictated peace which followed a starvation blockade war and vicious war propaganda. It was prophetic. *We are paying the price foretold now.* This is what Garvin then said of the last victory-dictated peace before it was actually signed:—

"If the Germans are wise, they will sign, of course.

"For if they signed and sealed it twenty times over, they, like any other race in their place, would determine to seize every opportunity of mitigation or repudiation AS THE INEVITABLE TROUBLES AND DISSENSIONS OF THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE QUITE CERTAIN TO PROVIDE.

"The root vice of the whole Treaty is that it leaves the German race NO REAL HOPE EXCEPT REVENGE—no matter how long the revenge may have to be deferred. In the whole Treaty there is no glimmering perception of the constructive necessities of Europe as a whole. UNIVERSAL AND ABIDING ANTAGONISM TO IT WILL GIVE THE GERMAN PEOPLE A FRESH BASIS OF COMMON INTEREST. AFTER PASSING NO DOUBT THROUGH CONFUSIONS AND CONVULSIONS THEY WILL BE SOLIDIFIED AND FORTIFIED BY ADVERSITY. IT IS NECESSITY THAT MAKES MEN STRONG, SUCCESS THAT USUALLY BLINDS THEM." (Quoted in 'Forward,' June 6th, 1942—My capitals—F. W. J.).

How truly spoken is the second half of that last short sentence in the light of our own British experience. *The British Empire is in progress of compulsory liquidation!*

PAX CHRISTI

(THE PEACE OF CHRIST)

(A new policy for Christendom To-day)

By Rev. Albert D. Belden, B.D., D.D.

Published by Allen and Unwin, London, at 3s. 6d., postage 3d. extra. Obtainable through the Strickland Press.

"COMMUNIST" WAR CHARLATANISM

Chapter XVI. of Part I. of *Socialism and Parliament* deals with Communist Parliamentarism and relates the political charlatanism of William Gallacher.

Since this pamphlet was issued, we have collected a few more entertaining facts concerning this unscrupulous "Communist" careerist.

On Thursday, June 26, 1941, announcing the intended withdrawal of the Communist Party candidate from the Greenock by-election, William Gallacher said:

"The big question is co-operation between Britain and the Soviet Union in the interests of the peoples of both countries. Therefore we will support the British Government in any steps it takes to advance and further that co-operation. . . .

"We have always opposed a peace or a 'sell out' of any kind. We have nothing to do with the peace by negotiating party. I admit in some of our documents we did not make that sufficiently clear."

We deny absolutely that the present governments of the warring nations represent the interests of the peoples of the countries they govern. Hitler does not represent the interests of the German people. Stalin does not represent the interests of the common folk of the Soviet Union. Churchill does not represent the working-class of Britain.

Gallacher's reference to a "sell out" peace is undiluted scoundrelism and worthy of the political gangsterdom to which he belongs. The truth is that, so long as the Hitler-Stalin pact existed, Gallacher and the Communist Party opposed the war and defended a German peace. One can understand a genuine militarist. One can understand a genuine pacifist. But one cannot understand, except in the terms of hireling corruption, this zig-zag militarist-pacifist capitalist opportunism, dictated by the foreign policy of the Kremlin, and not by any proletarian principle or idealism.

In the *Sunday Mail* for November 23, 1941, Gallacher's message to the Clydeside was reported under the heading: *"Communist M.P.'s Victory Call."*

Our contemporary said:

"Mr. William Gallacher, West Fife's Communist M.P., has issued a message to Clydeside workers urging them to support the troops in Libya in 'their brilliant offensive' by increasing production."

It then reproduced two paragraphs from Gallacher's message. We quote one, describing the "Libya offensive":

"The offensive will, I am sure, have a tremendous effect on the people of the occupied countries of Europe," he says, "It will give them new hope, inspire them with fresh courage, and urge them to greater acts of daring against the invader. . . ."

This statement of opportunist pretence and pseudo strategic knowledge requires no comment. Gallacher knows as much about military struggle as he does about anti-militarist integrity and Socialist thought. All he understands is how to trade in verbal falsehood for the sake of Gallacher's personal emancipation *within Capitalism.*

The *Scottish Daily Express* for November 23, 1941, gave another version of Gallacher's message under the heading *"Gallacher urges 'loyal enthusiasm.'"*

Beneath this heading, the letter-press read:

"Mr. William Gallacher, Communist M.P. for West Fife, has issued a message to Clydeside workers urging them to redouble their efforts to increase output in support of the troops taking part in the Libya offensive.

"In an appeal to all shop stewards to attend Lord Beaverbrook's meeting at Glasgow next Sunday he asked them to make it 'a mighty demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty to our lads in Libya and for the alliance with the Soviet Union, an alliance Lord Beaverbrook is working so strenuously to implement.'"

Anyone who has seen the film reproduction of Beaverbrook's meetings, or read the *Express* verbatim reports of his speeches, will know that

the man is an ignoramus. As an orator, he is a disgrace to the public platform, as a thinker, he ranks somewhere between the ape and our pigmy aboriginal ancestors. That a great people like the English speaking races, with their famed tradition of speech and writing, should be represented in the hour of crisis by this financial war-lord of the press, who slays in safety on the public platform to the tune of manufactured plaudits, spreading disaster among the human family, is an added calamity to the suffering of our time. Gallacher appealed for public support for this ignoramus, this builder-up of Hitlerism, this consistent pre-war slanderer of the Soviet Union. What a farce!

The Beaverbrook press repays the compliment.

The *Sunday Express*, June 28, 1942, in its "*To-day in Scotland*" column, written by Albert Mackie, says :—

"When I met Britain's solitary Communist M.P., Willie Gallacher, he was indulging in an extra pipeful of that strong tobacco he smokes, and beaming with paternal pride.

"His son, Paul Donald, young graduate with honours in philosophy, has just been capped at Gilmorehill."

Is this why the Fife miners turned against Willie Adamson and voted Gallacher into Westminster? That his adopted son might go to the University and receive the Capitalist degree of philosophy. Are their sons likely to be capped with anything except a fall of coal? Is this pursuing the class struggle? What a knave and hypocrite the man is. Recall his manifestoes and denunciations of "the bourgeois I.L.P.," "the bourgeois Anarchists," his attacks on the Free Speech fight; all his climbing assumption of revolutionary speech and approach, and then—reflect! His son is capped at Gilmorehill in the third year of a world war in which the workers, men and women, from the youngest to the oldest, are being conscripted either to death or to arduous tasks, which sap their health and destroy their lives. The proud father's adopted son plays at philosophy in Gilmorehill!

Willie Gallacher turns from his proud nursing to go forward, this over-age militarist, to press for a second front, with Harry Pollitt, Harry McShane, etc. Not one of these hirelings, who have forgotten about the hunger-marches they monopolised for their career's sake, intend to go to the Second and Third fronts themselves. They will remain at the back of the various fronts *directing*! Instead of chasing these political rogues for their lives, the common folk, here and there, fall for them.

Recall these people's attack on King George V.'s jubilee. Recall their anti-war attacks on the coronation of George VI. All the hot-air that secured the exciting support of the unemployed and the ex-soldier. And it comes to this: in war-time, support Beaverbrook, be militarist, be more militarist than the Government. If some Socialist, who is a Socialist, denounces "Capitalist war," accuse him of helping to spread Fascism round the world. Of, course, the Hitler-Stalin pact did not help Fascism!

To-day, Gallacher, and his satellites, Pollitt and McShane, having burned their past pamphlets and manifestos, as all political charlatans must do to save their faces, by a peculiar logic pretend that there are only two choices before the common people of the world: the imperialism of Hitler or the imperialism of Churchill allied to Stalin.

What has become of their Marxism, of those dinner-hour anti-war economic lectures Willie Gallacher conducted during the last war, as a conscience-sandwich to the manufacture of munitions? Does he not realise that Fascism or Nazism is the last desperate attempt of the Capitalist system to utilize demagogically the social discontent of a dispossesed middle-class to establish an iron dictatorship.

A genuine anti-Fascist war cannot be waged by a government that supports the shoddy platitudes of the Atlantic Charter. It can be waged only by those who support a programme of social justice, who stand for genuine revolutionary Socialism. A genuine programme of Socialism and world peace would break the tie between Hitler and the German people. The business of Socialism, and of the Communists, is not to pursue militarism and destruction, but anti-militarism and reconstruction: to turn national or independent wars into civil wars: to liquidate civil wars into the struggle of ideas: and to restore vision to poor, war-blinded, charlatan-misled working, suffering humanity.

THE BEDFORD PROGRAMME

Reviewed by MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE.

[Reproduced from "The Catholic Herald," London, May 15, 1942.—Ed.]

It is a pity that the Duke of Bedford should be almost exclusively publicised as a pacifist and an advocate of a negotiated peace with Germany. And it is an even greater pity that his little booklet, *Why Blunder On?* should begin with arguments in favour of peace on almost any reasonable terms at the earliest moment possible.

This is obviously a highly controversial question, and the vast majority of the British people will have nothing to do with it. Nor do the Duke's arguments in this respect carry very much weight. They are largely based on his personal belief that we cannot win the war outright, and about the totally unknown war conditions of the future his opinion is worth no more than that of the next man.

It is a pity, then, that this material should be linked up with the Duke's plans and programmes for political, social and economic reconstruction, for many of these are most interesting and highly worthy of discussion apart from the results of the war. In any case, his challenge to the vested interests of Right and Left—the money-power of the few and the money-grabbing of the many—is unlikely to be given a hearing in any powerful organ of press and publicity. But joined with his war-views it stands no chance whatever, and those who have other reasons for refusing to listen can ease their conscience by saying that they will have nothing whatever to do with a "defeatest."

What is the plan? It is a long one, the summary of which cannot even be printed in these reduced columns, still less the commentary that follows it.

But one thing at least seems to me to stand out from it all—and that is that the Duke's reforms seem in no way to clash with Christian and Papal doctrine, but actually embody in practical fashion the social and economic points made by the present Pope and the leaders of the Churches in Britain.

Here are some points :—

DISARMAMENT.—If total is unobtainable, the maximum to which nations will agree, provision being made for further progressive disarmament.

FOREIGN POLICY.—World interests should be considered even before national interests; a survey of world resources to be made, with wealthy countries assisting poorer ones; no enforcing of international authority decrees, but all-round education to see the point of voluntary co-operation for the good of all.

HOME POLITICS.—Abolition of Party system; occupational franchise; Ministers elected by Parliament; Parliament to have right to dismiss either Government or Ministers; Referendum on special issues. New Second Chamber, representative of Churches, education, culture, industry and distinguished servants of the State.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—Work to be performed by Corporations, such as Medical Corporation and Transport Corporation.

INDUSTRY.—Corporations of employers, workers and consumers with Government arbitration for disputes.

EDUCATION.—All children to have equal opportunity up to eighteen, with emphasis on importance of manual training.

PRESS.—Obligatory publication of name of principal owner; no hostile statement against foreign countries without Embassies having right to reply; liability to prosecution for false news deliberately published for private interest.

CHURCH.—Disestablished, but given adequate income for work.

Of course, this brief summary of a summary gives but bare bones, and the real interest lies in the further elucidations. Moreover I have purposely left out the heart of the Duke of Bedford's reforms which are monetary.

His view is that all taxation for revenue and national debt should be abolished, the new money required annually being created by the State, the amount needed by the State being earmarked for its own use. Taxation would be exclusively for the purpose of preventing inflation. The distribution of money would be according to real needs, always taking into account the country's ability to produce or import the goods which the money will be able to purchase.

It is true enough that radical reforms of these kinds, whether intrinsically desirable or not, have little real meaning unless they can be related to what is practicable in the light of what the public, so to say, will stand for. Reformers, like the Duke of Bedford, are too apt to think in a social vacuum. But it is very profitable to look at the matter from time to time from the wrong end of the telescope and—if the metaphor may be changed—work backwards. That way there is much less danger of confusing what the public will stand for with what the vested interests of the country will permit them to stand for.

CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The National Council for Civil Liberties is organised to defend the essential liberties of the people, such as:

The civil rights of the individual.
The rights of democratic organisations.
Freedom of speech and the press.
The right of trial in open court.

The Council makes its appeal to those who know that:

(i) The well-being of the individual is dependent on the enjoyment of full civil rights and liberties;
(ii) These rights have been dearly won in the past;
(iii) They will last only if they are maintained and fought for now;
(iv) It is more than ever necessary to ensure that the forces of reaction do not use the war situation to achieve their traditional purposes.

The Council owes allegiance to no party, religion or creed, but is pledged to defend the equal liberty of every individual and every organisation.

The Secretary and Treasurer of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch is **James R. B. Christie, 4 Hampden Terrace, Glasgow, S.2.**

UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
62 Kingston Crescent, Portsmouth.
Minister—CHARLES H. COLE.
Services Sunday at 6.45

We preach that Religion's job is to carve the image of Jesus, the Elder Brother, into the human race—to humanize, and Christianize our society.

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR
(Unitarian),
SOUTHAMPTON.
Minister: **Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.**
The services are held in The Little Chapel of the Avenue Congregational Church, The Avenue, Southampton. Entrance through the Spencer Hall.
Sunday Evening 6.30 p.m.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool.
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY.
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.
SUNDAY MORNING AT ELEVEN
A collection is made at each Meeting to enable those present to contribute to the Society's expenses.

New York readers of "The Word" should attend
THE INGERSOLL FORUM
1st Sunday, each month, 8 p.m., at The Pythian, 135 W. 70th Street, just east of Broadway.
Questions. Discussion. All Heretics Invited.

Are you reducing our deficit? Original November 1940 Appeal is short over £60 Since 1940 the monthly deficit has grown steadily. HELP!

The Mockery of Parliamentary Careerism

Thomas Johnston Indicts Himself

[. . . As will be seen from the reports of our 1921 trial published in recent issues, MacRobert, K.C., was the Counsel who prosecuted us in the 1921 trial. When these trials are issued in collected book form, this essay will find a place in the appendix. Meanwhile we publish it as a separate essay. It is one of Johnston's many indictments of himself for his present-day associations.—Ed.]

In *Forward* for January 16, 1926, Thomas Johnston devoted three columns to an indictment of MacRobert, beneath these headings—spread across the three columns:—

RECORD OF MACROBERT, K.C.

His Votes for the Rich: His Votes Against the Poor, the Widows, the Orphans, and the Unemployed.

Beneath these streaming headings, the letter-press stated:—

We have received serveral inquiries about the voting record of Mr. MacRobert, K.C., the Tory candidate for East Renfrewshire. Below we give a list of the most important divisions since the Tory Government went into office with Mr. MacRobert's record in each.

Then followed the record. MacRobert did not vote on certain questions where the Labour Party forced the issue, like Women's Vote at 21; Improved Workmen's Compensation; Singapore Dockyards; Widows' Pensions, Ordinary and War. On other issues he voted against the humane or progressive policy. He showed himself either indifferent to the wrongs of the poor or opposed to them.

MacRobert *voted against* the motion or the amendment in the following issues and so showed himself against the miners, against the poor, against the unemployed, and on the side of the profiteers. The headings are Thomas Johnston's as are the records. We have omitted from each paragraph the words "*Mr. MacRobert voted against.*"

HOUSING POLICY.

On December 16th, 1924, the Labour Party moved the following amendment to the King's Speech:

"But humbly regret that your Majesty's advisers are committed to a policy of leaving the solution of the housing problem mainly to private enterprise and the operation of occupying ownership, thus ignoring the importance of carrying out a long-term scheme of building houses to be let at rents within the means of the working classes, and failing to take advantage for increasing employment in the building and auxiliary industries."

ON THE SIDE OF THE PROFITEERS.

On March 4th, 1925, the Labour Party moved:

"That the composition and the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Food Prices are not such as to inspire public confidence, and this House is of opinion that action, legislative or otherwise, based upon the large mass of evidence already available and designed for the protection of the public against profiteering in the sale of food, should be undertaken without delay."

MUNICIPAL COAL.

On March 24th Mr. Beckett, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved:

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable municipal authorities to act as retail distributors of coal; and for other purposes incidental thereto."

DEAR COAL.

On March 25th the Labour Party moved the following motion:

"That this House calls upon the Government to prosecute measures to prevent excessive charges for coal supplied to household consumers."

AGAINST THE MINERS.

On March 25th Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., on behalf of the miners, moved the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Bill to give the miners a living wage.

THE DEATH PENALTY FOR SOLDIERS.

On April 1st the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Army and Air Force (Annual Bill). The purpose of this motion was to restrict the death penalty for soldiers to cases of treachery.

SOLDIERS AND STRIKES.

On the same day the Labour Party moved a new clause to prevent use of military in certain duties during trade disputes.

AGAINST MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

On April 1st, 1925, the Labour Party moved the following motion:

"That in view of the urgent necessity that, wholly apart from the Poor Law, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of children should be provided by the State for all widows with children or mothers whose family bread-winner has been incapacitated, this House calls for the introduction this Session of the required legislation."

THE EIGHT HOURS DAY.

On May 1st the Labour Party introduced an Eight Hour Day Bill.

LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE.

On May 13th the Labour Party introduced a motion in favour of a Commission to inquire into and report upon legal minimum time rates of wages.

FOR DEAR SUGAR.

On 16th June the Labour Party proposed to repeal sugar duties.

AGAINST EARLY OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

On July 14th the Labour Party moved an amendment to bring the Old Age Pensions into operation six months earlier than the date proposed by the Government.

DEPENDANTS OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to secure pensions under the Bill for dependants of ex-service men.

PENSIONS AND COMPENSATION.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to omit clause 25, which discriminated against children receiving workmen's compensation in respect of the death of a parent.

On July 22 the Labour Party moved an amendment to allow pensions in cases where the widowed man dies and children receive compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

A HARD DAY'S WORK—UNEMPLOYED NOTE.

On July 30th, on the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the Labour Party put down a motion to omit Clause 1 (discretionary power given to Minister of Labour with regard to payment of extended benefit).

On the same day the Labour Party put down a motion to postpone operation of the Clause until April, 1926.

On the same day the Labour Party moved an amendment to give persons unable, though willing, to find work a better chance of receiving Unemployment Benefit.

On the same day the Liberal motion that regulations made by the Minister of Labour under Clause 1 shall be submitted to Parliament.

On the same day the Labour Party moved a motion to omit Clause 3 (waiting period extending from three days to a week).

On the same day the Liberal motion to postpone operation of Clause 3 until December, was defeated.

These paragraphs and headings are as set out by Thomas Johnston. Each paragraph, in the original, carried the chorus:

"*Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted against.*"

Johnston varied the chorus in his account of the following divisions, although the import of his record was the same:

TAXING SILK STOCKINGS.

On May 11th the Labour Party moved an amendment to the Budget Resolutions against artificial silk duties.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for the Tax on Silk.

FOR DEAR TEA.

(June 9th.) On the clause in the Finance Bill putting 4d. a lb. on tea, the Labour Party moved to substitute 1d. for 4d.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for the 4d.

FOR THE SUPER RICH.

On 15th June the proposed remission of super tax was opposed by the Labour Party.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., voted for relief for the super rich.

MORE MONEY FOR WAR.

On July 29th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Supplementary Estimate as a protest against the new cruisers.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., thought we could afford more cruisers and voted for them.

Let the workers remember this indictment was penned by Thomas Johnston.

By such indictment of MacRobert Johnston, who has never suffered a moment's inconvenience or imprisonment or victimisation for his alleged Socialist principles, attained his present status as an administrator of capitalist society. His present association with the colleagues and successors of MacRobert notwithstanding, Johnston's indictment stands. It classifies MacRobert.

Does any worker believe that we ought to have suffered sixteen months' imprisonment during 1921-22, while MacRobert was climbing to the position of Lord Advocate? The man only escaped becoming a Senator of the College of Justice through the intervention of death. Does anyone believe that a man with such a record, a puny creature of a lawyer, was a lover of law and harmony, an upholder of social justice, a loyal servant of commonwealth? Does any sane citizen believe that we, who opposed the MacRoberts, were the seditionist and that MacRobert was the true exponent of jurisprudence?

How then does parliamentarism elevate the Johnstons to the camps of the MacRoberts?

One point in Thomas Johnston's 1926 indictment of MacRobert makes as strange reading to-day as the above cruiser quotation:

SINGAPORE.

On March 25th the Labour Party moved to reduce the Naval Estimates as an opposition to the Government's policy for intending dockyards at Singapore.

Mr. MacRobert, K.C., did not vote.

To-day, without any apology, by due process of parliamentary opportunism, Johnston is Secretary of State for Scotland in a poorly diluted Tory Government that said, "Signapore must be defended." The Government was right, according to the canons and requirements of Capitalist Imperialism; but how does Johnston explain the propaganda that helped him to rise to position in it as an apparent parliamentary semi-anti-militarist? How does he explain these 1926 tit-bits about the cruiser and Signapore votings. How does he explain his present careerist silence about the Truman Commission Report, the dollar-a-year men corruption, and the general incompetence of the Government to which he belongs?

In our imprisonment we were standing for Socialism not only against the MacRoberts but also against the Thomas Johnstons. We were standing not for violence but for Socialism and Peace. So we were jailed for alleged sedition and viewed with horror by the very folk who had been driven into a servitude of misery and despair since—some even to their graves after an intensified horror of unnecessary suffering—by the anti-social conspiracy of those who jailed us that they might flourish and ape greatness. What shameless hypocrisy!

Our legislators of the parliamentary Socialist movement like their Tory colleagues, are engaged still in this licensed mockery of class society. They fear lest our voice be heard in the land, even as they feared in 1909, when we stood for Freedom of Press and Speech in India, and again in 1921. Only by a strained miracle has our propaganda been sustained. Even then, with rare but marked exceptions, it has been and is viewed still with jealous spite as the activity of a man who is dangerous and has no right to a place in the sun: a man to be written down and slandered, simply because he can think, write, and speak clearly, and for nearly forty years has written and spoken clearly, simply, and directly in the name of Socialism. The 1909 and 1921 trials alone, apart from our four Courts-martial and Free Speech struggle, have earned us our place in the Labour Movement and on its platform. That place ought to be assured to us before it is too late. Small careerism blocks the way of united struggle against the social wrong and tragedy of ruling class violence and exploitation. Upon the calamity of careerism is built the monstrous edifice of perpetuated war and endless mass starvation.

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LET US WORSHIP LIFE

By JOHN ROEBUCK

"Man's chief end is to glorify **Life** and enjoy **it** for ever."

The business of Living is the biggest Big Business in the world. It is the universal "Chemical Industry Unlimited." Its ramifications extend, or so we profess to believe, even beyond the astronomical universe. It is absolutely immune from liquidation. Plagues, Typhoons, Earthquakes, Wars may dislocate it but never destroy it. Its plant is ever sufficient and adaptable to changing circumstances. It comprises a multiplicity of branches or departments all of which, with but one exception, carry on their appointed purposes with remarkable efficiency and harmony. The exception is, of course, the Human depart. ment. Here chaos has always reigned to a greater or lesser degree—and to-day surely to the greatest degree ever. It is seething with discontent, hatred, cruelty, hypocrisy and every other cause of inefficiency and disharmony.

Here then is our paramount concern: How to bring our department up to scratch. Religion postulates the Worship of God as the only possible way to this end. But it seems to me this proposition is simply begging the question; for is not the Worship of God one of our principal functions even now? And what of its reflection in practice? No. This side-line worship of God simply won't do, because it ignores God's breath. I submit that the worship of Life is what is needed. This would be an all-embracing religion, a practical religion, a *militant* religion indeed.

Without the slightest irreverence one could say, "In the beginning was The Word and the word was *Life*." And since it is essentially the motion of life which creates situations of opportunity for human functioning, it follows that every moment of conscious life is an opportune moment for Service. It constitutes situation actual, the conditioned time and place for the fulfilment of individual responsibility. And the propitiation or vitiation of the momentous issue depends upon the exercise of that unique human attribute, volition. Obviously man is an agent of Life, not its master. The situation in which he finds himself was there before him; the objective was there for subjective recognition; the need was there before the potential service, the appeal before the response. For if it be true—and it is certainly our professed belief—that man is a purposeful Being, then assuredly his Purpose must challenge him all along life's way. And he must put his very all into *Being*. However little his all is, he is not chargeable for more. No guilt attaches to lack. He is in default only for what he deliberately holds back. He must pay his way spot cash, as it were, to the limit of his means. He cannot be upright if he stoops to meanness. To be Righteous in theory and wrongous in practice is duplicity. "O thou invisible spirit of *evil*, if thou hast no other name to be known by, let us call thee *Duplicity*." (The italicised words are not Shakespeare's.)

Now, we all ostensibly desire to "make something" of our respective lives, but the fact is that it is Life which wants to make something of us. And it *will* make something of us eventually—there can be no doubt about that. Life may be hindered in the fulfilment of its purpose but it cannot be frustrated. Man cannot escape his Karma or Nirvana. His soul, like John Brown's, "goes marching on." Even orthodoxy, so vague about most things, is quite definite about that. It says, "O grave where is thy victory? O death where is thy sting?" Indeed, the perpetuity, the indestructability, the All-in-all of Life has been manifested as a positive truth for millions of years.

When God is spoken of as The source of life, two things are implied where there is only one. Life *is* God. Or, if you will, God *is* Life. The sooner we realize the One-ness of God and Life the better it will be for us. The idea of their separate-ness is a mental aberration like unto that now largely discounted belief in a personal God. Is not the glorification of God simply the expression of joyous Being? Or can a miserable person glorify God? Surely not! Being prompted to do, the pleasure of doing and the satisfaction of having done a good deed are all, as we say, first "felt in the blood."

One could cite many scriptural passages from which the synonimity of the terms God and Life can be logically deduced. And certainly every Religion primarily teaches man to live. It sets up a mythical or a biographical example and says, "Live likewise if you would serve God." Nor is there any question of capacity or qualification to do so. That is taken for granted. It is simply a matter of choice, not between two masters but between service and disservice to Life. Good and evil being concepts of rational life it follows that all the good and evil in the world is attributable to rational life *alone*. If each one of us is a Temple of The Living God—"The Kingdom of God is within you" — there is no denying the fact that the living devil often enters to defile the Temple. And many of us seem to like a mess up now and again. "It's only human nature," we say in self-exoneration. We know to-day better than ever what we should and what we shouldn't do. Our feelings tell us, even if we have no thought of an All-seeing Eye. The knowledge is rurimentary that we ought not to injure others since we dislike injury done to ourselves. And there is nothing of the supernatural about such a consciousness. It is plain common-sense.

The Golden Rule, which is the basic ethic of the Christian religion, which is in very truth the Christian gospel in miniature, makes no mention of God. Without affecting its cogency one iota it might be paraphrased thus: "Howsoever ye would that others should live, so live you!" Good-living is the one and only criterion of Godliness. Deeds are adjudged good or evil whether or not they are backed by belief in God. "By their works ye shall know them." "Faith without works is dead." Even our Law-courts modify the Oath to accommodate Unbelievers. And rightly so. Sincerity after all is the quintessence of well-doing and an Unbeliever is not necessarily less sincere than a Believer.

Consider too how we religiously laud and memorialise as heroes those of our kindred who have fallen in War. Many of them have never even *pretended* to be Christians. But no matter, "Greater love hath no man than he who layeth down his life for a friend." And how very true that is. But how false in the circumstances of war inasmuch as the enemy fallen never merit the tribute. Nay. They have suffered *retribution*. God has struck them down because they belonged to the devil. They had taken up the sword and had perished by the sword. As they had sown so had they reaped. And these things are said by many of those who boggle at common or garden blasphemy, forsooth! But let one suggest that possibly we reaped at Dunkirk and elsewhere what we had sown at Versailles and he will run the risk of being imprisoned.

But the truth stands irrefutable to-day, despite all religious claims to the contrary, that the whole civilised world is reaping as it has sown. It has sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. What more striking a contradiction in terms could one cite than, "Civilisation at War?" A still small voice replies, "God in War." And I smile my acknowledgment of its ready wit. Certainly a God of Love taking sides in war rather stumps ones imagination. Moreover, they who accept the religious commonplace "God is Love," must of necessity admit the logical inference, "Love is therefore God." And since love is an expression of human life primarily, a loving way of life should be man's foremost concern.

Jesus was The Christ because He worshipped life. He came "that we might have *life* and have it more abundantly." He went about doing good. He loved life and all living things. He embraced the whole cosmos in arms of love. He exemplified good-living and stressed the imperative accountability of every individual soul. He was no doctrinaire. He espoused none of the religions of His day. Institutionalism was foreign to Him. His *métier* was Brotherhood and He was the world's greatest Individualist. And when He said "No one cometh unto The Father but by me," He clearly meant . . . "but by living like me." Here then is the much needed common-ground religion for fallible mortals—The Worship of Life.

WALTZ TUNE

By LADY DUNN

We all know that the Danube is a muddy, yellow river, flowing through an enemy country —and that it is at present full of shipping, barges carrying troops, munitions, and supplies.

It is either a yellow sullen—or a rapid river in flood—but always helping the enemy.

And *yet*!

Each morning I put on a recording of a beautiful tune called (I suppose foolishly) "*The Blue Danube*."

It is played by the finest orchestra in the world (and I do not say perhaps) the Philadelphia Philharmonic — conducted by Leopold Stokowski—and it was composed by a certain someone who, drifting down the Danube one summer's day—between vineyards, mountains, monasteries and churches—and being deeply in love—imagined and saw the great river as *blue*.

What a happy fallacy—and how grateful the world should be to Johannes Strauss.

"And *why?*" you may ask.

Because any vision of beauty, however mistaken, is still something for which to be grateful.

Anyone who during the darkest "blackout" sees things blue instead of black—is surely someone to be encouraged and thanked.

And so I put on my record every morning—and I dance.

To many this may seem as Nero dancing whilst Rome burns; but the record finished and my dancing done I can with lightened heart, body and mind, the better face the day with its series of disappointments, its struggles—and all the petty annoyances which a war brings, even to those who have found sanctuary and security from the greater troubles.

The *Blue Danube*!

We hear of optimists—who view the world through rose-coloured spectacles—and are called for their trouble "poor fools."

But I wish that we could see *all* muddy, yellow rivers as *blue*; that the crash of the traffic, the shouts of the boatmen, and the dull roar of engines could all melt away into that beautiful waltz tune, and that not only I, but *all* (and by all, I mean all enemies) could share for a few minutes the same lovely vision—and in the sharing perhaps turn and smile at each other—and in a great "foolishness" find a "greater wisdom."

For even the bird of happiness—so earnestly sought—is *blue*—bright, shining, heavenly blue—pushing from memory the black and muddy yellow of our present misfortune.

[ERRATUM.—In Lady Dunn's "Three Nightingales" last month, after "Russian" read "front."

WAR: A STUDY IN FACT

By RUDOLF ROCKER

(*Concluded from Vol.* III, *page* 136)

SECOND ESSAY.

The Russian despotism is older, much older than the present German State. It also is much older than the Prussian State, which has had such a terrible influence on the political and social development of Germany. Those who are at all acquainted with history, know, that the Prussian State developed directly under the protection of Russian and French absolutism. The Dukes of Brandenberg—*i.e.*, the predecessors of the Prussian Monarchy — were only paid servants of the French Feudalistic Monarchy; and the Prussian State was allowed to develop as a means of breaking the Austrian political power in Europe, a weapon in the hands of the French despots against the Hapsburg dynasty. The founders of the Prussian State were not allowed to have any political will of their own. They only were permitted to serve as tools in the hands of Russian and French despotism.

When Frederick the Great attempted to assert himself by refusing to give military assistance to Louis the fifteenth against England, France united with Russia and Austria, and Germany was laid waste for seven years. Prussia would have completely disappeared from the map of Europe then, if her king had not thrown herself into the arms of the Russian despot. The Czar saved Prussia from certain extinction, on the one condition that the Prussian ruler became a dutiful and obedient servant of Czarism.

Kropotkin reminds us that, in 1905, the Kaiser was prepared to send an army into Poland to suppress the revolution. But that which the Kaiser only contemplated, Nicholas I. actually accomplished in 1848. At that time, —when the Hungarian revolution everywhere was successful, when the Austrian Monarchy was tottering to its fall, and the German revolution had lifted its head once more,—at that critical moment, the Czar came to the assistance of Austria with an army of 140,000 and defeated Hungary, the last hope of the 1848 revolution in Europe. True, the disgraceful act of Nicholas I., in no way, can justify the equally disgraceful plan of William II.; but it again shows that Germany is not the only danger in the world, the revolutionaries have to reckon with.

Opinions differ as to which state is the greatest menace to the development of freedom in Europe. To Kropotkin, the centre of reaction is Berlin — and he has complained that, unfortunately, he is too old to shoulder a gun to defend France against German Huns. Bebel made a similar declaration twelve years ago when he avowed that, were there a war between Russia and Germany, he would take a gun and march, shoulder to shoulder, with the German bourgeoisie aginst barbaric Russia. To him, the centre of reaction was no other place than Petersburg, and he had as many arguments to urge against Russia as Kropotkin has against Germany. Had Bebel had the opportunity of reading Kropotkin's *Terror in Russia* he would have many more undoubtedly. In his reasons, Bebel was as correct as Kropotkin; in his conclusions, as false. When Bebel said he would take up a gun and march with the German bourgeoisie against Russia, he denied, thereby, everything he had stated about the "proletarian class struggle." And when Kropotkin said, in his interview with the Russian lawyer, Azieff, "that the people of the Allies must all take an active part in the present war and come to the assistance of their respective governments," it was as complete a denial of the elemental Anarchist principles which he has expounded in such a brilliant way.

That the German Social Democratic Party regard the war from the same point of view as Kropotkin, but look for the enemy in the opposite direction, will appear from the following quotation from *Vorwearts*:—

"The victory over the Allies of Russia is only necessary because they are allied with Czarism. But that necessity exists only as long as England and France may hinder the destruction of Czarism. . . . We must not pursue, therefore, a policy which may prolong the enmity between Germany and the West European countries, i.e., Germany must not seize any territory nor interfere in the integrity and independence of other nationalities, as that would give Russia the opportunity of playing the part of conciliator in Europe, even should she be beaten. . . .

"If we are not able to defeat Czarism, should the strategical exingency take the place of the political necessity, it may happen the present war will result in another 'Holy Alliance,' whatever the intention of the rulers might be. Instead of an Alliance of civilized nations, Czarism will continue to hold its ruling power. . . . If it should prove to be the case, the present war has lost its justification.

"No! This war must not be a means of usurpation and the building up of a new world-power in place of the British and Russian world-power: but it must be the means of freeing all nations. Freedom from Muscovitism: freedom and independence for Poland and Finland; a free development for the great Russian nation herself, and the destruction of the unnatural alliance of two civilized nations with barbaric Czarism—this is the aim that called out the enthusiasm of the German people, and hence their readiness to make the necessary sacrifices."

The above view, no less than Kropotkin's, may be held by an ordinary radical citizen. It has nothing in common with Socialism, and less with Anarchism. In both cases, it seems to be forgotten that this war, like any in the past, is not in the interest of the so-called culture problems, but to advance certain economic and political ambitions; to extend the sphere of the power of the State and capitalism in the respective countries; particularly a competition of power between British and German capitalism. None of us know much of the secret intrigues of diplomacy. Hence we cannot say who is foremost in responsibility for the present catastrophe, but we know for certain that all governments have been participating in the participating in the secret intrigues and diplomacy of the finance kings. They have been preparing for this war for years, and none were surprised by the latest developments.

In his last work, *The Modern State*, in the chapter entitled, "The War," Kropotkin explicitly declares that the loan of £50,000,000 the Russian Government received from French capitalists in 1906, under the protection of the French Republic, *was accepted for the purpose of crushing the revolution.* Kropotkin details the enormous corruption in the French world of finance and ends with these sarcastic words:—

"What a lucky incident it is! The Government of a big State is in danger! It has to suppress a Revolution! Such luck does not occur every day!

But in his letter to Steffen, Kropotkin makes no mention of this disgraceful betrayal of the Russian revolutionaries by the Republican finance kings. Instead he says:—

"Let us not forget again, that when France advanced the loan to the Russian autocracy in 1906, it was because she felt that, if Russia was unable to reform her army after the defeat in Manchuria, France would be torn to pieces by Germany, Austria, and Italy, who were allied against her."

We do not know the secret plans of the German government, and we expect anything but good from her. But, with the best will in the world to believe what he says, we cannot see the logic in Kropotkin's assertion. If Germany really meant to destroy France and occupy Finland, etc., as Kropotkin states, the question is: Why did she not seize the opportunity when the Russian army was paralysed so completely after its defeat in Manchuria? Why did she make no attempt to realise her ambition? Just at that moment the German despot addressed to Nicholas the famous telegram: *"Russia's mourning is Germany's mourning."* It would have been so easy for it to have been Russia's mourning and Germany's joy!

No! There is no reason, whatever, to change our former attitude with regard to the State and Capitalism. If a revolution had broken out in France, and the Kaiser, with his armies, had attacked her in order to suppress it, then even we would have taken a gun in defence of France. Only in such circumstances can Socialists and Anarchists justify war. Every other war is only a curse to mankind, a hindrance to real progress, and an enemy to every development of freedom. Such is the present war. And as an Anarchist we still stand, today, for the same principles as Kropotkin formerly represented with us, and which we now represent without him and against him.

The whole civil press in Britain and France, the statesmen and politicians, use the same arguments as are employed now by Kropotkin. They all talk of the cultural meaning of this war, and condemn Germany for invading the neutrality of Belgium and for attacking France. But such disgraceful acts are not confined to the German State and the German "Huns." Those great statesmen know this only too well. The subordination of India and Egypt, and the attack on the Transvaal by Britain; the suppression of Morocco by France; the murderous conduct of Italy in Tripoli, etc., prove that the "Huns" do not live in Germany only.

We certainly condemn the brutal deeds of the German armies in Belgium, and our entire sympathy goes out to the innocent victims of the bestiality of militarism. Our sympathy goes out also to the unfortunate inhabitants of Galicia, East Prussia, etc., who suffer the same pain and are in a like helpless condition. They are, undoubtedly, no more responsible for the crimes of their respective governments than are the peasants and workers of Belgium. It is not because we stand for one or the other of the robbers that we tender our sympathy, but because we carry on a fight against the whole murderous system, and its brutal and tyrannical representatives in order to bring about a brighter and better future for mankind.

Militarism may be developed more in Germany, but its spirit is everywhere the same. It is the spirit of barbarism, tyranny, and brutal force. Militarists like Kitchener and Roberts, Joffre and Fayre, Moltke and Kluck, belong to different nations, but are united through ideals and aims, and are, everywhere, the tools of reaction.

Kropotkin talks about the degradation of the German nation during the last forty years, and its thirst for war. According to him, every German is a born soldier, a wild savage who always is ready to spring upon his prey. Kropotkin makes no difference between the German State and the German people. If forty years could produce such a change in a nation, the question is: Then in what condition of decadence and degradation must the Russians be, who were brought up for centuries under the yoke of brutal despotism?

We do not deny the psychological influence of the military system on the spirit of the masses. We are not blind to the corrupting impression made by the pro-German agitation. Though we detest with all our heart this method of poisoning the minds of the people, we must say that Kropotkin's vision of the German people has no connection whatever with the reality. The Germans are no more warlike than any other people. On the contrary, they are inclined to be more peaceful than most other nations. The German Anarchists and Revolutionaries find it a hard fight to overcome the pacifism of their countrymen. Were the Germans more warlike, they would long since have overthrown their military yoke. This sounds paradoxical, perhaps, but those who are acquainted with Germany know this to be only too true.

Thousands of young men leave their fatherland every year, because they hate the barracks like poison. Thousands ruin their health and make cripples of themselves, for the same reason. If they should abolish compulsory service in Germany, not a single soldier would

be left in the barracks. Had the German people had any say, we would have had no war. The same is true of other nations, no doubt. This is really the tragedy, that the people allow themselves to be ruled by a handful of bandits!

True, the spirit that rules Germany, to-day, is one of hate, revenge, and murder. The same is true of Britain, Russia, and France. Let Kropotkin only glimpse at the medieval accusations against the Germans, with which the British press is filled daily. Let him give his own verdict about the pogrom-tactics of the Conservative press, and the brutal persecution of thousands of German workers and their families in this country, that cannot be justified on any grounds of exigency. Then let him tell us if Germany alone is the home of degradation and decadence.

A few months ago, the word "Cossack" embodied with it in this country the idea of barbarism and brutality. To-day, the Cossack is the hero of the whole English press. Men like Chesterton and Cunningham Grahame tell us of "the democratic spirit" in Russia, and Kropotkin's daughter idealises the Russian officer in the Liberal *Daily News*. And this change came about in a few weeks, not in forty years. Is this not a sign of decadence?

We will say nothing about Kropotkin's optimism over Russia's near future. But, if he thinks that, "the unity of all parties against the common enemy will make it impossible for that country to go back to its old autocracy," we sincerely hope that he will not find himself deceived. So far the Russian government has made no compromise with the progressives, but the revolutionaries have compromised with Czarism. Not only has the Russian despot not allowed the least freedom for the moment, but he has suppressed all hitherto existing liberties. For instance, the rights enjoyed by the Jewish people in those parts of Austria that Russia has captured. The Czar has made a few indefinite promises, that is all. Kropotkin knows best what value such "promises" have.

He opines that it is dangerous for a despot to play with revolution. We do not doubt the danger, but we know, also, that often despotism is victorious. The Prussian despot promised his people a constitution, if they would help him to defeat Napoleon I. But when the people had driven off the French, the King forgot the constitution and became a member of the Holy Alliance. It is really danger for the despot to play with revolution. But it is much more dangerous for revolutionaries to play with despotism.

Kropotkin appeals to those who stand for the great principles written on the banner of the International. We stand for them: that is why we are against Kropotkin in the present crisis. The International taught us that the workers have their own interests, which are the same in all countries. It did not teach us that we had to march shoulder to shoulder with our governments, but to unite in the struggle against all government, against all forms of exploitation. On the banner of the International was *not* written: "Proletarians of all lands *kill* each other!" But: "Proletarians of all lands *unite*!" Kropotkin's attitude involves the bankruptcy of international solidarity. Of that he will convince himself when the war is over. But we stand firm and true to the old banner of Anarchism, against State and Capitalism, for the complete emancipation of the whole human race.

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THE WAR-TIME ART OF CUNNING AND TRICKERY

BY ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

War always drags in its foul trail the worst that is in man. The present War is no exception to this rule. Not only do we find otherwise "honest politicians" turning political somersaults in their careerist interests: overthrowing their political aims of peace time, and turning their backs on the ideals that gave birth to their political elevation: but in war we find good Christian people surrendering the very first things of their Faith: reading their Bible through rejecting with violence the Sermon on the Mount, the spectacles of war-mongers, openly repudiating the Peace mission of Jesus Christ, and "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is now the universal cry of the churches. "When we fight Hitler we fight for God," is their clarion call. "It is the duty of Christ's own to kill Germans," this being the considered declaration of the Free Church of Scotland, as that Church urged converted men and women to go to the help of "suffering Poland," a country whose Protestant and Jew inhabitants suffered more under Polish rule before this war, than it has suffered under the Nazis since the war began.

Our present purpose, however, is to deal with a pretty fair specimen of the cunning and trickery of our Democratic politicians: to show how these plausible rascals are poisoning the people. For, from that standpoint of Christian ethics, our politicians, from Churchill downwards, have become a menace to accepted morality in this Protestant Nation. Without exception (will someone refer us to the exception?) they are as rank as the rottenness of the war system which they support, *because it supports them*. To-day there is hardly an honest politician in the land: they are mostly liars, and they are lecherous in their mad drive to hoodwink the credulous people who put faith in them. Be it a Churchill or a Gallacher, they are one.

CUNNING CITRINE.

Here is a fair speciment to which we at present refer, and there are hundreds like him. Sir Walter Citrine, K.B.E., described by himself in his book, *In Russia Now*, as "The Right Honorable." Author of other books, including *My Finnish Diary*. Trade Union leader and tourist, at the workers' expense, at the battle-fronts of Finland and Russia. A working man's representative, wining and dining with the greatest of the land, and other lands, this Socialist? is a fair specimen of the kind of political pundit chosen to delude the people, and to enslave the minds and intelligence of the simple working classes.

To reveal what sort of a character this Citrine is (and let it be borne in mind that he is the chosen *specimen* out of scores of others), we refer to his book, *My Finnish Diary*, published as a "Penguin Special" and which is sent out for human consumpt as solid food. Elsewhere the Editor of this journal has made a pretty full exposure of *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine's literary vomit which he has since swallowed whole. (Interested readers should read the Book of Proverbs, chapter 26, verse 11; also 2nd Peter, chapter 2, verse 22.)

On page 5 of *My Finnish Diary*, Sir Walter Citrine writes thus; his opening words:

"On Thursday, 30th November, 1939, to the dismay and horror of the civilised world, Soviet Russia brutally attacked her little neighbour of Finland. Socialists and democrats were stupified at this out burst of savagery."

And now the same gentle Trade Union leader, Democrat and Socialist, has similar words in his subsequent book, *In Russia Now*, but for *another* occasion. On page 5, the opening words again:

"In the early hours of the morning of Sunday, 22nd June, 1941, Nazi Germany made a brutal and unprovoked attack on Soviet Russia."

In *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine shows what a grand people the Finns are. He publishes pictures of bombed Finland and others of beautiful Finn buildings. He expresses his delight at the bravery of the Finns, and he denounces wholesale the crimes of Soviet Russia. He records his interviews with Russian prisoners of war in Finland, states that Soviet troops "physically and intellectually" are "of a most decidedly lower type than the Finns." He records his talks with Soviet prisoners who beg the Finns not to send them back as exchange prisoners to Russia, *for Stalin would murder them*! Citrine was told *not to touch* the Soviet prisoners in case he would contract some disease!

Sir Walter says of the Soviet troops whom he examined, "They wore only thin tunics into which no wool had gone in the weaving. . . . Their boots were not made of leather but a sort of composite substance in which felt predominated." He also says, on inspecting a Soviet officer's tunic, "It was a poor flimsy thing made of dark grey cotton, and very little warmer, I should say, than a good dungaree overall." The weather for such wear, it is pointed out, was "45 degrees freezing."

Incidentally, did the reader ever note how active our leading politicians, Tory or Socialist, are becoming with their pens? But it pays! HOW it pays! The Citrines are amassing small fortunes in these days of war, for it will not always be thus. Not always will the British working classes want to read the specious pleas of these political gentry who can so ably put it over a credulous public in the interests of "Democracy").

In the Glasgow *Evening Citizen* (29/12/41) a report of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's visit to the Moscow Front is given. Mr. Eden spoke to German prisoners of war, and he says about the Germans what Citrine said about the Russians. Thus Mr. Eden says, "He talked with German prisoners who did not suspect his identity, and who were inadequately dressed in thin, unlined coats, poor boots."

Compare that with what *Citrine* said about the *Soviets*! In his other book, *In Russia Now*, Citrine very wisely refrains from making any comment about German prisoners of war on his visit to Russia to see for himself. Probably he was not permitted to get anywhere near German prisoners of war. But, while in *My Finnish Diary*, Citrine shows how the Soviet prisoners of war fear and detest Stalin, we have this in his new book, *In Russia Now*, "There is no doubt of the veneration in which Stalin is held by the Russian people."

The mockery of the whole thing is enough to make decent men and women sick! When we were on the side of Finland, Russia was bad, very bad. The Finns were Co-operators, Democrats and Socialists. They were the salt of the earth. But as soon as Russia is up against Hitler, and on *our* side, we hear no more about the Finns. But we *do* hear quite a lot about the Russians. They are now even *Religious*: they are now the salt of the earth: *they* are now fighting for Democracy. When Stalin attacked Finland he was *brutal*, a *savage*, *a veritable fiend*! But now, Citrine in his second book refers to Stalin as "Man of Steel," and Stalin "does not belie his name." We cannot say the same of Citrine! Unless "Citrine" means straw!

Citrine has made it clear that he is dead against Communism. Yet he is now aiding and abetting Communism and helping Stalin to spread his Communism over Europe. Citrine detests the British Communist, because he *is British*. He agrees with that other turncoat, Morrison, that the Communists' *Daily Worker* should not see life again. If a foreigner is a Communist, he is a *gentleman*, a man of steel: a great Democrat. But if a Britisher is a Communist he is the *Devil's own*! And, unfortunately, the British working-classes mostly agree with Citrine there. They have every love for the foreigner, do these Citrines, because the foreigner treats them well and with much respect. The foreigner wines and dines them, and kisses their hand. But the Britisher: he actually has the nerve to *heckle* the Citrines: to ask them questions: *to show them up*!

The Sins of the Father

By Rev. H. J. DALE

Assistant Minister, Baptist Church, Kings Rd. Reading.

Both Government and people in this country will have to undergo big changes of heart and outlook before the responsibilities already referred to can be rightly discharged. The signs are that we still have a long way to go before we reach that point of renunciation a new world order demands. So long as the "Land of Hope and Glory" idea persists, it is impossible to put forward anything in the nature of really constructive proposals, and to abandon it calls for the display of a larger measure of grace than at present we appear to possess. To such an extent are our leaders devoid of vision and imagination that the catch-cry "Destroy Hitler and his gang" is about all one can get in the way of concrete aims from those whose primary duty it should be to make definite proposals whereby all the evil forces that threaten man's well-being may be challenged and destroyed. Contrary to popular opinion, Hitler is by no means the only, or even the greatest, obstacle to human progress. To place the total responsibility for the world's chaos upon the head of one man or one nation may be an essential element in the working of the propaganda machine, but it is as evidently untrue as it is foolish. That the German people and their leader must share a part of the blame, no reasonable person would deny, nor can their conduct in many instances fail to arouse feelings of the deepest shame and disgust. But we should be moving more in the realm of actualities were we to say that the Nazi regime is a product rather than a cause, the inevitable issue to a succession of events for whose emergence others besides Germany must be held accountable. Its working denotes the presence of a disease that has attacked not one nation alone, but the whole world, and is now threatening civilization with total destruction. To track down the real causes of our troubles one must look in more than one direction.

Not the least among these contributory factors—though many try to make light of it—is the faithless, unjust and humiliating terms imposed on a defeated and defenceless enemy at the end of the last war. From complicity in that revengeful treatment of a beaten foe—however one may make excuses for it—we can never be exonerated. A victory that might, if rightly used, have been turned to splendid account, proved, for want of understanding and generosity, a defeat of the very worst kind. When the testing time came we were not big enough to rise to the glorious opportunity that presented itself of wresting good out of evil, and starting the world upon a new course.

The German nation was treated as deserving only of the severest penalties that could be imposed upon them, so that even the moderate and peace-loving elements in the country began to lose hope, while the reactionary influences grew stronger. When finally Hitler seized power and declared his intention no longer to submit to such humiliation, and, if needs be, to gain by force the equality which had been denied, he was acclaimed a national hero and assured of whole-hearted support. What people would not have done the same in similar circumstances? Mr Churchill has admitted that no serious attempt was made to come to terms with the moderate Governments which existed under the Parliamentary system.

To try to belittle the fact that both in the Treaty of Versailles and subsequently the Germans were shamefully wronged, is worse than useless. We and those who acted with us stand condemned. The Armistice was concluded on the basis of President Wilson's 14 points, one of which was that the blockade of Central European Powers should be raised immediately hostilities ceased. Despite this, however, Britain and France persisted in maintaining the blockade until the Treaty was signed seven months later, thus causing starvation to hundreds of thousands of the poorest people and inflicting untold hardships and misery on many more. But why was the blockade continued after an undertaking to the contrary had been given? The answer is, in order to coerce Germany into signing a crushing and vindictive Treaty. The German representatives at Versailles refused to sign a Treaty containing a clause which branded them as solely responsible for the war, and consequently returned to Germany with their task undone. Yet the blockade continued. Eventually representatives were sent who signed, not because they were more favourably disposed to the terms, but for the sake of their suffering fellow-creatures. This completely unjustifiable breach of faith on the part of the Allied Powers speaks for itself, and should not be forgotten when charges of falsity and treacherous conduct are levelled against Germany and other countries.

Then there was the invasion of the Ruhr, followed later by the Ottawa Agreements. The French entered the Ruhr in 1923 beause Germany had defaulted on her reparation payments. She had no alternative. Yet it is significant to recall that the French had to evacuate the Ruhr six months later, having earned nothing from the venture save the implacable hatred of the German people.

The effects of the Ottawa Agreements were even more disastrous and destructive of good feelings. As a result of the economic crisis of 1930-33 a wave of economic nationalism swept over the world. This found expression in Britain in the formation of a "National" Government and subsequently in the Ottawa Agreements. Speaking in general terms these had the effect of making the British Empire a closed economic unit. The result was calamitous for all debtor nations, and most of all for Germany which at that time was the greatest debtor nation in the world. A position that had already been made almost intolerable was now strained to breaking-point. Is it to be wondered at that the people in their despair turned to one in whom they believed deliverance from their persecutors could be found? Commenting at the time on the tariffs and quotas of Ottawa, Sir Archibald Sinclair said that "they would breed in other countries tanks, aeroplanes and warships. Nations were determined not to go on paying tribute to Britain but to acquire raw materials for themselves." How fully justified was that warning we know only to well. German autarchy today is the answer to Ottawa. One by one the birds of ill omen we have let loose are coming home to roost, and more will follow.

Those people who hold Germany solely responsible for plunging Europe and the world into war must not overlook the fact that there was sufficient provocation. Versailles set the course of international events for the next twenty years, and to imagine that the defeat of the Axis Powers is all that is necessary to put things right is to live in a dream world. The truth is that neither victory nor defeat upon the battlefield can achieve the results for which we look. Indeed, the more decisive the one or other may prove to be the less will be the chances of establishing a constructive and lasting peace. Much more than victory is required. The old spirit and methods must give place to something in closer accord with the realities and needs of human life and thought and progress.

When there was none to say her nay, Great Britain did not hesitate to act on the principle of "wider still and wider" and to take the fullest possible advantage of whatever opportunities of expansion presented themselves. We set our feet in every place to which we could gain an entrance, often without any regard for either the rights or feelings of those whose territory we annexed. If this was not aggression, then words have ceased to have any meaning. But memories are conveniently short where self-interest is concerned. Even if occasional twinges of conscience cause a temporary sense of disquiet, it can be laid to rest by the comforting thought that things have changed now. At what precise point in the development of international political relationships this moral transformation took place, no one seems to know. As a matter of fact it never has taken place, and the suggestion that it has is only another typical piece of humbug whereby we try to cover up our own misdeeds by emphasizing those of others. Mention needs only to be made of Africa, India, the Far East, the West Indies, to show that we have little ground for holding up our hands in pious horror when we are told of what terrible deeds others are committing. Have we forgotten that there ever was an Opium War, or that huge fortunes were amassed through "Red Rubber"? Though the average individual does not realize it, the formulation of national policies and their execution are oftentimes more in the hands of the big financial speculators than in those of the Government immediately concerned. Morality counts for little where material advantages are to be gained.

Moreover, if we are sincere in our condemnation of aggression, how is it that we have not taken action long before this? Was not Japan guilty of aggression against China, and Italy in her annexation of Abyssinia? Yet in both these instances the same determining factor is seen directing our policy. Because our "vital interests" — in other words, big profits—were not endangered, intervention by us was allowed to pass by default. In fact, it was to our benefit not to interfere. We and the U.S.A. were supplying Japan with a large proportion of her war materials, notwithstanding all our professions of friendship with China. Was it not we, too, who years ago encouraged and tutored Japan in the use of modern weapons and methods of war? This growing Power in the East at once provided us with a safeguaurd for our imperial interests and offered an attractive market for our manufacturers. Now that she has determined to throw in her lot with the Axis she is denounced as guilty of every conceivable crime against international decency. As to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, all that needs to be said is that profits from the supply of Iranian oil were considered of greater importance than the fulfilment of any moral responsibility on our part.

A similar inconsistency is to be seen in our alliance with Russia. Here again action has been dictated purely by considerations of self-interest. Not so very long ago leaders of religious and political thought in this country were at great pains to condemn in the strongest terms the anti-God movement, and to show how real was the menace of Bolshevism to our religious and social institutions. More recently still indignation was aroused by what was described as an absolutely unjustified attack on Finland. But suddenly all this is forgotten. We are in imminent danger. Instead, therefore, of thinking of the Russians as "bloody baboons," we are asked to see in Soviet totalitarinism a force making for righteousness. If, however, as has repeatedly been affirmed, Bolshevism and Nazism are but variations of the same evil spirit, and equally threaten the liberty and security of "free" peoples, surely we ought to be as eager to destroy the one as the other.

The truth is that having embarked upon a most perilous enterprise, those in high places are determined to go on with it in complete disregard of the future troubles and embarrassments they are storing up for themselves. The tide that might have taken us upon a very different course was allowed to run out without our availing ourselves of it.

FROM SOLDIER TO PACIFIST

CHARLES H. COLE
Portrait taken in Cairo in 1916.

In Portsmouth, the cause of Pacifism is maintained boldly by our comrade, Charles H. Cole, Minister of the High Street Unitarian Christian Church. Mr. Cole offers the direct contrast to the over-age conscientious objectors who occupy political positions of distinction as directors of warfare in the councils of Government to-day. He served in the last war and from experience in France and Egypt developed a strong opposition to war.

Mr. Cole's present pacifist activities in this country include speaking tours in many parts of England for the Peace Pledge Union, and he is now Chairman of the Portsmouth Group (P.P.U.), Secretary of the local Advisory Bureau for C.O.s; and Chairman of the Hampshire District Committee of the Southern Regional Board for C.O.s.

In this issue we publish a picture of comrade Cole in uniform, taken in Cairo in 1916, whilst "on active service" with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

In 1935, comrade Cole was the unsuccessful I.L.P. candidate for the City Council, at Christchurch, and polled nearly 5000 votes. One local paper summarised his career at the time of his canditature as follows:—

C. H. COLE: Mr. Cole, the eldest of the four nominees, is a returned soldier, having seen service both in Egypt and France. He was educated for the ministry, but after serving four years as minister of the Baptist Church in St. Albans, he resigned to take up the position of secretary to the "No More War Movement" in Christchurch. Mr. Cole is President of the Canterbury International Relations Club, secretary to the Free Religious Movement, and also the secretary to the Canterbury Unemployed Workers' Association.

Another Christchurch paper described the work attempted and achieved by comrade Cole on behalf of the relief workers in Christchurch. It related an incident when he led a deputation of relief workers and their wives to the City Hall. The Rev. J. K. Archer, then Deputy Mayor of Christchurch, left the building without seeing the deputation, and excused this shirking of his responsibilities by declaring: **"Mr. Cole is an irresponsible person."**

The Rev. T. K. Archer thus placed on Mr. Cole's shoulders the full responsibility of meeting the demands of the hungry men and women. This responsibility says the report, has been adequately discharged. Clearly where comrade Cole succeeded, the Deputy Mayor, with his civic authority, ought not to have failed.

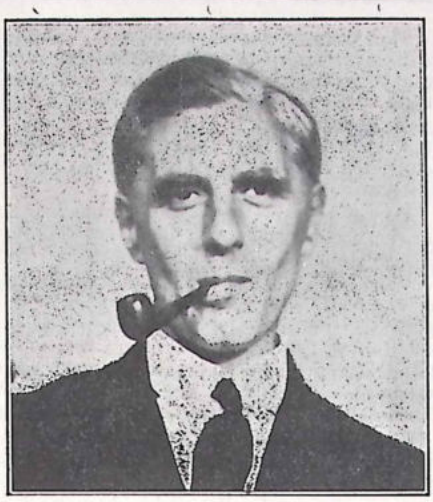
The paper added that Mr. Cole was **"a forceful speaker and assiduous worker on deputations and at demonstrations."**

In March, 1929, Mr. H. Ormrod, Secretary of the New Zealand Baptist Young Men's Bible Class Union, put the seal on Mr. Cole's work as a Baptist pastor in the following letter:—

51 Bowen Street,
Musselburgh,
Dunedin, 26/3/29.

Pastor C. H. Cole,
St. Albans,
Christchurch.

Dear Charlie,—At the annual meeting of our Union you were accorded a hearty vote of thanks for your faithful service as "Editor" of "Christian Manhood," during the last two years.



CHARLES H. COLE
Unitarian Minister and Pacifist Propagandist

Your efforts have been much appreciated and it is felt that the Editorship of the paper has, under your guidance, reached a high standard.

Yours as ever,
(Signed) H. ORMROD,
Hon. Secretary.

We reproduce this letter because it is the custom, in war-time, to underestimate the more orthodox or conventional services and status of those who become Pacifists and Socialists.

In February, 1938, as a passport of introduction to Pacifist and Socialist comrades in Britain, comrade Cole received the following letter from Mr. N. N. Bell, M.A., B.D., Chairman of the No More War Movement of New Zealand:—

134 Fitzgerald Street,
St. Albans,
Christchurch, 28th February, 1938.

To Whom It May Concern,

The bearer of this letter is Mr. C. H. Cole, who is a member of the No More War Movement of New Zealand and of the Free Religious Movement of Christchurch. Mr. Cole held the office of secretary in N.M.W.M. and was closely associated with myself in carrying on the F.R.M. Previously he was a Baptist minister. He has had various experience, being at one period closely associated with the unemployed workers' movement in this city. He is now on his way to England. Mr. Cole has done during the last 15 years or so much public work, being a practised speaker. He has travelled all over New Zealand on peace work and is fully acquainted with the conditions of the peace movement in the Dominion. Any assistance that may be given to him will be much appreciated by the writer.

(Signed) N. M. BELL, M.A., B.D.,
Chairman of the No More War Movement of N.Z.;
Chairman of the Free Religious Movement of Christchurch.

Mr. Bell edited "Cosmos", a quarterly journal of Pacifist Thought whose watchwords were **"UNITY, UNIVERSAL KINSHIP, UNDERSTANDING."** In its issue for March 1936, "Cosmos" published a very full account of the work of the Christchurch Socialist Guild of Youth, founded in May 1932, of which comrade Cole was the leader. This Guild used the British Socialist Sunday School Hymn Book.

In London, comrade Cole spoke in Lindsey Hall, The Mall, Notting Hill Gate, under the auspices of the Free Religious Movement. The leader of the Movement at that time was the Rev. William Hayes. In its calendar for September to December 1938, the Free Religious Movement welcomed Mr. Cole in the following note:—

Our visiting speaker, Mr. C. H. Cole, will give addresses on October 9th, November 13th and December 11th. For ten years Mr. Cole has been associated with Mr. N. M. Bell, M.A., B.D., in the Leadership of the Free Religious Movement in New Zealand. And Mr. Bell started with direct inspiration from Dr. Walsh. The teaching of the F.R.M. has girdled the globe!

In the Programme of Subjects, Mr. Cole's approach was indicated as follows:—

October 9—SOME PERSONAL CONVICTIONS.

Mr. C. H. Cole, joint Leader of Christchurch (N.Z.) F.R.M., will give an outline of some conclusions about Religion and Life.

November 13—THE REAL REVOLUTION.

Mr. C. H. Cole will show that there is only one Revolution. That Revolution signifies a change of mind. To what?

December 11—THE DIVINE NEED OF THE REBEL.

Mr. C. H. Cole will tell what happens when a devoted soul with high moral purpose allows the currents of the Universal Being to flow through him.

The motto for the Free Religious Movement at this period was taken from the Buddhist Scripture:—'As a mother so long as she lives watches over her only child, so among all beings let boundless goodwill, unmixed with enmity, prevail throughout the world."

When Mr. Cole left New Zealand in 1938, he intended to return in 1940. Consequently, he left a wealth of record and press cuttings behind him. Instead he passed to the charge, as a lay minister, of the Portsmouth Unitarian Church, early in 1939, and has remained there since.

On the outbreak of the present war, on Sunday, September 3, 1939, he made a personal confession of pacifist faith from the pulpit of this church, in which he quoted at length from Dick Sheppard's pamphlet, "The Christian Attitude to War." He quoted verses from Canon Stuart Morris denouncing "Conscripting Christianity." and the "old unfaiths." Stuart Morris states clearly in this work:—

"... individual Christians must testify openly by their attitude to war, however it may be disguised, that they believe it to be irreconcilable with Christian principles and Christian practice."

In this pulpit confession, entitled

"I RENOUNCE WAR"

Mr. Cole said:—

To-day Britain has declared War upon Germany, and the era of Peace for which some of us have so earnestly worked and prayed has been suddenly and ruthlessly denied to us.

Confronted with this tragic situation, I have considered it to be my duty to-night to let you know just what is my attitude towards it. In these last few fateful days, whilst we have been anxiously waiting for the issue to be decided, I think I have understood, with perhaps a clearer understanding than ever before, that cry which was wrung from the very depths of the soul of our Master—Christ—as He contemplated the sacrifice He was being called upon to make: "If it be possible—let this cup pass from Me." For I had hoped that never again would I have to face a similar issue to that which I faced in 1914; but now, twenty-five years later, the necessity to do is forced upon me and upon us all.

When I definitely became a pacifist, I mentally resolved, that if another war should come and I found myself then in a position of leadership and responsibility, particularly as the minister of a Church and the leader of a congregation, I would immediately make clear my own attitude and position. That resolution I must now honour, as a duty I feel I owe both to myself and to you. . . .

I shall not enter now into the pros and cons of the War. In any case, it is extremely doubtful whether we know enough of the true facts concerning what has led us into it, which would enable us to properly understand and estimate the real situation. Probably, as in the last Great War, the truth will not emerge until long afterwards;—just now we remember Lord Ponsonby's dictum, that "the first casualty in wartime is Truth."

But in any case I am one of those who believe that all war, for whatever purpose, is wrong—a crime against humanity and a denial of all true Religion which is based on belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

And I declare I shall not support, nor participate in this or indeed in any war, in any way whatsoever.

My pacifism is based primarily upon my Christian beliefs. . . .

If individual Christians would everywhere make that confession, the churches would be compelled and would have the power, to make it impossible for their Governments to continue to wage war.

And if you agree with me that war is sin, the least that you can and should do, is to renounce it absolutely and to act continuously upon the assumption that no Christian can consistently engage in it for any purpose whatsoever.

We are called at such a time as this to an utter loyalty to our Leader and Master, Christ, and "to lay hands on this amazing world and dedicate it to the glory of God and the welfare of man."

Part of comrade Cole's Armistice Day Address, 1940, will be published in our next issue.

Such golden opportunities as have been ours seldom recur. In our frantic endeavour to safeguard our temporal and material well-being, we have come desperately near to losing our soul.

What value is there, for example, in promising freedom to peoples now suffering under German oppression, if we persist in withholding the right of self-determination from those to whom it is in our power to grant it? In India and Ireland we see how our denial of the liberty justly demanded has borne the fruit of prolonged discord and bitterness. No war emergency pressure can now make good what our lack of goodwill and weak statesmanship have failed to achieve in the past. Far from increasing liberty, war only stifles it and endangers whatever element of it remains. This is becoming clearer every day.

The expedients to which we have been compelled to have recourse prove how weak is the foundation upon which our cause rests. A purpose prompted solely by considerations of love, truth and justice requires no such compulsory urges and restrictions as have marked our war effort. Patriotism is not to be measured by the determination that one's own country shall maintain political and economic ascendancy over others, but by a disinterested pursuit of those high ideals that are the common inheritance of all and without the enjoyment of which neither men nor nations can fulfil their true destiny.

A SOCIALIST SHOULD BE RATIONAL

By

S. W. FRANCES

To-day is the day of propaganda, the period of the LIE. Nations have arisen and grasped the sword, whole empires are divided into only two sections of thought, War and anti-War. The thinking capacity of the individual has diminished, now people think in groups. They support this idea or support the opposing idea; not as rational human beings, but because the particular idea which they believe, is propagated with all the power of the press and the radio, or alternatively by their own party press. If people do not support the popularised, conventional beliefs, it is because they are "cranks"—or, in other words, because they think for themselves.

We have seen in Germany the effects of the propagation of the lie. Hitler's well-known statement that the bigger the lie the easier it will be to put it the lie across, has been proved abundantly in Germany. Literally millions of Germans are the worshippers of Hitler, millions of Germans support his aims and his ideals, and in all probability those same millions can only repeat in defence of Hitler's aims and ideals, phrases that have again and again appeared in the columns of the German Newspapers or which have been hurled countless times across the ether.

The age of propaganda is exploiting people in a manner that they have never experienced before. In medieval times, popular support was obtained by State repression. Ideas and actions contrary to the State's interests were punished with violence. This method was not satisfactory. It created a strong feeling of hostility from the population against the Government.

Now it is possible to obtain the popular support without creating the hostility. If the same idea is propagated with sufficient energy, if the same philosophy and ideals are presented often enough and long enough, with no opposition ideas receiving publicity, the populace will begin to believe that the ideas propagated are true and just, and will believe in those ideas even to the pitch of fanaticism. The hostility towards Government repression has disappeared and people will not believe in the propagated ideas on pain of punishment, but will believe in them because they see those ideas to be the best ideas. There being no very conspicuious alternative to the Government point of view, what else is there for people to believe or place faith in?

Is this propaganda phase to be exploited by the Socialist? The Socialist has an idea, a point of view, a philosophy of life. He believes that, for the benefit of humanity, Socialism should be achieved as rapidly as is possible. Can he secure the best results by propaganda and by inducing people to act on their emotional instincts, or is it preferable to rely on peoples resoning powers? Is he to propagate Socialism to the degree that Nationalism is propagated in the warring countries of the world? Is the red flag to replace the Union Jack, Lenin Mr. Churchill, and "die for Socialism" replace "die for England?"

Doubtless many readers have been to meetings that have been held up and down the country. They have heard speaker after speaker supporting various social projects. They may have, as have countless others, had their hearts wrung with grief, been filled with intensified indignation, felt revulsion to injustice coupled with sympathy for the speakers cause; they may have formed part of the huge audience that has dipped deep into its pockets to supply money for the cause the speaker has defended. In the last few years, thousands of pounds have been raised by eloquent public speakers, who with masterly skill have produced lumps in the throats of their audience, who have fired the hot-heads and produced in all a tremendous emotional response. Remember the "Aid to Spain" meetings.

Is this method the method that the Socialist should use to its fullest extent. Those audiences had no logical, historical, or true reasons put before them. They were not able to see for themselves the "truth" in the arguments. Instead, their emotions were played upon. A specific example of injustice was introduced and with many emotional side issues, featured as the centre of the speakers case.

Undoubtedly this produced an admirable effect. If therefore the Socialist is convinced that Socialism is for the benefit of all people, and if he believes that few people of to-day will take the trouble to think about things clearly and logically, is it not better to obtain the support of the people by emotional stress? Having obtained their support and put Socialism into operation by the very value of a practical demonstration of Socialism he can then create the logical and intelligent thinking that he would really like to see.

A glance at history shows clearly that when changes are caused, it is not because the people stand up and clamour saying "we can see logically and intelligently that the present conditions are bad; we therefore need to change our condition." No, change in Society is caused by the emotional opposition of the people against a system, coupled with the influence of material environment upon them; combined together, this synthesis bursts asunder the old regime, and creates, willy-nilly, a new regime.

If change can therefore be produced by the emotional appeal to people, by all means must our Socialist use this method. But there is an essential factor. The people will be following blindly their emotional dictates. It is the Socialist who will be guiding the flood of emotionalism with its material power, along the paths to Socialism.

But all is lost if our Socialist, too, loses control of his thinking self and is swept away by the emotionalism that he has helped create. Our Socialist must maintain at all costs his ability to think clearly. He must be able to weigh up carefully all the pros and cons and not to follow his party blindly. Whatever new ideas develop within the party they must be fully considered in order that a fair judgment may be formed. He must decide whether these new ideas are oppositional or whether they may not be helpful.

Socialism may be achieved by the use of emotionalism. But Socialism can only be continued by the development in all people, of the ability to think clearly and rationally. How much responsibility thus falls upon the Socialist? He must learn to think logically himself, from his own opinions and not blindly accept the dictates of his party.

NORTH WALES TRIBUNAL

The Welsh National Party has complained to the Ministry of Labour about the conduct of the Chairman of the North Wales C.O. Tribunal, His Honour, Judge Walter Samuel, K.C., when dealing with Welsh Nationalist C.O.s. The conduct of the chairman is illustrated by reference to the case of Mr. Hywel D. Roberts, whose case was heard at Caernarfron, on Friday, December 19, 1941:

Mr. Roberts, in pleading his conscientious objection to being called up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, expressed, as was his moral and legal duty under oath, his whole conscience, including therefore his objection as a Welsh Nationalist. In examination the Chairman referred to the Welsh Nationalist Party, of which Mr. Roberts is a member, as y "y Fyddin Gymreig" ("the Welsh Army"). When corrected by Mr. Roberts, the Chairman clung to his designation, adding "Bu bron i'ch Byddin Gymreig chwi fynd i ryfel a Lloegr ar fater Ysgol Fomic Llyn" (Your Welsh Army nearly went into war with England over the Lleyn Bombing School").

Later, referring to this side of Mr. Roberts' case, the Chairman told the applicant "that he had unnecessarily harnessed himself to a question of prejudice. It would have been quite ample for you to have merely stated your case on Christian and pacifist grounds.

In the course of further examination, Mr. Roberts referred to the case of Mr. Glyn Williams, who, he understood, had at Colwyn Bay been given exemption on national grounds; the Chairman replied that "that applicant had also been foolish enough to harness himself to Welsh Nationalism."

The letter of the Executive of the Welsh Natinalist Party, dated January 21, 1942, avers that this case proves "**the unmistakable animus and prejudice against Welsh Nationalist applicants exercising their undisputed rights under the Act.**"

The Ministry of Labour replied on February 5, stating that it is satisfied that the chairman carried out his duties in a fair and impartial manner.

The Nationalist Party replied on February 16, stating that the reports, both Welsh and English, which had been submitted, could not have been considered by the Ministry.

The Minister of Labour replied on March 11, maintaining his previous attitude of satisfaction.

The correspondence has been sent to Welsh Members of Parliament, with the request that the matter be raised on the floor of the House.

The Duke of Bedford

In the House of Lords on Tuesday, July 21, the Duke of Bedford made his third pacifist speech as a member of the legislature. We have now the official report before us. The Duke followed Lord Cranborne, and was interrupted by Lord Mottistone (better known as Major General Sir John Seeley), who asked if he was in order. Lord Snell, acting as leader of the House, said that the rules were very wide, and the Duke proceeded to attack the Prime Minister. Lord Gainford rose. As the oldest peer present (he is 82) he moved that the Duke be no longer heard. Gainford, formerly Joseph Albert Pease, is notorious as the one-time Chairman of the anti-working class Federation of British Industries---the British F.B.I. !

Lord Strabolgi opposed the motion and Viscount Bennett protested against it mildly. In a brief and severe speech, agreeing to the expressed wishes of these Lords, the Duke promised to speak on a more relevant occasion.

The Duke's third, and interrupted, speech is the most important and vigorous speech he has made in parliament. It will be issued in pamphlet form this month, at 2d, post free 3d.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in sending subscription renewal for "The Word." With best wishes for your continued championship of Peace and Liberty.

Yours faithfully,
ROYSTON E. MOODY.

London, N. 10, May 12.

Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in enclosing subscription for "The Word," and would like to congratulate you on the service you are giving to freedom by the outspoken comments and views expressed on the most horrible of crimes—war.

With best wishes.

Yours truly,
W. A. MACKAY.

Leith, May 11.

Dear Guy Aldred, — The May edition of "The Word" and your article in particular is excellent.

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,
LEONARD DUTHIE.

Aberdeen, May 12.

Dear Guy,—The articles republished in "The Word" under "Regeneracion" seem to laud the forcible intervention of the Spanish Brigade against General Franco, and it stands up for Conscientious Objectors. If it was right to fight Franco who is said to be, and I think on good grounds, the agent of Hitler, why is it so wrong to fight Hitler and all he stands for?

I may have misunderstood, but it seems absurd for "The Word" to support Spanish Intervention and be so gracious to Conscientious Objectors, who will not fight Franco's Master whilst "some" of them will fight Franco!

I know that an ardent fighting and fire-eating Conservitive will, sometimes, support a Conchie on some Religious Principle or Ethic, and even on Political grounds.

But, I am sure you will not shield behind this sort of attitude, as yours must be qualitatively quite different. What are you doing to tolerate killers, even if, in their own discretion?

Yours sincerely,
CHAS. E. BERRY.

Paignton, May 26.

[We reproduced the "Regeneracion" leaflets because they established our opposition to Fascism. We were opposed to Franco and we were opposed to the hypocritical policy of non-intervention, under cover of which the Capitalist "democratic" governments advanced the interests of Fascism in Europe. Our comrades Jane H. Patrick and Ethel Macdonald went to Spain to play their part in the struggle. We are in favour of conscientious objectors and see no contradiction in this fact. We do not believe that Vansittart, Londenderry, and Donegall stand for Democracy against Fascism. The war against Fascism is not of arms, but of ideas and ideals. No supporter of Imperialism can overthrow Fascism. Opposition to Fascism implies a struggle towards a new social system. No one is more opposed to Fascism than Lord Wedgwood. No one is more willing to fight Fascism. No one has defended conscience more strenuously. The matter will be treated fully at an early date. The "Regereracion" leaflets will be reprinted, as occasion permits, until every one is reprinted. They are facts and belong to history. We were opposed and are opposed to Fascism. We are opposed to Imperialism.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—I should be glad of another 6 copies of the Duke of Bedford's great pamphlet, "Why Blunder On?" I should like to congratulate you on the excellent way you have presented the work to the public. I am sure you will agree that such a fine effort as the Duke is making deserves all the encouragement, and support we can give it.

With my best wishes.

Yours faithfully,
NORMAN F. HAYWARD.

Bournemouth, May 12.

Dear Comrade,—I am expecting a summons to the local court or to the appellate tribunal to show whether I have reasonable excuse for not complying with the local tribunal's order to take up full time work under the War Agricultural Committee. There has been one attempt by the 'would be' little Hitlers in the town to force me out, it's a long story and I won't bore you. I am quite willing to work on certain lines on the land. There is an established relationship between the ill-health or infertility of soils and the ill-health of the people that live on them. Only a highly fertile soil will grow healthy food, and the present trend of the controllers of our agricultural policies is to grow as much as possible by any means, without any thought of the decline in fertility, which has never been regained since the last war.

I would like to see a small corner of "The Word" devoted to this side of Pacifist and Socialist thought. We C.O.s on the land can do much to carry the message and lay the foundations of good health for future generations. If you care I will write you a short article on my pet theory, if when you have read it and think it worth while to put it in "The Word" I shall feel honoured.

All good wishes in the Struggle.

Sincerely yours,
CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, May 13.

Dear Sir,—You will be glad to know that I have posted both an April and May number of "The Word" to each parson in this town. Also to the Mayor. Hope the copies do good.

I send herewith what John Wesley said about war, copied from his book on "Original Sin." I feel sure it will do good printed in "The Word."

Yours faithfully,
H. GOOD.

Nuneaton, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I have just finished a very illuminating novel of Glasgow life in the '70's by Guy McCrone, "Antimasassar City." Perhaps you have read it, but in it you get a clear picture of the social struggle, when progress is measured in terms of the distance one's domicile is located west of the Saltmarket.

It will be rather interesting if Herbert starts to keep his eye on Bob. The Duke of Bedford's speech served to accent sharply two of the many schools of thought in the British Academy of Unity, and although the results will not be blazoned throughout the press, it will act as a rallying ground for all humanitarian thought.

"The Word" is a truly remarkable paper. If it has any policy it seems to be that of providing a platform for anyone with a sincere contribution to make towards the realisation of true social relationships.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
THOMAS MILLAR.

Norwich, May 24.

Sir,—Some time ago there was a slump in gas masks. Every man, woman and child slung gas masks over their shoulders, yet still the shop windows were full of gas masks which no one wanted. Then huge posters appeared—"Hitler will give no warning" and there were illustrations to show how the people were to affix their gas masks. The chemists offered gas ointment for sale which one told no one bought. Still there was no demand for this altogether superfluous decoration. And now again the pressing invitation to the Germans to use gas is again being issued. But the truth is that no gas has been used in this war except by the British who murdered hundreds of the German minorities in Poland with this poisonous weapon. The Fuhrer's eyes "azure as the heavens" were blinded by gas for several months in the last war. He has sworn that never if he had the command of an army would he allow gas to be used—(he has kept his word).

BEATRICE MARSHALL.

Sydenham, London, S.E., June 2.

[We do not agree with the gas mask campaign. We hold that this is war propaganda, the propaganda of fear. We have never had a gas mask and would refuse to carry one. A little while ago, we informed the authorities that, if we were imprisoned for our war opposition, we would refuse, in prison, to have a gas mask or to participate in gas-mask drill, whatever the consequences. That is our considered and definite attitude. But we are not prepared to accept, without evidence, Beatrice Marshall's statements. We are unwilling to be moved by the bias of anti-patriotism. We would like to know the facts about Poland. We are not willing to accept Hitler's word in this matter. Hitler is a power politician like the other statemen of Europe. We believe that he had the opportunity to prove himself a great man and to save the world from desolation. He wasted that opportunity. He destroyed culture and built concentration camps. He warred on free opinion. We are his enemy. But we do not consider the way to social freedom in Europe and the world is the way of Imperialist war. We are opposed to the money changers who rule in the Temple. We stand for a new social system. We are opposed to Hitler, to High Finance, to War, and to Capitalism generally.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade,—It must be three years since I last saw "The Word." Now that I have again become a subscriber it is a great joy to find that you are carrying on as vigorously as ever in spite of all that has happened to discourage such efforts.

My own pacifism and socialism has been strengthened by the experience of war, but times are bitter indeed for those of us who are able to discuss the grim tragedy behind the trumpetings and mass hysteria. Hence the value of such journals as yours is greater to-day than ever. I only regret having denied myself the informative pleasure of reading your journal before war.

Sincerely yours,
MAURICE CRANSTON.

London, June 9.

Dear Sir,—Have been reading "The Word" for a good while. Have had it lent, but now I have several friends I would like to be able to read it. Hence, desire to have it sent regularly. Would consider it a favour if you could send me May's publication, as it is particularly fine.

Wishing you every success for the future of your paper "The Word."

Yours sincerely,
D. PEARSON.

Leeds, May 14.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I have been receiving odd copies of "The Word" from various friends, in London, and find that I began to expect it so I herewith enclose subscription, to make it a certainty

Trusting that your good work will keep on.

I am, yours sincerely,
JOHN H. BREWER.

Barkingside, Essex, June 1.

Dear Sir,—I was very pleased to receive the current issue of "The Word" and particularly that of last month containing the Truman Report.

Recent Press reports have spoken about the cartel system between I.C.I. and America and German Chemical Combinues, also, that the British Government by placing orders with American firms which used German patents, have indirectly been paying royalties to German arms firms, while the Standard Oil Co. have been accused of giving a secret synthetic rubber patent to Germany just before that country and the U.S.A. went to war. As I feel that a large number of your readers might be interested in the arms traffic, perhaps in your future issues of "The Word" you might be able to supply more detailed information concerning the recent activities of these arms trusts, and also, the precise particulars of the Comptroller General's Audit Account on arms profiteering. I do not know how many of your readers are interested in the immorality of war. However, on the back page of yesterday's "Daily Dispatch" there was a newspiece headed "Army Sex Talks Attacked." It contained part of a report made by the Free Church of Scotland, who intend sending in a protest to the authorities concerned, and I thought if you could get a full account of this and other particulars concerning immorality, such as whether illegitimate births have increased or decreased since the war; brothels for troops, etc., the findings of the committee on the A.T.S. who made an enquiry into alleged reports of indecency, than an essential service would be given to the community and be of extreme interest to your readers, in reporting the facts.

Yours fraternally,
JAMES N. LUND.

Wirral, May 14.

MORE IGNORED SPEECHES

By Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Groups including

George Buchanan, M.P.	**Dr. A. Salter, M.P.**
Lord Faringdon.	**S. S. Silverman, M.P.**
W. G. Cove, M.P.	**A. Sloan, M.P.**
Rhys J. Davies, M.P.	**R. R. Stokes, M.P.**
Mrs Hardy, M.P.	**Cecil Wilson, M.P.**

Since the early days of the war the national press has followed the practice of ignoring speeches made in Parliament which represent the so-called minority view. That a vast number of people agree with the views expressed from time to time by Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, all of whom are Labour Members, has been demonstrated by the reception given to the Group's first publication **Ignored Speeches.** With this encouragement it has been decided to issue a second volume entitled **More Ignored Speeches,** which reproduced the views expressed in Parliament by Members of the Group for the critical period May 1941 to March 1942.

Published by The Parliamentary Peace Aims Group. Price 1s. each, post free; 10s. per dozen, post free.

Sold by "The Strickland Press."

All Members of the Labour Party who believe in the struggle towards peace should write to R. R. Stokes, M.P., Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

If you belong to the Labour Party still and want to play your part in humanity's real struggle, join this group.

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An outspoken book by a revolutionary and anti-war member of the Society of Friends. Mr Hancock was imprisoned during last war.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR'S LETTER

Dear Guy Aldred,

My case is the very common one of refusal to submit to a "medical," and also refusal to comply with a Ministry of Labour direction to undertake work at a first-aid post and refusal to enter the N.F.S. I should make clear that the "medical" I refused was in order to enter the N.F.S.

I had previously registered as a conscientious objector when my group (1922) was called up on 6th September, 1941; and on 3rd November, 1941, at Lincoln C.O.'s Tribunal I was registered as a C.O. on condition that I did "full time civil defence work." I did not appeal against this decision, because at that time I thought I could conscientiously undertake such work. However after I had lost the right to appeal to the Appellate Tribunal I finally came to the decision that I could not take a part in the machinery of war.

It took me about two months before I finally came to a decision on this point. I had taken my stand at the Tribunal on humanitarian and ethical grounds; and the case I put before the Tribunal appears to me now very meagre and unsatisfactory. However, after my appearance at the Tribunal I started seriously studying Socialism and after a while my very humdrum moral and humanitarian grounds of opposition to the war became almost, if not entirely superceded by Socialist grounds. As soon as I became a convinced believer in Socialism, I determined to have nothing to do with the war-effort of our captitalist government whatsoever. Therefore, as regards the war, I became an "absolutist" C.O., and, of course, refused to undertake any form of civil defence work. This attitude has cost me my job at the G.P.O., since I was "released" in order that I might perform civil defence work. The Ministry of Labour has advised me of the various penalties to which I am liable in addition to this fate of unemployment. So I may regard myself as a "jail-destined C.O."

Religion has played no part in my stand against this war, as I have been for some time an agnostic.

The book of yours that I have read with special interest is "Socialism or Parliament." To me, this work was ten times more thrilling and exciting than any detective novel or "Wild West" thriller. In reading it, many of my cherished illusions concerning the Labour Party, and even Willie Gallacher, were knocked on the head. To young Socialists like myself (19) a detailed history of the Labour Party and other so-called "Socialists" and "Communists" in Parliament even up to the early "thirties" is largely unknown.

I have been wondering if you have thought of publishing your trials in pamphlet form. They would be handy for reference and would be greatly interesting to people who have not been able to read them all in "The Word."

What about a pamphlet on the stand made by different members of the Russell family for freedom, tolerance, and peace at various times? It would be most appropriate at the present time, when the Duke of Bedford is championing the cause of peace so gallantly. There is plenty of material, such as the attitude of the Duke of Bedford during the French Revolution; Lord John Russell's opposition to the war with Napoleon, 1815, when he was one of the 73 members who voted against the resumption of hostilities. Also his attitude on the suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1817, when he said:

> "We talk much—I think a great deal too much—of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. They were not ready to lay their liberties at the foot of the Throne upon every vain or imaginary alarm."

That message might hold some truth and wisdom for us even to-day. What a pity Lord John Russell did not live up to his early promise!

With all good wishes in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,

NORMAN LEVERITT.

Spalding, Lincs., 30/4/42.

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7-30 p.m. questions, discussions. Visitors welcomed. Group Meetings, Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

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THE WORLD COURT

"The World Court for International Justice and Safety," by Charles L. Nordon, LL.B., Walter Judd, London, 1939. **2s. 0.** Out of print meantime.

Undoubtedly one of the most important features of a post-war world in which there is reasonable chance of lasting peace, will be the establishment, or maintenance, of some World Court for Internation Justice, which commands the respect of the peoples of all nations and is endowed with that degree of authority which such appreciation and respect could furnish. Mr. Charles Norden's statement of his views on the constitution, nature and powers of a Court for International Justice is a very thoughtful and constructive contribution from one whose knowledge of International Law entitles his opinions to respectful consideration.

Mr. Norden's book "The World Court for International Justice and Safety" suggests, indeed, a possible constructive approach to the restoration of peace which does not appear as yet to have been explored or even recommended. It would surely be possible for the suggestion to be made through some neutral channel that the Governments of all belligerent nations should, without animosity and for the benefit of their peoples and of the world in general, state what their exact attitude would be towards such important questions as the World Court for International Justice; the sharing of the world's economic resources; disarmament; religious liberty; the recognition of the rights of other nations, etc. There would be nothing in the making of such a statement to hinder the prosecution of the war even by the most belligerent country; nor would a Government be asked in any way to set on one side its avowed incapacity to trust the members of another Government.

—BEDFORD.

WHICH WAY, BRITAIN?

"Which Way Britain?" by Wilfred Wellock. 1/-. Birmingham. Obtainable from The Strickland Press.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock's "Which Way Britain?", written in a vigorous and challenging style, is perhaps more valuable for its comprehensive and often penetrating survey of recent world events than for its constructive proposals or the probable accuracy of some of its forecasts.

Like many writers with Left sympathies, Mr. Wellock fails to differentiate as clearly as he might between the evils of Finance and the evils of ordinary Capitalism, not, it would appear, realising how much Finance is the enemy of the ordinary Capitalist as it is of the weekly-wage earner. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Mr. Wellock not to add that he is far more alive to the importance of financial issues than are many others who share his political outlook.

In estimating the possible character of the post-war world, Mr. Wellock does not seem willing to consider what at the moment seems an increasing probability, viz., that the end of the war will leave the Axis Powers in a very strong position in Europe and Asia.

In his recommendations to those who would prepare to build a new order on sound foundations, even before the war has ceased, Mr. Wellock does not go much beyond the familiar recommendations of Socialist idealists. He might, for example, have been more original and constructive if he had substituted for the limitation of incomes, a proposal that the country's money supply should be so created and regulated as to ensure maximum consumption and production; coupled with the further recommendation that during the post-war years of scarcity which are likely to ensue, there shall be a continuation of a rationing system and one which distributes an equal share of the necessaries of life to every member of the community.

There are three factors which make it extraordinarily difficult for Mr. Wellock or anyone else to make an accurate forecast of what will happen in this country after the war. There are the abundance everywhere of selfish and untrustworthy men in positions of authority, and the scarcity of men of a better type of character to replace them; the almost unbelieveable stupidity of the British people on many important issues; their docility; and their susceptibility to propaganda; and (perhaps in some contrast to this second point) the unpredictable reaction and its equally unpredictable results when the less unintelligent individuals at last awaken fully to the extent to which they have been betrayed by their political leaders and the propaganda agencies.

Though not alone in outstanding merit, there are two passages in Mr. Wellock's book which all would do well to take to heart. The first is "Had Britain at any time in these last two decades put one-thousandth part of the effort, the wealth, the sacrifice and courage she is putting into this war, into attempts to revolutionise the social order in Britain and to rationalise international relations, we should now be organising fêtes celebrating the achievements of a united and unified Europe instead of wading through seas of blood as a prelude to violent revolution." The second is "My experience is that the average person is extremely responsive to the appeal of good living. He does not readily respond to theory, but is keenly alive and responsive to sacrifice and courageous endeavour. If Democracy is saved in Britain, it will be by sacrifice and not by power."

BEDFORD.

ANARCHISM AND VIOLENCE

Dangers Discussed at S.P.G.B. Debate

We have received the following letter from comrade Cash, of the S.P.G.B., concerning his debate with comrade Gapes, of the London Anarchist Groups, at the Conway Hall:—

Dear Aldred,—My attention has been drawn to a letter published in the July issue of "The Word," by Matt Kavanagh who makes a reference to the debate held recently at Conway Hall, between the Anarchists and myself as the representative of the S.P.G.B.

Kavanagh states that I cut a sorry figure. This must be left for others to judge. But I must take him to task over one or two statements he makes, in which I am supposed to have brought your name in sneeringly.

I deny emphaticaly that I did anything of the sort, for, quite frankly, having watched your activities over many years, dating from the time when as a boy I came into personal contact with you and was considerably influenced by you, I have always had a certain regard for you.

What I did do was to state that Anarchists had differed widely over very fundamental issues—there were the Anarchists who had advocated bomb-throwing and assassination in the name of "propaganda by deed" to those who completely repudiated all uses of violence.

I used your name as one Anarchist who had stated that it was impossible to prevent the police from getting information as to any insurrectionary attempt that may be planned and it was as your considered opinion that all action should therefore be open and above board.

Regarding the other point of not being able to distinguish an Anarchist from a policeman. I stated that the Anarchist movement had always had to suffer this bugbear. There have been numerous clubs in London and elsewhere closed down largely because of the fact that a condition had been produced as a result of certain Anarchist theories that attracted "Agents Provocateurs" and police spies in large numbers. This is not a sneer at the Anarchists. It is a statement of fact and was not denied. I hold that there are lessons that should be learned from these facts and endeavoured to point them out.

I do not propose to take any more of your space and so will not enter into a discussion of this matter. I am only concerned at the moment with answering statements that are sheer misrepresentations.

Yours for the revolution,

S. CASH,

London, N.W.1., 4/7/42.

RICHARD CARLILE

The Theosophical Forum, Point Loma, California, U.S.A., in its issue for June 1942 (vol. XX, No. 6) publishes the following review of our "life" of Richard Carlile:

"This is one of a series issued by the publishers of a monthly magazine called 'The Word,' and devoted to the cause of social reform. It is the latest and revised edition of a former work. The author writes the life and work of his hero and teacher, whom he believes to have met with too scant appreciation, even by other workers in radical and rationalist circles. Carlile is called atheist and social republican, and identified with revolt. The extreme courses to which agitators were impelled may be explained by the nature of the times. In this case it was those earlier years of last century, when the excesses of the French revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic wars had scared the ruling classes in Britain into extreme reaction. The reforms which later on and by less violent means gradually produced the conditions to which we have been accustomed may prevent us from realizing the dreary lot of the lower classes in those days. And when it seemed that the Christian churches formed part of the great reactionary movement, people who were not supporters of those churches were dubbed atheists, however truly religious they might have been, and doubtless were driven to accept the title as a badge rather than a reproach.—H.T.E."

Richard Carlile Agitator may be obtained direct from The Strickland Press, price 1s. 9d., post free. Special terms for quantities.

ANTI-WAR SOCIALISTS

At this period of grave war crisis to all mankind, it is urgent to bring into one grand alliance the revolutionary, progressive, and anti-militarist forces of the world. We therefore have pleasure in reproducing the following letter addressed by our comrade Jowett to comrade Jim W. Taylor, of the I.L.P., on the occasion of comrade William Stewart's birthday anniversary celebrations in 1941 :

My Dear Jim Taylor,—So my old Scottish comrade and friend, "Willie" Stewart has achieved his 85th birthday. What a Span! And what a life! I feel that I have been in company with him in the fight for Socialism for more than 50 years, although we rarely met personally during the first 15 of them. Both of us were weekly writers to the old Clarion in the days when "Nunquam" Blatchford's "Merry England" went through a million copies of its penny edition.

Memories of Hardie and the early days of the I.L.P.; the Boer war; huge meetings in Glasgow's Metropole Theatre during the last great war; are vividly awakened by "Willie" Stewart's 85th birthday anniversary.

He is to be honoured by a celebration at which I must regretfully be an absentee. But I am joyously glad he is being so honoured. For there is not now, nor was there ever, a more patiently faithful crusader for Socialism than Hardie's trusty friend and biographer, Scotland's "Willie" Stewart.

He is 85 and still rings true with a life's record of unblemished service behind him. Who could more deserved to be honoured?

May he have health and strength to enjoy many more years of life, and may he also continue to the end to enjoy the priceless blessing of the affectionate appreciation of his fellow workers in the cause of Socialism.

With greetings and good wishes to you all.
I am,
Yours fraternally,
F. W. JOWETT.

Bradford, 7th July, 1941.

We asked comrade J. W. Taylor for some details of that conference, and received a reply which was intended to provide "something to write around." To our mind the letter tells its own story and we accordingly publish it with only very slight omissions that have no relation to the main purpose of the letter, and are merely ornamental to ourself:—

Muirend, Glasgow,
10/7/'42.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Whitley Bay I.L.P. Conference was held at Easter 1926, with that old Anti-Militarist "war horse", Jowett as Acting Chairman. Clifford Allen was then Chairman of the Party but was unable to be present. It was at this conference that Maxton was elected to the chair.

Our dear old comrade, "Willie" Stewart, accepts the authority of the registrar that he was born in Dunfermline in the year 1856—the same year as Keir Hardie and Bernard Shaw. So that 1856 did itself proudly!

Willie attended an alleged elementary school with persistent irregularity until he was 12 years or thereby; and of course in these days there were no compulsory attendance officers and no schoolboards. Thereafter he spent most of his working time inside Dunfermline linen factories, varied by frequent periods of unemployment, when there were no Exchanges and out of work benefit. It was in this atmosphere that his Socialist education commenced.

In due course Willie began to take an interest in public affairs, and with some kindred spirits he formed the first Socialist Society in Dunfermline (early '80's). He served for three years on the first Parish Council in Dunfermline as an avowed Socialist, found that he could not get on with the work he wanted to do, and did not offer himself for re-election. He was then writing under various nom de plumes for local newspapers—articles politically heretical but readably acceptable. Comrade Stewart helped to form the first Trades Council in Dunfermline. He inaugurated and edited a monthly paper called "The Worker", which kept alive for three years but went under in 1899 on the outbreak of the South African war. The paper, of course, denounced the war and naturally collapsed. In that year Willie came to Glasgow and became a sort of auxiliary member of the "Labour Leader", Keir Hardie's weekly. Here he wrote under the name "Gavroche", and his articles were very popular and useful.

For some six years comrade Stewart wrote a weekly article for the old "Clarion" under his own name, and thousands of Socialists at home and abroad got to love the man they had never seen.

In 1912 he became organising secretary of the I.L.P. in Scotland. War came in 1914 and the work was uphill. During the whole war period he wrote antimilitarist and pro-Socialist articles in "Forward", besides speaking for the I.L.P. all over the country. Some of his "Forward" articles are included in his book "War Time and Other Impressions"—a veritable treasury.

Then he wrote a biography of Keir Hardie (the standard issue of the I.L.P.). Other books from his pen included:—"Burns and the Common People"; "Fighters for Freedom"; "The Nativity of Adam"; "Products of Victoria's Sixty Years Reign", all now out of print, unfortunately.

Needless to say "Willie" early on became a reader of good literature. Many hours he spent and continues to spend with the poets.

Yes, Guy my boy, "Willie" is a great soul—a real nobleman. To thousands these past 50 years he has been guide, Counsellor, and friend in the onward march of the common people to the age of reason and justice and all that flows therefrom.

With regards.

Sincerely yours,
J. W. TAYLOR.

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F. W. Jowett, Chairman, greeting W. Stewart of Glasgow, at the 34th Annual Conference of the I.L.P. at Whitley Bay, April 4, 1926. Both are original members of the I.L.P. and have been members for 50 years. Both have consistently and vigorously opposed every war of their time. Comrade Willie Stewart celebrated his 86th birthday on July 8 last.

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Vol. IV. No. 2. SEPTEMBER 1942. Price: TWOPENCE

REAR-ADMIRAL'S DAUGHTER OPPOSES WAR

[Photograph from "Daily Mirror" copyright.

Miss Adela Grace Vandeleur Creagh, of Mycenae Road, Blackheath, has taken her stand as an opponent of war. Miss Creagh is the daughter of Rear Admiral James Vandeleur Creagh, D.S.O. Miss Creagh believes in Christian principles and their application to life but declined to attend Church to establish her Christianity as she considers religion and its expression to be a personal matter. She is a member of the People's Common Law Parliament group.

Miss A. V. G. Creagh, 22, daughter of Rear-Admiral J. Creagh, of Mycenae-road, Blackheath, London, brought her father as a witness when she appeared before the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Fulham on Monday, July 20 last.

Admiral Creagh testified to his daughter's sincerity, although he did not agree with her, and believed her views to be misplaced.

She would always listen patiently to arguments, but preferred to act according to the dictates of her own conscience.

"I don't believe all wars are bad—I was in the last," Admiral Creagh added.

Miss Creagh, who was on the stage before the war, said that she felt her first stirrings of conscience over Abyssinia when she was at school.

She believed it wrong to take human life, and she thought both sides in the present war were wrong. She did fire-watching and gardening because she was not relieving men for war work.

Judge Hargreaves refused to register Miss Creagh as a conscientious objector, but she could appeal. At present, he felt, she had only a vague feeling that "something is wrong somewhere."

Miss Creagh gave notice of appeal.

Rear-Admiral James Vandeleur Creagh, D.S.O., was born in 1883. Following upon the report of his daughter's appearance before the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal, the admiral was interviewed by the "Daily Mirror." He pointed to a photograph of the King, flanked by two Union Jacks, and said:

"That is what I believe in—truth, honour and justice."

This report brought him a heavy correspondence. He wrote an answer to his critics to the "Daily Mirror" which was published by our contemporary, in part, in its issue for Saturday, July 25. We reprint the admiral's letter from its columns:—

Sir,—Referring to your report on July 21, you correctly pointed out what to me was the symbol of Truth, Honour and Justice, but it seems to have suggested to some people that I am satisfied with conditions as they are. Definitely I am not.

I am convinced that we have to remove the evil that conflicts with these high principles in our own country if we are to be fit to exist as a nation, let alone an Empire. If we are unable to do this we are unfit to have a democracy. . . .

Constitutionally we are entitled to know the official policy of our public servants, but the Home Secretary is and has been unable for many months to state whether it is his official policy to give effect to this first principle of good government (equal justice for all), whereever it is violated in our country.

It is a part of our constitutional common law and finds expression in Magna Carta—but the constitutional law is violated.

"DISHONOURABLE."

In my official experience I have known people in authority who will act as an official in a way which I am sure they would consider to be dishonourable as a private citizen.

I believe the Admiralty to be one of the best of our departments of State, but I have known officers conspire to give false evidence at an inquest, apparently to cover a technical department, with the approval of the Admiralty.

Until we remove these officials who have not the moral courage to do these things which they know to be the right thing to do, we must continue to be dominated by powerful vested interests whose interests clash with those of our natural human interests and the constitutional rights of the people who form the State.

Inventions which enable the enemy submarines to do so much havoc in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans could be ours to-day; they were gratuitously presented to the Germans by the action of our own officials.

We are still denied the use of these and other valuable inventions, some of which would obviate the use of imported fuel.

"MISLED."

The aluminium shortage was unnecessary; so are the Black Markets.

None of these evil things would have been possible had there not been one justice for the rich, another for the poor.

I have still sufficient faith in my countrymen to believe that it is criminal to keep the truth from them. They have already been misled too much and too long—I hope not intentionally.

Though you may not agree with the plain statement it is my considered opinion based on experience. In spite of its length, I hope you will be able to find space to publish it to correct any doubts that may still exist as to my views. . . .

Your obedient servant,
(Rear-Admiral) J. V. CREAGH,
D.S.O. (Rtd.).

It is clear that the Admiral knows how to think for himself. His daughter pays him the compliment of resembling him in this matter.

WHEN I AM GONE.

When I am gone from this fair earth,
Lay what is left to rest
Where you can plant an apple tree
To grow above my breast,
A tree that will each April bloom,
That winter-weary eyes
Can see the blossom, snowy-white,
Against the azure skies,
Perhaps a bird will seek a branch
Whereupon to build its nest,
(The springtime song of mating birds
Did ever please me best)
And of an eve, when air is mild,
With pearly light above,
A lad and blushing lass may come
To speak their words of love.
My blessing would be with them there,
For life has naught more sweet
Than those strange joys that swell the heart
When youthful lovers meet,
And in its shade on summer noon,
Maybe the aged men
Would gather there, and rest their bones,
And live their youth again.
Oh! all those things would please me well,
For they mean joy and peace.
But there is something more I wish,
My pleasure to increase—
May there be one strong, sturdy branch,
Ten feet above my head,
Where those who lured folk into war
Were hanged till they were dead.

—JOE CORRIE.

Rear-Admiral Creagh, D.S.O.

Admiral Creagh served in the Great War and received the Croix de Guerre. Retired 1935.

(Photograph "Daily Mirror" copyright).

PEACE AND THE COMMON PEOPLE

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PEACE SPEECH CONSIDERED

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[The following valuable and important essay from the pen of our comrade Jewett is reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, August 7 last, Comrade Jewett writes with his usual keen fearlessness and his contribution should be discussed and endorsed by the entire Labour and Pacifist Movements. Jowett is the clearest writer and thinker on the war issue in the Labour Movement to-day. We ask comrades to express their opinions of Jowett's declaration. All groups who endorse it should see that this view is broadcast and made known. We would like all our comrades of the Peace Aims Group of the Labour Party, whose members have made such splendid speeches in Parliament, to define their position in this matter.—Ed.]

The Duke of Bedford has delivered a most courageous speech in the House of Lords. It has been published by the Strickland Press, George Street, Glasgow, priced at 2d. and merits wide-spread circulation. "Peace and Reconstruction" was the subject of the speech and is the title under which the reprinted report of it is being sold.

It is no small thing for a Ducal member of that House of refrigerated arrogance, the House of Lords, to stand unperturbed in his place there and advocate peace by negotiation and make proposals for reconstruction which, although they were not proposals for common ownership (including land) necessary for a Socialist commonwealth, would seem even more hateful, because more immediately menacing to his hearers.

It is my purpose to state, substantially, what these proposals are and to what extent I, as an anti-war socialist, am in agreement with them, or feel it necessary to add to them.

There are, it seems to me, three main features in the Duke of Bedford's proposals, each of which should be considered separately. These are:—

(1) That a negotiated peace, without waiting either for a military decision or for a people's international revolution, is desirable.

(2) That peace terms should be offered to Axis Governments.

(3) That peace terms should consist of an offer to ABANDON THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE which, before the war, had practically tied foreign trade by means of credits and debts to financially powerful states and given them preferential access to the world's raw materials and cheap native labour, *if the Axis Powers would restore freedom to nations and individuals.*

In my opinion a negotiated peace, if possible, is not only desirable but urgently necessary and not only for our own people, but *FOR THE PEOPLES OF ALL OTHER NATIONS CONCERNED DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY.*

Even looking at the question from our own point of view, a military decision which at every stage of the war has become more distant and uncertain, can give us no moral or material gain, whilst the cost in lives would be colossal and in suffering would be indescribable.

For what is the present position? Soviet Russia, which, since June of last year (at the cost of millions of lives and devastation of vast areas of its fertile land, many of its towns, and many of its hard-won social and industrial achievements) has, by its supreme efforts to resist overwhelming force, stood between us and actual experience at home of intensive air warfare with the latest of war's devilish improvements, will soon cease to afford us that protection to which we have become accustomed.

One thing is sure, whatever else happens on the Russian War Front, Soviet Russia cannot now do more than hold a defensive line against Hitler's Nazi German army.

NEARLY HALF of Russia's wheat-growing lands are gone, 70 per cent. of its iron ore, 60 per cent. of its coal, almost the whole of its aluminium and the best part of its railroads.

A million invaders are at the Don, threatening the Caucasus and Russia's remaining oil supply with ten to twelve thousand airplanes, most of which will almost surely be switched over before long for action here and the middle east.

With a prospect such as there is before us, and the military victory promise of political leaders, nothing more than an illusory mirage, I can see no sound reason, even, I repeat, from our own British point of view, for not trying to get peace by negotiation if that is possible.

(2) Nor do I see any objection to offering terms of peace to peoples of enemy governments addressed officially to their governments. If the terms are fair and the intentions are transparently honest, it is the peoples they are most likely to influence favourably, whatever reply their governments may make to the offer.

And after all, as the Duke of Bedford reminded the House of Lords, in a recent speech, "even Stalin, while he said that he hoped that the war would result in the downfall of the Nazi Government, made it fairly plain that he did not make this an essential war aim or peace condition."

It is the business of the German, Italian and Japanese peoples to overthrow their Nazi and Fascist Governments, not ours. And they are all the more likely to do it if we honestly disclaim any intention to question their right to choose their own Governments.

(3) To give the exact purport of the peace terms suggested by the Duke of Bedford, I will quote from the report of his House of Lords speech (June 2nd). This is what he said:—

"The plain fact is that we want a breath of fresh air let into the whole war situation. We need some statesman whose mind is not clouded by war hatred and who is still able to realise that the people of other nations are fundamentally very like our own, being a mixture of good, bad and indifferent individuals, the majority of whom can be reached by an appeal to their good sense and good feeling, if words are accompanied by deeds. Such a statesman needs to make to the peoples of the warring nations and their governments an appeal of the following kind.

"'Look here,' he should say, 'this mass-murder in which we are all engaged is sheer madness and is getting us nowhere. It is unworthy of human beings claiming to be civilised. Why not stop killing one another and, armed for the first time in history with an economic system which enables us to realise our aim, get together and plan so that we can develop the world's resources for the benefit of the peoples of the world with due regard for their needs and numbers and without any regard to race, colour, or political opinions? We realise that the wealthy nations must help the poorer ones, if need be with actual gifts of goods and not by an economy which gets them into debt.' (That is the new economic need of the world: GIFTS of goods by wealthy nations to poorer ones.) 'We realise, also, that governments must restrain the anti-social activities of their big business monopolists who limit production for selfish ends or political reasons. The governments of the Axis powers, with which we are at war, have often said that their chief enemy is International Finance. We have come to realise that International Finance has been the enemy of our people also. We therefore offer a fair bargain. We are prepared, as our contribution to the building of the new world, to abandon the tyranny of International Finance and its anti-social practices. We invite the Axis Powers, on their part to restore freedom to nations and individuals.'

If peace could be secured on some such basis as this, each side could then claim to have secured victory. The Axis Powers could claim that they had secured victory over International Finance, and we could claim that we had gained victory over tyranny."

Having stated the Duke of Bedford's suggested peace offer in his own words, I want now to say that I agree with his opinion that this war in one of its aspects (its most immediately important one, I believe) represents:—

"an attempt by the money-lending financiers, currency speculators, and big-business monopolists to destroy the relatively sane financial system of the Axis Powers."

I agree with him that:—

"... the government should announce their recognition of the fact that international payments must be made with goods and services and that on no account should a debt be settled by the borrowing of a further sum of money."

The government would have to do this if it made the suggested offer, otherwise its offer to "abandon the tyranny of International Finance and its anti-social practices" would be meaningless.

The full significance of the suggested offer to "abandon the tyranny of International Finance," therefore, is that Britain would agree to abandon the system of getting control of markets and preferential access to raw materials and cheap native labour. It would pay for imports with exports, money being recognised as only a book-keeping device for balancing accounts for goods and services exchanged.

Consequently the main cause for war, namely, the urge to export goods in excess of imports and to create money debts for moneylenders, would be finally removed.

To get Axis Powers to restore freedom to nations and individuals in exchange for the terms of the suggested offer, would be immeasurably better than to wait and endure either for the constantly receding illusory prospect of a military victory or for a continental uprising of peoples for a socialist revolution whenever it might come. Under the world conditions of our day, such an uprising would have quite unpredictable and, possibly, disastrous results.

It is peoples, not governments, that we may look to for favourable response to peace offers, to whatever official address they may be directed. It is here that in my opinion, the Duke of Bedford's suggested offer is lacking in substance.

Without definite and complete assurance of a fundamental change in our own relations with native peoples and removal of the food blockade from, at least, the peoples of all non-belligerent nations, I cannot see the possibility of even the non-Nazi masses of German people throwing off their fear of another, and worse, dictated peace than the last one. Nor can I see anything like a near approach to the possibility of whole-hearted trust by ex-Allied and neutral European nations, whose ships are being exclusively used to bring food and munitions to us, until we are willing to permit food, at least, to reach them in their dire need of it.

A government that would freely forego financial domination, at home or abroad: a government which demonstrated its solidarity with the common people everywhere by allowing food to reach them—such a government might rally the peoples of all Europe for support of its peace offer. Would to God such a government were in sight!

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In the House of Lords

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ERRATUM. — In Alexander Ratcliffe's article (page 7), last month, 4th line 11 ought to have been 13.

THE WAR AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

By HARRY POLLITT

1940 Communist Party Pamphlet Was Suppressed by the Communist Party

[This essay was published in pamphlet form by the Communist Party at King Street, London, W.C.2, and printed by the Marston Printing Co., Cayton Place, Cayton Street, London, E.C.1, on June 12, 1940. The edition was advertised as being 10,000. This pamphlet was withdrawn and suppressed by the Communist Party when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Of course, the publication was insincere as are all the publications of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has withdrawn and suppressed this pamphlet, but it would revert to the anti-militarist position to-morrow if required to do so by the Soviet Bureaucracy. We ask our readers in the workshop, whether militarist or anti-militarist, to read this pamphlet and to note that it was circulated with the same impertinent aggression as is assumed to-day by the Communist Party when allying itself with Beaverbrook. Gallacher and Pollitt are the two most unprincipled figures on the public platform in Great Britain to-day. We share Churchill's and Morrison's contempt for the Communist Party mendacious power politicians and hireling stooges. Pollitt was so proud of this anti-war pamphlet that he published his name on the title page, again on page 3, and at the conclusion. Now he has suppressed it.—Ed.]

These are indeed dark days. The deadly hand of war has laid waste the homes and lives of innocent men, women and children over half of Europe.

The mind revolts at the frightful scenes of death and destruction that spread over France, Belgium, Holland and Norway. All workers offer sympathy to the people of these countries beyond the understanding of the ruling class.

And now Britain too is menaced with the threat of such a war that the majority of the people never believed possible in these islands, a war that people complacently imagined in the past could only be the fate of foreigners.

No wonder there is a feeling of alarm and anxiety. The question "How will it end—what is to be done?" is on all our lips.

In such a situation it is very easy to work on our legitimate feelings of horror and passion and distort them for false aims—easy to provoke anger and resentment against others, and so escape our own responsibilities.

At this moment of danger the majority of the workers naturally turn to their Labour organisations for guidance, expecting from them a policy based on a true understanding of their interests. But what do they find? Once again, as in every crisis of capitalism, the leaders of these organisations have not only made common cause with the millionaires but also come to their rescue in spite of their responsibility for the outbreak of the war.

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The position is all the more serious and critical because by the decisions of the recent Labour Party Conference at Bournemouth, and of the Special Conference of Trade Union Executive Committees held in London, the official Labour movement is now committed to the policy of the Churchill Government.

How dangerous a step this is can best be shown by recalling the names of the principal Tories in this Government.

Churchill, Chamberlain, Beaverbrook, Lord Lloyd, General Page Croft, Amery, Duff Cooper, Eden; these men represent everything that stands for Toryism, the historic enemy of the Labour movement.

They stand for Imperialism, Poverty, Unemployment, Derelict Areas, Means Test, Trades Disputes Act, the Betrayal of Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Non-Intervention in Spain. They suppress the colonial peoples of the Empire; they are enemies of the Soviet Union, they sabotaged the building up of collective security and the Peace Front.

The Tory Die-hards represent a class that will never fight for democracy or freedom for the common people. Rather it will use the mass feelings against Hitler's fascism to impose certain aspects of that same rascism on the workers of Britain and not hesitate to enlist the help of the Labour leaders for that purpose.

No wonder this Coalition Government spreads alarm in every factory, local Labour Party, Trade Union branch, and Co-operative Guild.

Workers are being told that "the interests of the Nation are at stake"—"War ends all political differences." But in actual fact the coalition of Labour with Tories is to save capitalism and enable attacks to be made on the workers, which if they were attempted by the Tories alone, would meet with stern resistance.

The Tories have only taken the Labour leaders into the Government for their own purposes. Remember how in the last war the same tactics were used. Remember how when the Labour leaders had served their purpose, the Tories ignominiously discarded them, as they did the late Arthur Henderson.

The millionaires may change their tactics but they never change their class outlook, nor will they ever allow others to change it for them, or ever voluntarily give up their class system.

WHAT THE LABOUR LEADERS STAND FOR

The Labour leaders boast that they cannot be deceived or outwitted, that they are cleverer than the Churchills, and that "Labour should be proud that its leaders are called to save the nation from Hitler."

Who are these leaders entrusted with the unpopular jobs in the Churchill Government?

They are the men who refused to support the People's Front movement in Britain which could have defeated the Chamberlain Government long ago and have prevented war; they supported non-intervention in Spain. They have always opposed the policy of uniting the forces of the workers in the struggle against capitalism, and preferred class co-operation and support of rationalisation. They hailed rationalisation as part of the development towards organised capitalism, through which they hoped to achieve a peaceful transition to Socialism without any trouble or strife.

They are moreover the bitterest opponents of the Soviet Union, and this very year clamoured for war against her.

These same leaders declared last September, through the mouth of Greenwood, that the Chamberlain Government could not exist for a single day without the support of Labour, and yet allowed it to remain in power with all the terrible consequences that now face Europe in general and the British people in particular.

THE WORKERS MUST DECIDE

The workers of Britain cannot afford to trust their destinies to such leaders either in peace or war. The workers of Britain must denounce the policy that has proved wrong on every vital question, and that has worked for the interests of the capitalists and capitalism against those of the workers and Socialism.

None of us can escape the terrible challenge that faces us. We must accept a greater responsibility than ever before in the history of the British working-class movement.

For the very existence of the working-class movement is now at stake.

In the present war crisis the workers are faced with a series of emergency measures which are alleged to be necessary for "the victory of the Nation," but in fact prop up, the interests of the millionaires, armament and food profiteers.

These measures are not formulated to take over large scale industries, banks and land without compensation, nor to abolish the system of royalties and profits. There is no provision to conscript wealth and take control of large fortunes or limit the luxuries and extravagances of the rich.

No. Only vague phrases that mean nothing in practice, only vague hints about "control" of wealth and "looking into" the books of the employers.

But when it comes to the sacrifices expected from the workers there is no vagueness. The emergency measures are then quite clear and definite. They mean the complete dictatorial control of wages, hours, trade union rights, customs and the actual lives of the workers. They sweep away every privilege won by past generations of working-class struggle against capitalism.

In France similar measures have already resulted in unlimited overtime, drastic reductions from wages and overtime earnings regardless of the cost of living, militarisation of labour, and restriction of the rights of shop stewards.

If these measures are allowed to go through they will result in a striking victory for the millionaires of Britain both now and in the future.

IN DEFENCE OF WORKING-CLASS STANDARDS

The workers must guard their standards of living, their democratic rights and liberties, or generations of working-class struggle and sacrifice will be thrown away.

To-day, as never before in our lifetime, Labour must rely on its own strength in the factories and trade unions.

It is time to end panic-mongering, speculation and irresolution as a means to coerce the workers against their own interests.

It is time to organise against every encroachment on the living conditions and rights of the workers.

In Britain, just as in Germany, there is a handful of rich families who live on rent, interest and profit extracted from the labour of the workers. These capitalists are as surely opposed to the workers' interests as are the foreign capitalists.

Anyone who attempts to persuade the workers otherwise is deceiving them.

The workers should get together.

They should ensure that wages shall keep pace with the cost of living, and that they make it their special concern to secure immediate increases in the allowances paid to the dependants of men in the armed forces. At the same time they should demand adequate disability pensions for all wounded and disabled soldiers, sailors, and airmen, pensions for the widows and children of men killed in action, sufficient to enable bereaved families to live in comfort and ensure the future welfare of the children.

It is time for the workers to safeguard existing trade union custom and practice, and to strengthen every form of factory and shop steward, trade union and trades council organisation. And it is essential to bring about one hundre dper cent. trades union organisation especially of all women and youth labour now being drawn into industry, and to ensure the application of all Factory Acts that apply to women and youth labour.

The disregard of existing factory legislation, as permitted by the new regulations, can only result in a very grave increase in the numbers of accidents, cases of physical exhaustion, and sickness.

The workers should resolutely oppose any compulsory deductions from wages such as outlined in the Keynes Plan. They should work in every locality for the extension of all forms of social services that safeguard the health, education and social welfare of the workers and their families.

The workers should demand the immediate withdrawal of all Regulations that impede their right to effectively protect every hardily won gain of the past.

They should oppose the Purchase Tax which is one of the most drastic methods of reducing the purchasing power of wages.

MONEY THE MASTER KEY

By Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe.

[The author of the following short article is a distinguished figure in the aviation world and has led a life of practical courage and adventure. He has sent this article to us for publication because he is in entire agreement with the Duke of Bedford's views about a negotiated peace.—Ed.]

There is no more important subject than currency, for if it is unsound it does not give Christianity and honesty a chance; neither is it possible to have a good government, an efficient nation and a bad currency. Only a very small fraction of our currency is good, that is, created by the State. Our present system of almost entirely bank and cheque currency—owing to the present method of operating cheques—has impoverished and weakened us beyond conception, causing untold suffering. What progress has been made has generally been due to those who have struggled on against heart-breaking conditions.

The politician who advocates currency reform is apparently debarred from the sweets of office; this may explain why none of our leading "statesmen" or politicians are currency reformers. Our currency system—like that of the other Democracies—enriches the few at the cost of many, whereas it could, and should, enrich the many at the cost of none. A good currency system is vital both in peace and war, especially since the Axis powers broke away from the bankers' counterfeit currency ten years ago, which accounts for their new found strength; whether they have adopted a good currency system time will show. So long as we tolerate our present system we shall blunder on and not only ruin our ability to continue as a leading nation, but will forfeit the right.

It is a significant fact that the "Times" published an article by their Special Correspondent on March 25 admitting—what currency reformers have been advocating for many years—that a new financial technique was required and that the State must create and issue the currency instead of the banks. When this is done in proper manner the benefits will be incalculable, so the sooner the better. Actually a scheme for doing this has been devised which will free many thousands of bank employees to do creative work, but this is a very minor matter compared to the great benefits which the nation and the people will derive. When the currency is created and issued properly, the problem will not be how to find orders, but how to cope with demand. Therefore the best currency system will be the one which will require the minimum number of people and time to operate it. The Government should look into the various schemes available and adopt the best features from them with the least possible delay.

DEMOCRACY IS — ?

"The Northern Echo," Darlington for August 3, publishes the following letter from the pen of the Duke of Bedford:—

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD ON THE ACID TEST OF A DEMOCRAT.

Sir,—Your correspondent, Mr. C. B. Maxwell, wishes to intern me and others because we differ from him in believing that the continuation of this war will not promote the interests of the British Empire and the world in general. It would be interesting to know in what respect he considers that his own mentality differs from that of Hitler, who also interns his political critics?

The acid test of a man's love of real democracy is the freedom and justice he is willing to accord even to those with whom he most strongly disagrees. Any tyrant can show leniency to those who think as he does.—Yours, etc.

BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart, 30th July.

FAITH and WAR

BY REV. W. BOTTOMLEY

(Minister, Melbourne Unitarian Church, Australia).

In the *Christian Register* (American Unitarian journal) for March, 1942, there appears a sermon by Rev. George Lawrence Parker on the subject "How the War helps Faith!" It is a timely utterance, to which I am glad to draw attention. The conclusion drawn by Mr. Parker is that "loss of faith causes war, not vice versa." Speaking for himself, he declares:—

"First, once upon a time, I had a faith that said that materialism, uncontrolled, would wreck human blessedness. The war has confirmed that faith.

Second, I once had faith that peace, personal or international, was the heart of the Christian message. The war has confirmed that faith.

Third, I once had faith that 'righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a rebuke to any people.' The war has confirmed that faith.

Fourth, I once had faith that man's hope was limitlessly enlarged by the entry of Jesus of Jesus of Nazareth into history. The war has confirmed that faith.

Fifth, I once had faith that moral chaos comes when a man or a nation presumes to be God. The war has confirmed that faith.

Sixth, I once had faith that love is the abiding security of the universe. I cannot now see that hatred is succeeding very well."

All this is clearly stated and should help people to realise that the fundamentals of one's faith need not be destroyed, but rather confirmed by the war. For the war, and its dreadful effects, ought to be a sufficient demonstration of the disasters following upon moral apostasy. When nations will neither keep faith with God nor man they destroy themselves.

But now I would put this question: What faith have Christian people generally revealed in the present crisis? Led by their ministers, and clergy, they have, for the most part, allied themselves with the nation in prosecuting the war. The justification they plead can be stated in few words. They will tell you that their faith consists in the belief that the United Nations will win the war because theirs is a just cause—that they must win the war so that principles of right may prevail over the forces of evil. Let it be clearly understood that I do not justify aggression of any kind, and therefore am in no sense "going over to the enemy." But I cannot imagine Jesus making any such plea. His faith was of a different order—need I say a higher order? And it is the faith which Jesus had which I believe to be right, and which those Christians who trust in war to justify them evidently fail to possess.

Of course it comes down to an issue which will have to be pressed home more and more. Did Jesus live and die to reconcile God to men, to wipe out the effects of "original sin," and to make possible the entrance of men to heaven hereafter: or did he live and die for a faith in a different kind of life for men and for human society, a kind of life which he believed men could live if they would, and through their living transform the kingdoms of this world into the kingdom of the Heavenly Father? Unitarians affirm that the second of these alternatives is the true one, and that Christianity, as generally preached and understood, is a theological fiction, the ineffectiveness of which is again being amply demonstrated by present events.

We Unitarian Pacifists believe this war will be disastrous to "Christianity," but not disastrous to the faith of Jesus. The two things are not the same, as we intend to repeat until at length it dawns upon the minds of men that "there is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death"; and that there is a way, which Jesus taught, which leadeth unto life.

Bradford I.L.P. News. Every Friday, 1d. Post Free, 2d. F. W. Jowett writes every week. I.L.P. Office, Victoria Chambers, 17 Little Herton Lane, Bradford, Yorks.

CHRISTOCRACY

A REVIEW BY THE REV. F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A.

(Minister of The Unitarian Church of The Saviour, Southampton).

[Mr. Micklewright was formerly a minister of the Anglician Church, and wrote for these columns whilst occupying the pulpit of that Church. Later he joined the Unitarian body and received his present appointment. He is secretary of the Southampton Rationalist Press Association. Mr. Micklewright is one of the greatest scholars of the Christian Church. We hope to publish essays and sermons by him at an early date, dealing with Christianity, Socialism, and Pacifism.—Ed.]

CHRISTOCRACY, by J. Middleton Murray. Andrew Dakers & Co. 6/-. Obtainable from the Strickland Press.

This new book by John Middleton Murry is important for it carries the author's argument and thought a stage further. In his last work, he rejected the traditional churches as having betrayed their principles; he now arguses for a Christian social order based upon the politics of Christocracy. He analyses the causes of the present breakdown and applies them to this country. Leaving Nazism and Communism to work out their own salvation, he urges that it is the peculiar British task to bring about a social order based upon Christocracy and which is determined to evolve in peace and liberty. He sees loyalty to Christ in the service of higher values than those which determined violent revolution and he urges the need for a pacifist approach to life. The author illustrates his thesis from various examples, drawn mainly from the inter-war years.

The book is well worthy of attention. Middleton Murry has become one of the major prophets of this generation with an unbounded influence extending far beyond his own immediate circle of sympathisers. It raises many problems and should be provocative of much discussion: Certainly, the author punctures the type of argument which would secure peace and freedom by taking it away! Democracy, fraternity, justice, liberty, are words which have become no more than catch-phrases; they are bandied about by those who possess no obvious intention of fulfilling them. The sudden conversion, in 1939, of notorious anti-democrats into lip-servers of democratic liberties would be humorous if it were not dangerous and pathetic. The idea of the Tory Party waging a war nominally for freedom and justice is an excellent example of the lengths to which political insincerity may be driven and the perversions of words which may take place.

Opinions will differ regarding the moral pacifism which forms the basis of Middleton Murry's Christocratic social order. Pacifism may mean many things; it is not easy to assert that it forms the only true foundation for a religio-political society. There will also linger a suspicion that Mr. Murry's references to the results of violent revolution are coloured by partisan considerations. Again, what right has he to refer to "Christocracy"? Little or nothing is known of the historical Jesus; the recent work in the critical field of Loisy and Guignebert shatters the old orthodox claims. Christianity is a wide generic term; it may mean much or little. In many ways, it has broken down in the Western world. It is not possible to pick up the fragments and put them together into a new and orthodox shape. The old credal myth, in Goethe's sense of the term, has decayed into legend; certain elements of a specifically Christian kind remain and a new value may be given to religious mysticism but this is not the historic belief of Nicaea and Chalcedon. The extent to which much preaching is given over to the proclamation of conventional social ideas is a good indication of the ebbing away of life from the older theological creeds.

In view of these considerations, those who take the view of Middleton Murry would do well to ask themselves whether they are wise in seeking to utilize a superstructure from which life has departed. Is the word Christocracy a sound indication of the idea which they are striving to reach? Just as society is steadily emerging into new forms so too is religion. It will contain some place of veneration for the figure of Jesus but it must be doubtful how far it will retain the vast traditional Christian superstructure which points away from Palestine to the ancient Christ-cultus of the Hellenistic world. In this sense, moral idealism only limits and hampers itself when it accepts an identification with some previous stage of culture-history.

EDITOR'S S.O.S.

We are in urgent need of funds to continue our "Word." Not only are we handicapped by losses on "The Word" but also by heavy pamphlet losses. Please help substantially. Full statement next month. Send all the help you can.

THE WORLD COURT

By CHARLES L. NORDON, LL.B.

[Mr. Nordon is a very distinguished London solicitor and Quain Prizeman in International Law. He is author of a very detailed work outlining the case for "The World Court for International Law" and showing how such a Court would function. In "The New Commonwealth," London, for July, 1939, he published the following essay. We omit the three opening paragraphs in which the author refers to the campaign of Lord Davies in favour of an Equity Tribunal to solve International Problems; the interest of Winston Churchill in such a method of avoiding the killing expeditions known as WAR; and request made by Hitler on April 28, 1941, to know how such a Court would function. Mr. Nordon proceeds to answer this query.—Ed.]

Speculation is invited by world thinkers upon the result of any ruler to-day or in the future seeking openly and without coercion or propaganda a flat mandate from his *people* to cope with an acute international dispute. Let us suppose the ruler to adumbrate the dispute and then ask his people:

(1) Do you authorise me to submit the dispute for decision by an approved and impartial tribunal? or

(2) Do you prefer that I shall send you to kill and destroy in our opponent's country and leave them to kill and detroy in our country?

Can the nature of the answer be doubted?

Unquestioning obedience to the sovereign authority is of necessity the outstanding characteristic of those bodies of men whose training is to destroy life, limb and property, who operate on, over, and under sea and land, and who are conventionally termed Navy, Army and Air Force.

The purpose for which the sovereign authority may call on that obedience is the destruction of:

(*a*) An actually attacking body, or

(*b*) The lives and property of the countrymen of those who are intending or feared to be intending to dispatch an attacking body.

The sovereign authority in a democracy is (at least in theory) appointed by the elected representatives of the people; in an autocracy by or through the agency of the destroying services themselves. The extent to which there is any practical difference lies in the stage of political, humanistic and cultural wisdom and benevolence reached by the community under consideration. When the destroying services refuse obedience to the sovereign authority what is called a revolution ensues, that is to say, the destroying services then demand, and if successful, command, obedience from the former master. The mass wisdom of the destroying services is not necessarily the same as that of each individual member. It is of the essence of membership of a destroying service that individual wisdom shall be suppressed. Otherwise indiscipline and confusion would result, and strategy could not succeed, just as it would be impossible to navigate a ship if any seaman or junior officer were permitted disobedience to his captain's order because he might think it to be erroneous.

This position has only to be stated when the thinker will see how essential it is for the safety of the *people* that those who control and command the destroying services shall not only be wise and unselfish but able to understand that there must always be two sides to any disagreement upon which only the detached and impartial mind can pronounce.

Rigidity and inflexibility of Governments constitute the upper and nether stones of the Mills of Fate between which the peoples are liable to be ground and crushed. It will not avail the people on either side, or their professional propagandists, to assert that *their* sovereign power is right, for their opponent's people and propagandists will make the same assertion. Nor can abstract right ever be the subject of pontifical assertion.

On the other hand every sovereign authority *internally* establishes its courts of justice. In doing so it knows that only 50 per cent. of the resorting litigants can be right and the remaining 50 per cent. must be wrong, though until judgment has been pronounced each litigant believes that he is right, and is usually supported in that belief by his advocate. Without a judicial body, established under the sovereign authority and capable of enforcing its decisions, violence, murder and mob rule would prevail, and the authority and progress of the sovereign State would totter and crumble.

If, then, the establishment of courts of justice is essential internally, it must follow, and for the same reason, that a court of justice is essential for the prevention of international violence, murder and mob rule. Physical weakness will never deter from war those nations whose people are told that they are only surrendering their freedom in order to regain it, but who are not told they are to sacrifice their own or their relatives' lives in order that their rulers may continue to rule. The alternatives are put as (1) slavery (? encirclement) and (2) death. From time immemorial, the lesson is preached:

How can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his father
And the temples of his gods.

That is the plea for blind obedience, but now the view is gradually prevailing that it may be better after all to live for one's country than to die for it. How to do so is not so easy to define in these days of militant propaganda unless the lesson of the just Arbitrator is to prevail.

It has to be borne in mind that to "love thy neighbour as thyself," though increasingly easy nationally, with the inculcation of social amelioration, is made very difficult internationally through the mass regimentation of international public opinion.

Thus, although every nation would agree in theory that international differences should be settled by reason rather than killing, it is upon the practical application of that theory that difficulties arise, for international judges might be presumed to reflect, and to be certain in their decisions to apply, the views of their own countrymen.

That difficulty must be faced and met by a long-term policy of preparation and with the preservation of the *status quo* meanwhile.

In *The World Court for International Justice and Safety* (January 1939) the writer endeavoured to set forth in skeleton form a scheme for the constitution, jurisdiction and procedure of a tribunal which at least would form a starting point for the intellectual efforts of those who think that only by reason can civilisation be saved and who are prepared to make sacrifices for that salvation.

But, as a famous statesman said, "It is men we want, not measures," and to man the Court may well prove even more difficult than its constitution. Here, then, it may be useful to suggest certain essential qualifications for the members of the Court:

(1) Linguistic ability to the extent of at least three languages.

(2) Proved study and research in jurisprudence, ethics, and logic, and scientific, political and social economy.

(3) Non-participation in any national government for at least five years preceding appointment, during which time the proposed appointee shall have devoted himself impartially to the first-hand study of the internal, social and political problems of the nations upon whose affairs he is likely to be called upon to adjudicate.

(4) Five years' residence in a neutral country except for research study abroad. For this purpose it would be desirable to select three or more countries as the permanent seats of the tribunal and which (or to their capitals) might be accorded certain extra territorial rights of complete neutrality as the principal seats of the world Court, of which one would be selected according to its proximity to the site of the problem, e.g., Switzerland (Geneva); New Zealand (Auckland); Argentine (Buenos Aires).

(5) Reasonably reliable health (remember Talleyrand's advice that everyone about to enter an important conference should "have his liver examined").

History shows that the nations of the world do not *march* into war, they rather drift into it, through lack of scientific objective. Initiative must be opposed to apathy. Preventive rather than remedial measures should be sought. Long-term principles rather than hand-to-mouth palliatives must be applied. The devotion of scientists has conferred benefits on humanity the full enjoyment of which is hampered by political adventurism, and therefore every right-thinking man and woman must take an active part in this campaign against casual killing. The effort is worth while. The honour of a "Victoria Cross," or any other emblem of physical bravery on the field of battle must pale before the greater magnitude of humanity for the abolition of the battlefield itself and the substitution of a tribunal of justice, morality and equity which can relegate the battlefield to that background of anarchy to which it rightly belongs.

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WE APPEAL

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The Hon. Secretary, 21 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1

We have been asked to make the above announcement and do so willingly and freely. We uphold the rights in every country of the Jewish citizen, the Atheist, Socialist, and Anarchist. We oppose and detest all campaigns of hatred and calumny. In our view, no citizen ought to be arrested, detained, or interned **at any time** without charge. **Habeas Corpus** is a right that applies in times of crisis. **Precisely because we are an enemy of Fascism, we hold that no man or woman should be detained under any executive order in any country.** Certainly we are against suffering being extended to their children. Many of the 18B internees are very orthodox and are not likely to share our views of life. Some have served in the Armed Forces and have had distinguished service records. Even if they had been tried and sentenced they would be entitled still to expect that citizens would treat with care and tenderness their children. Because of our Socialism we endorse this appeal.

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This journal makes a special appeal to Catholic Pacifists.

END THE STAGNATION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The workers need to remember their own experiences. It is easier to lose things than to win them. The Boss Class has never given anything away—every improvement in conditions is the result of struggle and sacrifice. And now under cover of the war situation the Bosses plan to take things away from the workers, to impose restrictions upon them. If this attach on the Home Front is allowed to succeed the workers will have to face bitter payment later on and the realisation that they have not only let down the pioneers of the past, but the boys at the front, who are told they are fighting for a brave new world.

But if the workers in the factories and trade unions defend their working conditions and future interests the result will be a re-awakening of political thought and class consciousness. and an end to the present passivity and stagnation in the Labour movement. In every section of the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative movement there will be roused a new purpose, interest, activity and aim. It will galvanise the organised workers into new life and action, and eager support will then be forthcoming from the ranks of professional people, small shopkeepers, and important sections of the countryside, all of whom are profoundly alarmed at the crisis to which capitalism has brought them.

A NEW GOVERNMENT FOR BRITAIN

This mighty force can then combine to establish a new Government in Britain. One free from representatives of capitalism, friends of fascism and Fifth Column traitors. A Government whose power would rest on the organisation of the workers in the factories and the trade unions, and was ready to safeguard the interests of the workers, restore lost liberties, conscript wealth, nationalise the main industries, land and banks without compensation, give freedom and independence to the colonial people, and establish contact with the Soviet Union—it is such a Government that alone can find a way out of this tragic war and save the people.

Such is the policy that should be discussed in every working-class organisation, factory, trade union branch, local Labour Party, Co-operative Guild, Trades Council and workmen's club.

It is a policy certain of support. It will restore confidence and the will to victory over all enemies either within or without Britain. It will, if fought for, lead to the victory of the workers over capitalism.

It is not too late. Take up the struggle now.

FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Repudiate the surrender to the Churchill Government of every victory won by the Labour movement in the course of its long and glorious history.

End the coalition of Labour with those who have brought the people of Britain to the verge of disaster.

Resist the attempt to impose fascism on the British workers by British capitalists.

Defend the freedom which means the opportunity to advance the cause of peace and Socialism.

End the coalition with the British Imperialists intent on dimpening down the mass movement in France, and support the French workers in the struggle against their capitalists.

Victory over the capitalists in Britain, and the encouragement of real working-class internationalism, will help the workers of Britain, France and Germany to establish working-class order, law, peace, happiness and prosperity for the peoples throughout Europe.

The traditions of our Labour movement are our guarantee of success.

It is easy to slander and misrepresent those who remain faithful to Socialism and Internationalism. But serious Labour men and women cannot subscribe to the theory that Socialist propaganda is all right in peace, but must be put in cold storage in times of imperialist war.

Remember the last war when the Labour leaders acted in the same way as they act to-day, with terrible results for the working men and women of Britain.

If we allow Labour to be tied to the war chariot of Imperialism, the whole movement will once more face a terrible and menacing future.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY

How can we sincerely call upon the German workers to overthrow fascism, and not ourselves strive to win power in Britain?

The British, French and German workers have common Socialist aims. They must all remain faithful to the historic working-class policy in regard to imperialist war.

The Socialist way was taken by the Russian workers and peasants in 1917. We can also win victory if we keep faith with the traditional workers' policy in imperialist war.

We must refuse to be swept off our feet. We must refuse to allow our political judgment to be distorted by the brutality, agony and horror of war. Remember that those who wave flags and hold up their hands in horror at the cruelties of war, are silent and blind to the miseries inflicted by capitalism on the majority of the workers in peace time.

It is easy to be carried away on the flood tides of war propaganda and passion. It is hard to fight against the stream.

But our movement has been built up by men and women prepared to fight on the difficult and dangerous side. That is our history from Tolpuddle to the "Jolly George."

This will be our history again, and as the Pioneers of the past triumphed, so shall we, who in these days of heavy hearts and heavy fights, are prepared to champion in every-day struggle, the present and future interests of the working class.

And if the fight be hard, and the battle long, let us be inspired by the example, not only of the heroes of our own Labour movement in the past, but of the heroic working-class fighters in Germany. Through years of persecution and savage repression they have kept the fight going and are now able to look forward, along with ourselves and the French workers, to that brave new world which our common struggle will win.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

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"COMMUNISM," COAL, and THE SECOND FRONT

Dear Guy,—One of the scenes in the "Merchant of Venice" lives to-day. The agreement was that the pound of flesh could only be taken without the spoiling of a drop of blood. Well a party so-called by the name Communist has already taken that pound of flesh, and would like that drop of blood, but the hand of justice must be raised on behalf of the working class.

To-day, the Communist Party wants—
"MORE COAL FOR THE BATTLE!
MORE COAL FOR VICTORY IN 1942!"

I cull these slogans from a leaflet issued by the Scottish District, C.P.B.G., 221 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2. Funny how the Communist Party can get paper for throw-away handbills by the ten thousands, although its propaganda is supposed to be suppressed.

The Communist Party wants more coal for victory, wants rationed coal, for the very simple reason that Russia is in the war.

This handbill announces a meeting that, I presume, was held yesterday, in these terms:—

COAL AND THE SECOND FRONT
COMMUNIST PARTY MEETING.
MINERS' WELFARE HALL, SHOTTS
SUNDAY, 9th AUGUST. At 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:—
WILLIAM PEARSON (President, Lanarkshire Miners' Union).
WILLIAM LAUCHLAN (Lanarkshire Organiser, C.P.).

This campaign is for increased production and this reduced consumption. The Communist Party calls this VICTORY!

If memory serves me right, this same William Pearson, at the outbreak of war, addressed a May Day Demonstration in the public par, surrounded by children who carried banners: "WHY NEXT THEY WILL CONSCRIPT GOD!" Hitler had not then invaded the Soviet Union and the Stalin pact was respected by the Communists therefore!

At that demonstration the same Mr. Pearson was criticised because he advocated decreased production. His policy then was decreased production and increased consumption. He was NOT interested in Britain's war against Hitlerism.

Why the contrast now? Again easily explained. Russia has been forced by Hitler to enter the war. Would it not be sound logic for Mr. Pearson to go down the pit and produce the coal he did not want produced before Russia entered the war and that would help to produce tanks for Russia? Would it not be equally sound logic if some of the Second Front talkers became dereserved—some of the men who dodged the workshop until the choice was between the workshop and the army—and faced the risk of the battlefield? Those who want the Second Front should "GO TO IT" themselves.

The Communist Party asks the uneducated people, in the C.P. leaders' estimation, to work on after a fatal accident. I agree with that only on one condition, that being all wages earned and all profits made that day go to the dependents.

The Communist Party obtained influence among the miners by saying that the "Communists," unlike the old leaders, wanted better conditions for the miners. Then why is their idol, called Willie Gallacher, silent in the House of Commons to-day? Again, Russia has entered the war.

The Communist Party leaflet asks us to remember the mining village of Lidice in Czechoslovakia. I say remember when the Communist Party caused the pits to be idle for a week at Calderhead, which resulted in the bairns in Shotts starving. Altered days now. "COMMUNISTS" ARE ON PRODUCTION COMMITTEES—under Capitalism!—Yours sincerely,

JAMES M. RODGER.

Shotts, August 10.

MORE IGNORED SPEECHES

By Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Groups including

George Buchanan, M.P.	Dr. A. Salter, M.P.
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Published by The Parliamentary Peace Aims Group. Price 1s. each, post free; 10s. per dozen, post free.

Sold by "The Strickland Press."

All Members of the Labour Party who believe in the struggle towards peace should write to R. R. Stokes, M.P., Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

If you belong to the Labour Party still and want to play your part in humanity's real struggle, join this group.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

It is not easy to find many bright features in the situation of to-day. Bad news from Russia; a serious shipping position; a crisis in India; mess, muddle and extravagance in the administration at home; further evidence of Parliamentary tyranny and imbecility; an increase in vice and crime; and a belated, but rapidly growing disillusionment among the people who, though at last becoming disgusted with their political leaders, seem to be unable to provide an intelligent answer to the question "Whom shall we put in their place?" often inclining towards Communism as though it were their only hope.

About a year ago some organs of the Daily Press were howling for my internment because I dared to suggest that Russia might not win and that it would be better for everyone if we negotiated before her military position deteriorated still further. Now, however, they are themselves beginning to hint at the possibility of a Soviet collapse.

What will happen in India cannot be foreseen. One thing, however, is quite certain and that is that we have more than enough on hand already without starting a new "war" anywhere and the Government's action in arresting the Indian leaders provides yet another forcible reminder of the old saying that those whom the gods would destroy they first drive mad. I do not myself agree with all of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas but he is unquestionably a great and a good man and therefore one with whom it should be unnecessary for decent people to get into a fight. Quite apart from the trouble in India itself which is likely to be extremely serious, our professed claim to be fighting for freedom and democracy will be further discredited throughout the entire world and I shall be surprised if very strong feeling, by no means helpful to the Government's war effort, is not aroused among many of those Socialists in Britain who have not lost their heads or sacrificed their principles.

The recent Parliamentary debate on Regulation 18B, while it provided a few good speeches from the handful of members who are not blind to the importance of maintaining civil rights and liberties even in war-time, revealed the vast majority of M.P.'s as government yes-men who are as indifferent to the maintenance of freedom, justice and democracy in their own country as they are apparently concerned about them in Poland. There was a repetition of the usual clap-trap about preferring to keep a hundred innocent people in prison rather than risk the release of half-a-dozen who might render some assistance to the enemy. It has apparently never occurred to these muddle-headed watchdogs for the nation's safety that, whatever may have been the case on the Continent, there has never existed in this country a political group so pro-German as to desire to betray the country in the event of invasion; while the only really dangerous helpers of the enemy, i.e., spies or agents do *not* advertise themselves by criticism of the government and the war and do *not* come under Regulation 18B at all!

Although not normally one of the most unintelligent or most unprincipled members of the House of Commons, one of the worst speeches in the debate was provided by Mr. Pritt who hinted at the desirability of the imprisonment of those who oppose the Second Front. It may safely be assumed that Mr. Pritt does not possess the military knowledge necessary to enable him to decide whether the exceedingly risky venture of a Second Front has a reasonable chance of success. Yet so frantic has he been rendered by the danger to his idol that he would not only risk the lives of his fellow-countrymen in what may be a useless gamble but he would imprison those who do not support him in sending them to probable death!

It becomes more and more apparent that, whatever the military results of the war, the victory of Nazism is already complete in the minds of many of our politicians.

Reference has already been made to the growing disillusionment about the war and about the government which is becoming apparent among our people. This disillusionment is most obvious in districts where food difficulties are beginning to appear. Early in the war some of my friends said that sense would only enter the minds of the British people when they began to feel the pinch of want. I always hoped that my fellow-countrymen would not be *quite* such fools, but it is beginning to look as though my friends were right!

Even where there is dissatisfaction, however, there seems to be, as yet, little inclination to turn in what is obviously the right direction for better leadership. There is often an acquiescence in the idea that another member of the Cabinet "old gang" might be given a trial in place of Mr. Churchill. What use, however, would that be? Even the anti-government politicians who promise a more vigorous and efficient prosecution of the war are not likely to get us very far. Granted that inefficiency is rampant, even the most efficient superman could hardly get our army to Berlin after the way in which their predecessors' blunders have queered the pitch, especially if Russia should be put out of action or severely crippled.

The leaders to whom sensible people would do well to turn are obviously the small group who from the first have adopted a bold and critical attitude towards this war—men like Lloyd-George, McGovern, Maxton, Rhys Davies and Stokes. They may not, all of them, be men who have never made a mistake and are beyond even minor criticism, but which of us is? Anyhow they have shown ability to profit by experience where others have learned nothing; moral courage where others have gone with the crowd; and vision and imagination where others have been totally blind.

So much for the dark features of the situation. Is there anything on the other side?

Tragic as is the exhibition that a large section of the British nation has made of itself in accepting wrong leadership and swallowing poisonous propaganda, there is still an element of really fine material which can both lead and learn.

There is also evidence that in spite of the success of their armies the German people are as sick of war as we are. Neutral observers report that there is no enthusiasm for the war but the Germans fight on because the foolish threats of punishment uttered by many of our politicians and the memory of the way in which they were betrayed over President Wilson's Fourteen Points at the end of the last war, make them feel that if they are to avoid another peace even more harsh than Versailles, they have no alternative but to secure complete victory. The suggestion of a negotiated peace which would give them—and us—deliverance from further slaughter without humiliation and without loss of protective power, would make an appeal of such tremendous strength that it is doubtful if Hitler would dare to reject the proposal even if he wished to do so. One may hope that at this late hour the silly objection that a negotiated peace, now, might mean danger of another war later on is at last discredited. Even if there *were* another war later on and all the opportunities of preventing that catastrophe which peace would surely bring, were neglected; in the name of reason who has most to gain by a respite at the present time? *Is* it Hitler?

I may perhaps conclude this survey of the present situation with the words I would have used recently in the House of Lords had not the members come to the somewhat strange conclusion that the results of the war; the competence of our political leaders; and the adequacy of the help we receive from our major allies have no direct bearing on the maintenance of the unity and solidarity of the Empire.

'In the past we have followed blind guides and as a result have fallen into the ditch. We shall certainly not climb out of the ditch by trying to deceive ourselves into believing that the bottom is the high-road to victory.

At this time of crisis, we need at the head of affairs, not merely able men, but good men. I would even go so far as to say that we need men who are, to use the fine old-fashioned phrase, "men of God." I do not wish to be uncharitable, but I doubt if even their most ardent supporters could describe the majority of the members of the present Cabinet as "men of God"; yet unless we can have as leaders men whose vision is clearer than mere human vision; men whose strength is greater than mere human strength; men whose integrity and uprightness of character are greater than can be based on a mere human standard of ethics, it will not be a case of seeing what we can do for the more adequate promotion of the unity and solidarity of the Empire, but a case of watching the Empire crumble and collapse. If that should happen, the eternal truth will once more be vindicated that those who take the sword will perish by the sword, no matter how lofty their motives. You cannot count on achieving right aims by evil methods; least of all by the method of war which not only kills bodies but corrupts minds as well. If this war had been the wonderful crusade that it is supposed to be, its general effect on the character of the nation would have been purifying and uplifting. It has *not* been purifying and uplifting and it is no use to pretend that it has. The spirit of hatred and revenge increases; vice and crime, corruption and falsehood, are increasing. State tyranny and injustice are increasing, even in those countries which, by the method of war, are seeking to remove tyranny and injustice from other lands. "Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways" would be a good motto for many to take to heart.'

LIVERPOOL: "CHRISTIANITY CALLING"

The Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., presided in Hope Street Unitarian Church Hall on Wednesday, July 22, when the Rev. A. D. Belden, D.D., delivered an address on "Christianity Calling."

Mr. Spencer said the purpose of the movement was to present to the world the challenge of a vital Christianity.

The Rev. A. D. Belden said:—

"We are very proud, in our movement, to include Mr. Spencer in our number. It makes us feel we have one deep and live root in your City."

Dr. Belden said that "Christianity Calling" was essentially and emphatically a movement of unofficial Christianity. They sprang into being as a protest against the churches' official utterance on the subject of the war. It took a World War to produce a Social Conscience in the Christian churches, and when the war was over, that conscience went to sleep. It was no new thing for business men to take the world out of their hearts, in order to stuff it into their pockets.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool.
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR
(Unitarian),
SOUTHAMPTON.
Minister: Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.
The services are held in The Little Chapel of the Avenue Congregational Church, The Avenue, Southampton. Entrance through the Spencer Hall.
Sunday Evening 6.30 p.m.

September Addresses
Sept. 6th: The Life Pilgrimage of Sir Francis Younghusband.
Sept. 13th: Henrik Ibsen and His Message for To-day.
Sept. 20th: The Remaking of Religion.
Sept. 27th: Rev. E. G. Lee. Harvest Festival.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY.
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.
SUNDAY MORNING AT ELEVEN
A collection is made at each Meeting to enable those present to contribute to the Society's expenses.

Hamilton Anti-Parliamentarian War Objectors

The following report is reproduced from the columns of "The Hamilton Advertiser", for Saturday, August1, 1942:—

CIVIL DEFENCE DUTIES.

Hamilton Man's Failure to Apply for Registration.

An interesting trial, the first of its kind in the district, took place before Sheriff Brown at Hamilton on Monday, the accused being charged with having failed to make application to be registered under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Registration) Order, 1941. He was David Gibson Brown (21), miner, now residing at 22 Abbotsford Road, Hamilton, and on the date of the alleged offence, September 14 last, at 103 Albert Buildings, Earnock. The Procurator Fiscal (Mr. J. C. Patterson) conducted the case for the prosecution, and Mr. Guy Aldred, Glasgow, appeared for the defence.

Preliminary objections to the relevancy of the complaint were stated by Mr. Aldred. These were of a legal nature with one exception, which was that the prosecution was contrary to the law of Scotland in respect that it raised a question of civil liberty which could not be adjudged by a court of summary jurisdiction. The Sheriff repelled the objections.

The Town Clerk (Mr. William Crawford) gave formal evidence regarding the provisions of the Order. In reply to Mr. Aldred, witness said he thought that registration was a condition precedent to any appeal, and quoted from an official notice that "after registration application may be made for exemption from enrolment or for release from duties."

A Conscientious Objection.

A member of the Ministry of Labour's staff at Hamilton said the accused presented himself at the appointed place of registration on September 14. He did not apply for registration, stating that he had a conscientious objection to anything in connection with war. Mr. Aldred—He didn't say he had conscientious objections to registering? Witness—No, he did not; only to anything connected with war. Sheriff—Is it your evidence that, for the reason he stated, he refused to make application to be registered." Witness—Yes.

Mr. W. G. Frame, Fire Guard Staff Officer, said that among the applications he found an unsigned form in the name of the accused. He regarded that as a failure to make application for registration as required by the notive given in terms of the Order. In reply to Mr. Aldred, witness said he considered that the accused was in the same category as a man who had failed to report at the Exchange.

Police evidence was given that, when seen by two officers, cautioned and charged, the accused replied: "That's right. I called at the Exchange that day and told them I was not going to register. I am still of the same mind."

No witnesses were called for the defence.

Now Willing To Register.

Addressing the Court, Mr. Aldred submitted that the accused did make application for registration, otherwise there was no sense in his going to the Exchange. When he saw the application form, however, he thought that by signing it he would be enrolling for war work, to which he had a conscientious objection.

The Sheriff asked whether, if his failure to comply with the requirement had been due to a misunderstanding, the accused would register now.

Mr. Aldred replied that he thought if the accused understood he could go before a Hardship Committee he would register.

The Sheriff informed him, however, that he must register unconditionally.

Accused, it was stated, could state the grounds of his objection, and it would be for the committee to decide whether it was one which could be sustained or not.

After explaining the position to him, Mr. Aldred informed the Court that Brown was now willing to register.

The Sheriff found the charge proved, and—in view of accused's attitude now—continued the case until Monday for sentence.

The Court dealt in a similar way with a complaint in the same terms against John Gibson Brown, 102 Albert Buildings, Earnock.

The Glasgow "Evening Citizen" for Monday, July 27, publishes a good report of the case. The hearings and opening sentence were as follows:—

GUY ALDRED IS MINER'S "COUNSEL."

Mr. Guy Aldred, well-known Glasgow political figure, conducted the defence of a miner, David Gibson Brown, 22 Abbotsford Road, Burnbank, who was charged at Hamilton Sheriff Court to-day. . . .

The *Hamilton Advertiser* for Saturday, August 8, mentions that the Brown cases were called again at the Sheriff Court on Monday, August 3. The Fiscal reported that the accused had made the necessary application and Sheriff Substitute Brown said that he did not think it was essential in the public interest to impose any penalty on the accused. He dismissed them with an admonition.

Our comrades have appealed as Conscientious Objectors. If it is necessary, in due course, they will make their stand, as they view civil defence as a phase of war activity.

We wish to express our personal appreciation of the courtesy shown towards us in connection with this matter by Mr. J. C. Patterson, Procurator Fiscal of Hamilton. He presented his case with scrupulous care and courtesy. He has shown a similar care in the case of our comrade, Leigh Fisher, whose cases will be reported fully next month. Sheriff Substitute Brown ,also, betrayed great regard for fairness and accuracy in the way in which he presided over the proceedings. We hold that it is a public duty to attack prosecutors and judges whenever they coerce or bully prisoners. or accused persons. We also believe that it is true democracy to applaud judges and prosecutors whenever they reveal respect for the laws of evidence and the principles of jurisprudence. Considering that we are living during a period of war crisis, and that these are cases of war opposition, the impartiality and fairness of these proceedings should be recorded. Such conduct contributes to final human well-being and the growth of principles of equity and liberty upon which the commonwealth of human well-being will be founded in the future.

UNITED STATES HUMANISTS

We have been compelled to hold *Our Letter Box* over for a month. The following letter from the Rev. Charles F. Potter, of the First Humanist Society of New York, calls for immediate publication :—

Hotel Ansonia,
Broadway at 73rd St.,
New York City, June 30, 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,

I am a little disturbed by the misinformation conveyed on page 124, Vol. III, June 1942 issue of "The Word," about the Humanist Movement in U.S.A. Speaking as founder of the First Humanist Society of New York, a member of the Board of the American Humanist Society, and as one identified with the movement here many years, also as the author of books and pamphlets on the subject, I find my hackles rising at the implications that Humanism is identified with Pacifism and Socialism. There are humanists who are pacifistic and/or socialistic, but there are others who are not.

William Floyd, the editor of "The Arbitrator," is a good friend of mine and a supporter of our Society, but that paper is not "the organ of the Humanist Movement." The quarterly called "The Humanist," published by the American Humanist Society, and edited by Rev. Edwin H. Wilson of 1201 Union Street, Schenectady, New York, is recognised as the official organ. "The Arbitrator" has one page devoted to Humanism, edited by Mr. Wakefield, a member of my Society, but the rest of the paper is largely devoted to the cause of Socialism and Pacifism. Mr. Floyd is interested in these fields as well as in Humanism, but he has been careful frequently to state that not all Humanists agree with him.

Likewise, there are Unitarian pacifists, but many Unitarians here who are not. I speak as a life-member of the American Unitarian Association. Your list of U.S. Humanists is incomplete. Nearly 100 Unitarian ministers have lately swung to Humanism. And "The Word" cannot be obtained "in all these centers." I saw it to-day for the first time!

Please do not consider this a hostile letter. I much appreciate your free advertisement of the movement. I am only trying to set you right. I crave your friendship and co-operation toward a better world!

Fraternally yours,

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER.

Every Humanist Center ought to circulate *The Word*. We shall be glad to give full publicity to the activity of each and every local of the Humanist Movement in the United States.

DR. JOHN HEWETSON

On Saturday, July 25, last, John Christopher Hewetson, M.D., aged 29, medical practitioner, of Willow Road, Hampstead, London, N.W., was charged at the North London Police Court with refusing to submit to medical examination under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act.

Mr. Lane Mitchell, counsel for the Ministry of Labour and National Service, said Dr. Hewetson failed to register under the Act. He wrote a letter to the chairman of the London Tribunal for conscientious objectors stating that while he was ready to co-operate with the State in all matters affecting the welfare of the State he could not recognise its right to introduce military or industrial conscription. Neither could he recognise the right or fitness of any man or men to pass judgment on the conscience of another. He was registered provisionally as a conscientious objector, but he did not attend before the local tribunal and his name was ordered to be struck off the register.

Mr. Addis, solicitor defending, said Dr. Hewetson had offered all along the line to do voluntary unpaid work in a medical capacity but he held the conviction that the principle of compulsion was wrong. He did not appear before the tribunal because he felt that it would be submitting to compulsion.

Dr. Hewetson is connected with "War Commentary." We confess that we do not understand the defence put forward on his behalf or the point of engaging a solicitor under such circumstances. Surely he might have put his case before the Tribunal if he was willing to do unpaid medical work under war conditions. It was not unreasonable to appear before a Tribunal and say so?

We can understand Dr. Hewetson refusing to do anything. We can understand his refusal to recognise the Tribunal. That is consistent with a complete Anarchist Anti-war attitude. But the solicitor's plea and the letter offering to do unpaid medical work are totally inconsistent with such an attitude. Whatever the result, he would have lost no status, and would have been better advised, to have appeared before the Tribunal and to have stated his position clearly, especially after the Ministry of Labour provisionally registered him. Heretodox opinion demands of its upholder a consistency of expression in words and conduct. Anarchism is not a rabid philosophy of denunciation, but a wisdom of thought and living. It uses words to promote culture and to develop a harmony of mind and conduct.

War Commentary, in its issue for August, published a very unsatisfactory account of this case. It refers to Dr. Hewetson as a member of its Editorial Board and is indignant with *Reynolds' News* for stating that he *"was willing to co-operate with the State."* That is precisely what his letter and defence amounted to. *War Commentary* complains :—

This statement is, of course, entirely unfounded. Comrade Hewetson is one of the best militants of the Anarchist movement in this country, and has been a regular contributor to "War Commentary" for the past two years.

This is no reply. The statement was founded on Dr. Hewetson's own defence. His association with our contemporary proves nothing. Are not some Anarchists engaged on airplane manufacture? Do they not spend their holidays urging syndicalism? Is this Anti-Militarist Militancy? Our contemporary may think so. We do not.

UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
62 Kingston Crescent, Portsmouth.
Minister—CHARLES H. COLE.
Services Sunday at 6.45

THE DUKE of BEDFORD
HIS HOUSE OF LORDS' STAND

The Duke of Bedford's interrupted speech in the House of Lords on Tuesday, July 21, was reported widely in the press throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Some of the headlines were sensational. We select:

" Eastern Daily Press ", Ipswich:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD ATTACKS PREMIER

Scene in the Lords.

" Liverpool Post ":—

DUKE CRITICISES PREMIER.

" Uncritical Support."

" Birmingham Post ":—

PREMIER ASSAILED BY DUKE OF BEDFORD.

" Western Mail ", Cardiff:—

PACIFIST DUKE ATTACKS MR. CHURCHILL.

" Nottingham Guardian ":—

PACIFIST DUKE'S ATTACK.

Criticises Premier For War Failures.

" Irish Weekly ", Belfast:—

DUKE'S ATTACK ON CHURCHILL.

" Continuance of War In Reckless Manner."

" Scotsman ", Edinburgh:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Criticism of Prime Minister.

Lords Debate On Empire.

" Western Daily Press ", Bristol:—

PACIFIST DUKE'S ATTACK ON THE PREMIER.

" Great Responsibility For Failures."

" Daily Express ", London:—

PACIFIST SILENCED

" Daily Mail ", London:—

BEDFORD SILENCED BY PEERS.

From the many two column headings we select three.

The " Belfast News Letter ":—

DUKE'S ATTACK ON PREMIER.

Blaming Him For Britain's War Failures.

" The Sheffield Telegraph ":—

PEERS SNUB DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The " Daily Sketch ", London:—

PACIFIST DUKE SILENCED BY PEER OF 82.

The " News Chronicle " report said:—

A speech by the pacifist Duke of Bedford in which he attacked Mr. Churchill was critically received.

The " Western Mail " stated:—

The Duke of Bedford, whose views have previously offended Members of the House of Lords. . . .

The " Aberdeen Press and Journal " said:—

The Duke of Bedford, whose unpopular views have previously offended members of the House of Lords, to-day appalled their lordships when he wanted to . . .

The " Daily Mail " gave a picture of the scene. We excerpt:—

The pacifist Duke of Bedford was the centre of a strange scene in the House of Lords last night.

His views, which included an attack on the Prime Minister and on American arms firms, so annoyed the House . . .

Other papers, like the " Manchester Guardian ", and " The Scotsman ", Edinburgh, reported the occurrence in these terms:—

The Duke of Bedford (who is a pacifist) surprised the House of Lords last night by launching an attack on the Prime Minister. . . .

The " Leicester Mail " said:—

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Bedford was stopped when making a peace speech. He said we should have negotiated peace with Hitler when the first soldier was killed. . . .

This was not buffoonery. It was an attempt to use the august chamber as the platform for a point of view that is familiar to all who know anything of the activities of a zealous few. When a nation is fighting a war of survival, to talk peace is not only a waste of time. It is thoroughly unpatriotic and highly dangerous.

The News Review, London, for July 30, under the heading *Duke's Tirade*, published extracts from his interrupted speech, sandwiched between pen-pictures of its effect and reception. We extract our contemporary's description :—

In the tranquil atmosphere of the House of Lords their lordships were listening peacefully to the second readings of a number of Bills. Viscount Elibank droned a few well-turned phrases about the unity and importance of Empire and Britain's noble legislators nodded accord.

Suddenly came a stir and a flutter. From his red plush seat the gaunt, angular figure of the wealthy Duke of Bedford was seen to rise. Their lordships sat up, for the pacifist Duke is rarely pacific when he airs his views.

The Duke was in good form. Expressing amazement that their lordships should sleep so peacefully in a " cloud cuckoo land " of complete unreality, he claimed to see the end of the Empire through the war, declared that blame rested upon the shoulders of one man—Winston Churchill . . .

Would-be peace negotiator Bedford warned his brother peers that if they had any real regard for the future of the Empire they should place no undue reliance on the United States, describing American armament firms as " selfish."

Peering into the Premier's past, his Grace sneered. . . .

Forgetting that their lordships were debating Empire, Bedford switched over to the Continent of Europe. Said he: . . .

Hopes of a second front stung the Duke to the quick: " Politicians who send an Expeditionary Force to the Continent—our last hope perhaps—inadequately supplied, are guilty of something very like murder, and I would say, if I believed in capital punishment—which I do not—that they would richly deserve to be hanged."

Lumbering to his feet, Joseph Albert Pease, 1st Baron Gainford (82), " Father of the House," took the only course open, moved: . . .

Fifteen years had passed since this formula had been put to their lordships. It is the only way they can silence one of their number. Even so, peers were not happy about voting the Duke down, in spite of his unpalatable remarks. Viscount Bennett suggested that he should put down a motion on the conduct of the war, as his attack on the Prime Minister and America was far removed from the unity of the Empire under discussion.

His Grace sat down, and tranquility once more reigned in the Upper Chamber.

The time will come when the Duke of Bedford's courageous stand will be recalled by every citizen of the world to his eternal honour.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS

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PEACE AIMS GROUP
RHYS DAVIES' GREAT ACTIVITY

The Parliamentary Peace Aims Group composed of about 20 Labour Members of the Lords and Commons who do not see eye to eye with the official attitude on War and Peace is the largest compact body in Parliament with a mind of its own. Requests are now being received by members to address meetings all over the country. Recently Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., and Mr. R. R. Stokes, M.P., addressed four successful gatherings on the subject " What Are We Fighting For? " in Llanelly, Pontyberem, Tumble and Swansea. Mr. Davies spoke in his native tongue and Mr. Stokes in English.

It is becoming obvious that there is a growing number of people in every part of these islands who are tired of the shibboleths of our rulers; there is a definite antagonism to the foul propaganda sent forth by the Ministry of Information.

At one of the meetings mentioned above a bright young thing asked Mr. Davies why, if he felt so deeply against War he did not ask the workers to stop manufacturing munitions. The Parliamentarian, however, who is too old a hand to be caught, told the inquirer that the duty of an M.P. is not to break the law but to amend it.

Rhys Davies, as Chairman of the group, addressed a very successful gathering at Pwllheli, North Wales, recently, when he advocated a change in attitude towards this War. He thought it would be an excellent move for peace if Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, Roosevelt and other associates vacated their places forthwith and made room for others who are not soaked in hatred of the foreigner to bring humanity back to the ways of peace once again. In any case, he was not personally going to be a silent witness of the destruction of the best in the civilisation of his own country and Europe in order to gratify the lust for human blood, that insatiable racial hatred and the reclamation of rubber, oil and tin investments in foreign parts which animated the majority of our people at the moment.

He remembered the Tories enjoying the emergence of Hitler because forsooth they thought that at last that " evil man " would be able to set a sanitary cordon across the Continent to prevent the spread of Bolshevism westward. He liked the policy of the eminent statesman Burke who told his constituents at Bristol about a century ago that he preferred being a pillar than a weathercock in politics.

Mr. Davies challenged the supporters of the War to answer the pertinent question which he put thus: supposing Stalin is compelled to retreat back to the Urals and his army though intact becomes impotent through lack of food and munitions, what then? The difficulty we were faced with in this country at the moment was that those in authority still held the view that some day we would " Hang out the washing on the Siegfried line " which was a fatalistic line to take. They seemed incapable of projecting their minds to any to-morrow; they were certain that " all would be well in the end," because God is on our side!

Mr. Davies told his audience that during the first year of the present War he received only a dozen requests to proclaim his views in public. During the second year the number increased to 28; and when September 3, 1942, arrives, he will have addressed 104 public meetings advocating something better than the " last drop of blood " stunt.

JOHN WESLEY ON THE CHRISTIAN NATION

You may well say (but not in the ancient sense) " See how THESE CHRISTIANS love one another! " These Christian Kingdoms that are tearing out each others bowels, desolating one another with fire and sword! These Christian armies, that are sending each other by thousands, by ten thousands, quick into hell! These Christian nations that are all on fire with intestine broils, party against party, faction against faction! These Christian cities, where deceit and fraud, oppression and wrong, yea, robbery and murder, go not out of their streets! These Christian families torn asunder with envy, jealously, anger, domestic jars, without number, without end! Yea, what is most dreadful, worst to be lamented of all, these Christian churches!—churches (" tell it not in Gath," but, alas, how can we hide it, either from Jews, Turks, or Pagans?) that bear the name of Christ, the Prince of Peace, and wage continual war with each other! that convert sinners by burning them alive! that are " drunk with the blood of the saints "!—Does this praise belong only to " Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth "? Nay, verily; but the Reformed churches (so called) have fairly learned to tread in her steps. . . .

Who follows after ONLY the " things that make for peace " and things wherewith one may edify another? O God! how long?

—From " On The Sermon on the Mount."

THE GREAT MONEY ILLUSION

BY

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

[The following essay has been revised by the Duke of Bedford from a long letter published by him in "Forward," Glasgow, for November 5, 1932. It occupied the front page and carried two sub-headings: "HOW THE BANKERS TRICK THE NATION" and "THE MANUFACTURE OF 'CREDITS.'" At that time, Thomas Johnston was the editor of "Forward." An editorial introduction explained that the Marquis of Tavistock, as the Duke was then, "has done much writing and speaking on financial questions." To recall how the unemployed workers were exploited by the Communist Party careerists at that time in hunger marches, and to reflect on the part being played by the Communist Party to-day in alliance with Toryism and militarism, is to feel much sympathy with the concluding suggestion of the Duke concerning hunger marchers. The letter was dated from Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, October 27, 1932. This ten-year-old advice merits consideration to-day when Thomas Johnston is serving the cause of High Finance as a War Cabinet Minister. The body of the essay is rewritten.—Ed.]

One of Mr. Johnston's recent articles on Finance suggests that it is about time people woke up to—and ended—a scandal of exploitation far more monstrous and incredible than the fortunes of the ordinary war profiteer.

It is estimated that about eight thousand million pounds were raised to pay for the war. Although actual figures are carefully kept secret for fear of the scandal if they were revealed, it is fairly safe to assume that only about two thousand millions were honestly subscribed by citizens of the country out of their savings and earnings. They have a perfect right to repayment of both principal and interest, *but no one else has a ghost of a right to either.*

HOW THEY "MAKE" MONEY.

Are people never going to get it into their thick heads that when banks make loans, either to individuals or to countries, they do *not* lend their deposits? They have the right to create the money they are going to lend at interest simply by writing down the figures of the loan in their books. The mere entering of the figures brings the money—"cheque" money—into existence, and entitles the banks to interest. At the cost of a few drops of ink and the fraction of a clerk's wages they are allowed to make themselves a present of the right to demand hundreds, thousands, and even millions of pounds from hard-working people. It sounds incredible, does it not? But it is true. The backing that gives value to the money created by a bank loan is not any wealth the bank holds, or has created; it is the wealth in goods and capacity to produce wealth in goods of the *borrower*, be the borrower an individual or a country. *At present we are paying the interest on something like 6 thousand million pounds to banks merely for writing down money figures pricing our taxable value as a nation!*

Perhaps you may ask how it is that such a swindle could possibly be allowed and could continue to escape detection? These are the reasons. All the ordinary citizens of the country are grossly ignorant about finance and so are the politicians. They know next to nothing about the way money is created and destroyed. Poor people think of money as consisting of coin and notes. As they have not bank accounts they are not interested in "cheque" money. They don't know that nearly nine-tenths of all the money there is, is cheque money; they can't see how cheque money can affect their lives, as they don't sign cheques.

Banks perform two functions. They create and destroy money. (Hardly anyone knows this or takes in what it means). Banks also take care of people's money and lend money; everyone knows this. Therefore the ordinary citizen assumes that when banks lend money they lend the money (i.e., their deposits) that people have entrusted to their care. The ordinary citizen knows that he cannot make money to lend to people at interest: if he tried, he would be put in gaol. Therefore it never occurs to him that banks should exercise so important a privilege, and naturally financiers do everything in their power to encourage the ordinary citizen to go on thinking that they lend their deposits, and prevent him from finding out how they get their money for lending.

There are various nice little bits of camouflage that help to keep the cat securely in the bag.

If anyone happened to notice that the amount of money a bank was lending was much greater than the total amount of money that people had deposited in its care he might grow suspicious. Banking practice however prevents this difficulty from arising, because, although banks do not lend their deposits, every bank loan in due course creates a new deposit. If a bank lends the sum of £100 to A it creates new money for the purpose, but as soon as A draws out this new money by writing a cheque for £100 in favour of B, the deposits of B's bank are increased by £100 as soon as he pays the cheque into his account.

Banks have another dodge which is very helpful to the hush-hush policy. The Joint-Stock Banks usually do not create for lending (by book entry) more than 9 times the amount of their cash reserves. If some unpleasantly inquisitive person starts telling the ordinary citizen that banks can create money out of nothing to lend at interest, the banker says to the ordinary citizen "What rubbish! Don't you know that bank loans are strictly limited by their cash reserves?" The ordinary citizen doesn't quite know what "cash reserves" are, but supposes them to be all cash, and the same thing as deposits (as a matter of fact they are neither); but anyhow "limiting loans by cash reserves" sounds very honest and safe, and he concludes that the banks are quite in the right after all, and that the unpleasantly inquisitive person has been talking through his hat.

But let us get at the actual truth. "Cash reserves" consist of coin and notes, i.e., real cash in the bank, but they also include things that are not real cash at all, namely, cheques drawn on other banks that have not yet been cleared, and any claims the bank may have on the Central Bank. A cheque for £100 drawn on the Bank of England gives a Joint Stock Bank receiving it the right to create, for lending, up to £900 or £1000 of new cheque money.

Deposits are not the same thing as cash reserves because, as we have already seen, deposits include much "cheque" money other than cheques drawn on the Bank of England and cheques drawn on other commercial banks and not yet cleared. People are sometimes puzzled by the fact that a person who has obtained a loan from a bank can often, if he wishes, draw out the whole or part of his loan in coin and notes. Surely this means that banks must lend anyhow deposits of paper and coin money? Even in this case, however, the loan of deposits is apparent rather than real. Jones may deposit 100 £1 notes in the bank and about the same time Smith may obtain a loan of £100 from the same bank and ask for the money out in notes. The bank may then allow him the use of Jones' notes, but does this mean that they have lent him Jones' deposit? In spite of appearances, *no. The bank will make no alteration in Jones' account because they have let Smith have the use of his notes. They will not ask him if he minds his notes being lent to Smith and they will still consider themselves liable to let him draw out his deposit of £100 if he wants to!* How will this be possible when they have let Smith have the notes? Well, either they will hope that Jones, though he deposited the money in note form, will be considerate enough to draw it out in "cheque" money form; or, if he insists on having notes they will try and let him have the use of someone else's notes, hoping that the someone else, if he wants to withdraw his deposit, *will* be content to do it in cheque money!

If *all* the borrowers and depositors came at once and asked for the full amount of their deposits and loans out in coin and notes the banks could only meet the request of a very few of them. The amount of coin and notes they could find to give to a government to which they had made a loan would indeed be often so tiny a fraction it would be hardly worth while for the government to take it! Banks, therefore, work on the assumption that most of these to whom they lend will be content to use cheque money which they create in the way that has been described and will never need coin or notes. Cheque money, of course, is just as good as any other kind of money for buying things. The evil lies, not in the fact that there is far more cheque money in existence than coin and note money; not in the fact that banks create money—for someone has got to do it; and not in the fact that ordinary bankers are "dishonest," for they are doing what law and custom allows them. It lies in the fact that money is created, not as a public service, but as part of a moneylender's business; in the fact that the methods by which money is created are inadequate and sometimes undesirable; and in the fact that these methods often give the banks far too much power and, in the case of government loans, a quite disproportionate return for services rendered.

I have infinite sympathy for hunger-marchers, and yet I am going to say what sounds a rather cruel thing. If they (and their friends) would use their heads more, and their legs less, they would find deliverance sooner. I hope I may have indicated how and why.

ANGLICAN PACIFISM

From time to time, the *Peace News* carries advertisements of the meetings and services held at the Church of the Holy Cross in Saint Pancras with Saint Jude, the Vicar of which is the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A.

The weekly leaflet of this church contains the usual orthodox, somewhat High Church announcements, except for two most important items: the tone of the prayers and the Vicar's message to his congregation.

In his weekly leaflets for August 2 and 9, our comrade Le Messurier invites his parishioners to:—

Pray for: An early ending of the war; The victory of love over hatred; The revival of true Christianity.

The Rev. R. H. Le Messurier's letter for August 2 reads:—

My Dear People,—Sir Edward Gray said in 1914, "All over Europe the lamps are going out. We shall not see them rekindled in our time." No, indeed. And, in fact, those same lamps will never be rekindled. They were human inventions which illuminated only small patches in the all-engulfing darkness of human sin. The world was living by artificial light. What lay outside the feeble rays didn't exist. The eternal realities—God and His eternal kingdom—seemed so unreal that those who spoke about them were hailed as dreamers who fell asleep, instead of being sufficiently awake to switch on the latest, most scientific, most up-to-date gadgets, which sparkled and were reflected in the glittering, golden, this-world paradise that man seemed to have created by his own unaided efforts.

But underneath this brilliant facade, hidden still in darkness, were the down-trodden peoples, crying to the God whom their betters felt too secure to bother about. Whole races of blacks, yellows and browns were deprived of their birth-right as God's children. Only a few candles were grudgingly given to these "lesser breeds without the law" in that empire which automatically seemed to spread "wider still and wider." And still the lamps of Europe went on burning securely. The awful lessons of history, the tales of other empires which had crashed because they were built on some form of slave-labour,—these were conveniently forgotten. There could be no such darkness on this new empire, for on it the sun never set. And even if it did, there were still plenty of human inventions to provide artificial light. The white man need never fear that he would stumble in the darkness. He could make all the light he needed. Like the Jews who had faced our Lord in anger because He told them they were in bondage. Britons never never would be slaves.

Of course, the British were no worse than the other European Herrenvolk. Naturally, they were the best. Let other nations try to put out any English lights, and, "by jingo!" there'd be trouble.

Ah! those grand spacious Victorian days and nights, when gas replaced lamps and in turn gave

way to the splendour of electric light, when even a candle in a poor man's cottage window seemed to give more light than the myriads of giant stars, and when the secrets of the universe stood revealed in the white light of the new and powerful arc-lamps of scientific progress! How safe they were! How secure! The searchlights of the navy swung far and wide to overcome the surrounding darkness. "Glory to man in the highest, for man is the measure of things." And the light which gleamed from a stricken God on the cross, seemed but a firefly that had accidently fluttered into a huge, scintillating drawing-room. The truth of the God-man was but a glow-worm compared with the dazzling brightness of scientific truth.

Yes. But do we yet see that, without the Light of the world, we are but moths whirling madly in our "danse-de-nuit," imprisoned within the lamp-glass which we have made? I wonder.

Addressing "My dear People," on August 9, comrade Le Messurier writes, in part:—

"The pattern of the war, of the world, of life almost, changes with kaleidoscopic swiftness. On and on rushes the river of human affairs, twisting and turning, fretting and foaming, yet never seeming to get anywhere. Old familiar landmarks have disappeared. We are carried along with strange and fear-evoking scenes—whither? To what sea does the river run?

I sometimes think that, from the standpoint of the holy angels, this world must look like a travelling zoo. Man has built his own cages, poised everything on the top of a steep hill, climbed inside, and set the whole contraption rolling down wherever it likes to go. Not content with that, he is busy with mutual murder inside the cages, so that there will be as few left as possible before the final crash.

Have you ever seen a herd of cattle being brought to the slaughter-house. They go quietly along, not knowing what awaits them. An early victim gives a cry of pain. None of the others take any notice. The cows chew their last cud, lick their calves, and go docilely to their end.

Surely we humans have at least a divine spark of imagination. . . .

Must the blindness, the madness, the sub-human docility persist? Must the war-insanity continue? Must another few million of our men be slain? Must tens of thousands of our women and children be given over to suffering and starvation, disease and death? Must the world find new sites for new war-memorials? Must another unknown soldier provide a sentimental cult to help us escape from realism? Incidentally, I wonder who he will be. . . . Perhaps the unknown will be a woman next time.

And a weeping Christ still says, "If thou hadst only known . . . but now . . ."

Which is bold Christian speech. It is a pity that more clerics do not understand that there can be no compromise between Jesus and Caesar.

IN TIME OF WAR

My heart doth grieve for Humankind,
Oh, why are men so meek and blind?
Why do they hate without a cause,
And set aside all Christian laws
To maim and kill, and ask not why,
And yet be proud to dare and die?

Are they but sheep? Where is their sense?
That listen to mob eloquence,
And open-mouthed believe the tale
That war and murder must prevail,
Or they will be but slaves to those
Who have been chosen as their foes?

Slaves! Do they forget the years
Of hunger, misery, and tears,
From slum to unemployed exchange—
No further did their footsteps range,
And who was then the enemy?
Some hunnish fiend beyond the sea?

'Tis still the men who bled ye white
Who tell ye now that ye must fight.
And kill men whom ye never knew—
Men who suffered just as you—
For world-wide the master class
Have kept enslaved the suffering mass.

And when the war is won—and lost,
Will these same despots pay the cost?
By God, they won't! They'll rob ye still,
And chain ye fast to mine and mill,
Or have ye walk the streets again,
Each step to stound with hunger's pain.

Oh! must it ever be the same,
Fooled always in the bloody game,
Or will the light of reason shine
To smash for ay their base design,
Shine like the dawn of burnished gold,
To light a world of joy untold?

—JOE CORRIE.

DAN MULLEN.

In our July issue we published a portrait of our fearless Anarchist comrade, Dan Mullen, with his wife and their youngest child. A Burnbank comrade has sent us the above portrait of Dan, taken just before his departure for Barcelona, to serve in the workers' struggle against Fascism.

Dan died at Welwyn Garden City on April 31st and was buried at Hatfield Park on May 5th. He was born in 1894.

NINTH SYMPHONY

By Lady DUNN

Music lovers are doubly blest—in that they have the teachings of the "Sermon on the Mount" not only in Our Lord's beautiful words—but also expressed and embodied in the noble music of Beethoven's "Ninth Symphony."

At such a time as this — and when Beethoven's music is being brought to us all, for our consolation and cheer, by concert and broadcast nearly every day—it may not come amiss to remember anew the story of the writing of this great symphony.

"In the summer of 1823—Beethoven, now aging rapidly in ill health—morose and suspicious (as are most totally deaf people)—was living in semi retirement near and sometimes in Vienna.

That great music loving but fickle city had gone quite "mad" over Italian opera—and the great Beethoven was neglected and by many almost forgotten.

Beethoven himself, always a great lover of noble literature — had read, and been deeply stirred by Schiller's poem the "Ode to Joy" in which Schiller proclaimed his belief, not only in the "Brotherhood of Man" but still further that all living creatures, even to the lowliest a worm creeping in the darkness—MUST, at some time feel and acknowledge a Heavenly Father's love.

These words came to Beethoven's mind—at first frequently and then almost incessantly—and he decided to write a great symphony (his ninth) around this theme.

But with this decision came the question "How to make the symphony GREAT enough for such a mighty thought?"

For some time this troubled Beethoven—then came the solution.

He decided to take every musical instrument then known and used in an orchestra—and to add to this a great choir—the voices of men and women—young men and maidens — to unite thus all the known music of the world—and then UNITED to take it, as it were to the very throne of God Himself—as a thank offering.

Surely, this thought and work of Beethoven can be considered a miracle?

For here we have a composer to whom the direst calamity that could befall a musician had happened—complete deafness, an affliction which he hated and resented.

He was alone—for he had never gained his heart's desire, some beautiful and loving woman who would care for him sufficiently to be his wife— and—he was ill.

We might well have expected from him at this period—some dismal dirge—or some "Symphony pathetique" full of SELF PITY such as Tschaikowsky wrote—instead—we get this "ODE TO JOY!" perhaps the greatest outpouring in music of love, joy, and gratitude to a Heavenly Father—since the day when the "Morning stars sang together—and the Sons of God shouted for joy!"

The great symphony was begun in November and finished in February—for weeks Beethoven was as one bereft—he could neither eat, drink, or sleep—sometimes during long walks by day or even under the stars by night—he shouted out the great themes which almost tormented him by their beauty.

Then it was finished—and after a good deal of trouble which he should mercifully have been spared — it was played at the Statts Theatre in Vienna for the first time on May 7th, 1824.

A fortunate audience crowded the theatre—and Beethoven himself stood by the conductor and directed the performance.

The Viennese realized at once that they were listening to a masterpiece—and all their old love and admiration of the Master returned—at the conclusion they stood and cheered as seldom has any Viennese audience.

And He? the great Master!

He stood—a small bowed figure with white hair—his back turned to the audience—turning over the leaves of the score—tired and discouraged as he well might be—for he had heard not one note of his own mighty work—neither did he hear or was he conscious of the applause of the audience.

Then a young girl (Caroline Unger who had sung the alto solo) came swiftly across the platform with parted lips and moist eyes—she took the deaf Master gently by the shoulder and turned him round so that he could SEE what he could not hear—the raptuous applause.

The audience then sensed — many perhaps for the first time—the cruel fate which had overtaken this great man.

They rose as one—many of them in tears—and they cheered and cheered—waving scarves and throwing flowers—

And he stood—bowing—

A smile now round his grim mouth—for now that he saw the applause—surely he FELT it—flooding round him — passing through his weary soul—refreshing as summer rain — the love and gratitude of the world to whom he had given for all time—such a wonderful—such a stupendous gift — the NINTH SYMPHONY.

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THE WORD

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THE AUGUST DAYS OF "COMMUNIST" DIPLOMACY

AUGUST, 1939: Stalin's Agreement with Nazi Germany

Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, has come to Moscow. He signs on August 23, 1939, the Pact of Friendship, freeing Germany from all fear of attack by Russia. Molotov and Stalin stand behind him. This pact was broken, without warning, at dawn, on Sunday, June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, without troubling to make a formal declaration of war. Stalin faithfully kept the pact to that date.

The Ribbentrop pact was defended by the "Communist" Parties throughout the world as a pact of peace until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. In support of this pact the "Communists" organised People's Peace Conventions. Nevertheless, the pact was a pact for war and not a pact for peace. Whatever may be the deeper social and economic causes of the Second World War, the 1939 Moscow agreement freed Germany for war and so made the present terrible clash inevitable. Our sympathy with the common people of the Soviet, our condemnation of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, must not blind us to the criminal folly of a pact that was designed for war, not peace, and was never intended to emancipate the workers of the world from war and oppression.

On August 13, 1942, Winston Churchill reaches Moscow for a 4 days' Anti-Nazi Conference with Stalin at the Kremlin.

"THE INFERNAL TWINS."

In "Collier's Weekly"—the well-known U.S.A. journal published in Springfield, Ohio—for July 3, 1937, Vol. 100, No. 1, Winston Churchill published a striking article, indicting the dictatorships of the world, and defending democracy. "Collier's Weekly." is one of the most widely read journals in the English language and has editorial offices in Park Avenue, New York, and Covent Garden, London.

Churchill deals very thoroughly, although his facts are not completely accurate, with Spain. In its contents, our contemporary lists the article as follows:—

ARTICLES
WINSTON CHURCHILL
The Infernal Twins. Two unpleasant religions—Fascism and Communism.
Page 12.

The article carried the following editorial introduction set out in black type:—

What makes the Spanish civil war so inhumanly bitter? Not the Spaniards. Behind this quarrel stand two opposed and godless religions — Fascism and Communism. Both are enemies of democracy. Strip them of their externals and you can't tell them apart. Mr. Churchill reveals the essential character of these unlovely twins.

The author concurred in this description of his study. We cannot believe that the philosophy and principles defined in this essay were dictated by mere opportunism. Since this 1937 essay is of great import to every citizen of the world to-day may we ask the publishers and the author to reissue it, unaltered? It is one of the Prime Minister's most exhaustive, useful, and sincere pieces of political comment. His "Communist" and Labour admirers, and his Tory supporters, cannot object to his guidance.

Read Winston Churchill's "Collier's" essay, **"The Infernal Twins."**

This portion of the front page of the "Britansky Soyuznik" (British Ally), published at Kuibishev, on August 16, 1942, was radioed to the "Daily Express." We reproduce it from our contemporary's columns with acknowledgements but without permission.

CREATE THE REAL SECOND FRONT NOW

WHY BLUNDER ON?

Some Expert Opinions Considered

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[The following essay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, March 19.—Ed.]

Commenting on the most recent bombing of Cologne "Observer" in "Peace News" (June 16, 1942) remarks that whilst the photographs of the damaged city show that the cathedral escaped major damage, the report of 20,000 killed, although improbable, is not impossible. "But" the writer adds:—

"We may suppose, that for the Germans, the raid was a good deal worse than the worst of the London blitzes. Whether the effect on German morale will be different remains to be seen. IF THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE AS DISCOURAGED AS THEY ARE REPUTED TO BE, THIS IS SURELY THE MOMENT TO OFFER THEM A TOLERABLE FUTURE."

An offer of peace on specified terms tolerable to the German people? Or, a threat of another war front on the continent of Europe? These are the vital questions which the British people, especially, have the responsibility to seriously consider before it is too late. For, although in the Treaty of Alliance between the British and Russian Governments the contracting parties go no further than mutually to undertake to afford one another military and other assistance of all kinds in the war against Germany, a **Second Front** is so **confidently assumed** on the basis of statements by responsible Ministers that J. L. Garvin could say last Sunday, that:—

"The news that a Second Front in Europe this year is assured by Britian and America has had a magic action of encouragement to Russia."

—"Sunday Express," June 14/42.

No friend of the Russian people could be otherwise than fervently willing to give them encouragement in this terrible ordeal through which they are passing. A Second Front in Europe may be — doubtless it is — the sort of encouragement the people of Russia are wanting. **Can it be given?**

Will a Second Front in Europe help Russia or increase its peril? Even considered merely as war strategy for achievement of complete military victory, a Second European war front could be, at best a hazardous gamble, which if it failed might lead to irretrievable disaster, not only for us but for the people of Russia and their socialist way of life too. In this connection it would be well, for all of us on whom lies responsibility for decision, to remember the case of China.

There was a time, even after we had done so much to build up Japan as a great military power, when we could have helped Chinese defence by withholding aid and patronage from Japan. **Now it is evident that the British-American Asiatic War Front has put China in greater danger of defeat** than it was after more than four years of Japan's most revolting and atrocious form of aggressive warfare.

To the "Yorkshire Post" last Monday (June 15th) its special correspondent in Washington sent a message which consisted of a most exhaustive examination of the Second Front proposition. Military specialists of America, states the Post's correspondent:—

"have no illusions on the matter. (That is the second front). They realise that a second front means a total offensive, and that means a life and death onslaught comparable to the titanic Russian campaign."

If the invasion were by way of Norway

"Possession would still have our armies gazing across the waters of the Skagerrack, which are wider than the English Channel. Mussolini's boot and the Adriatic Aegean Littoral can be reached at present only by way of 14,000 mile life-lines round Africa."

Of France as the only "natural doorstep to Hitler's European fortress," the "Post's" correspondent states that American experts believe it would need the initial use of half a million men with another million men or more troops immediately available for a "follow-through." "ANYTHING LESS COULD NOT BE CALLED A SECOND FRONT."

Then follows in the "Post's" Correspondent's message from Washington this revealing passage:—

"The grimmest part of a coastal landing is the helplessness of invading forces at the point of debarking from ship to shore. In 1916 enfilading machine-gun and artillery fire inflicted losses exceeding 50 per cent. on some of the British and Australian units which stormed Gallipoli. TO-DAY THERE ARE TWO NEW FACTORS TO BE RECKONED WITH — DIVE BOMBERS AND ARMOURED LAND FORCES."

After careful survey of all suggested plans for a Second Front in Europe against Germany the "Post's" Washington correspondent transmitting American expert military opinion reduced the possible feasible plans to two. One is to take "the natural doorstep" entrance to Hitler's European fortress, before mentioned. The other is to go **through Spain** to France with a quarter of a million, sending at the same time another quarter of a million by convoy to steam past Gibraltar and land on the Riviera.

Of these two carefully selected plans the "Post's" Washington Correspondent sums up as follows in the final passage of his message:—

"According to either Channel or Riviera plans, our initial Army must be augmented by a B.E.F. and an A.E.F. of 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 men. But its initial success is held dependent on gun-power and air-tank preponderance to enable re-conquest of France and the seizure of Rhine bridgeheads in an unchecked sweep. Advocates of the plan estimate the Nazi garrisons in France 500,000 to 1,000,000 men. Berlin could provide reinforcements only by stripping the Eastern Front, which would give Stalin's generals the chance they have been waiting for to swing in a mortal blow."

"BUT THE CONSERVATIVE U.S. EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT THE CONDITIONS ARE NOT RIPE, AS YET, FOR OPENING A SECOND EUROPEAN FRONT."

The day before the "Post's" Special Correspondent sent his exhaustive message from Washington, Garvin in the "Sunday Express" made this further admission of the stupendous difficulty of the Second Front war strategy.

"The shipping shortage is the bottleneck," said Mr. Garvin.

"It is the one remaining danger which the Allies will have to overcome BEFORE THEIR OTHER CAPACITIES FOR TOTAL VICTORY CAN BE EXERTED WITH DECISIVE EFFECT IN ALL QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE.

"During these five months and more of 1942, more allied ships have been sunk than have been built. More enemy submarines have been built than have been sunk. Their destructiveness has been worst on the other side of the Atlantic and manpower and munitions are now piling up in the United States faster than maritime tonnage can be made available for carrying them overseas."

The question put so courageously by the Duke of Bedford — "Why Blunder On?" is more desperately urgent now than ever it was. Dr. Goebbel's propaganda appeals to the German people for their patient endurance proves its importance and urgency. Exultant expectation of militarist victory because Cologne, Essen and other German towns have been devastated past all previous records is a deadly illusion. War takes sudden and surprising turns. It may be our turn next.

Think of the uncertainty of Libya, concerning which the "Yorkshire Post's" Air Correspondent on Tuesday last made the following fitting comment:—

"It does not matter for the immediate future if Cologne is flattened by bombing provided there is a pause for it to recover afterwards. But it does matter if landing grounds in Libya are lost to the enemy."

Surely now that, judging by Dr. Goebbels's changed tone in war propaganda, the German people are feeling what war means (as we also shall when our severest time of trial comes)— **is the time for an offer of peace on specified terms tolerable to the German people.**

British Empire in the Far East has gone. Even the system of blocked credit transactions in foreign trade — a German invention which more than anything created the rivalry between British and German commercial power which was the real main cause of the war — is now supported by a special committee of London Chamber of Commerce and the "Yorkshire Observer" tells its readers the glad news under mighty-sized headlines—**"World Economy and Commonsense."**

Why blunder on? Why not make the attempt, by the offer of a peace tolerable to Germans, to create a Second Front where it will do most good —in Germany itself?

A PEOPLE'S RUNNYMEDE

By S. D. FRANCES

"A PEOPLE'S RUNNYMEDE," Published by Andrew Dakers, Ltd. Price 5/-. Obtainable from P.C.L.P., 5 Endsleigh Place, London, W.C.1. Postage 4d., or can be ordered at any book-shop.

The signing of the Magna Carta was an important event in the development of England's social life. So important indeed was this historical charter that it is recorded in most history books as one of the really important milestones in the forward march of the Briton, towards Freedom and Liberty.

Magna Carta, we learn from history books, sealed the death warrant of tyranny and suppression, stamped the hall-mark of Freedom upon King John and was instrumental in making England a country well worth living in and fighting for.

But it has been left to Mr. Robert J. Scrutton in the 20th Century to reveal the corruption and falsification of the common law and the resultant legal network of Statutory Law which to-day, over-rides and nullifies the claims for common humanity which were made in the old Magna Carta. I quote one example at random from the chapter on Common Law which is summarised:—

"The ancient constitutional rights and liberties of the citizen were disregarded or violated:—

1. That he shall not be dispossessed or impaired in the enjoyment of his property or the exercise of his trade or in any way socially destroyed.
2. That he shall have safety and security to buy and to sell without any unjust exactions or implement.
3. That he shall not become strained to any unconscientious act.

The money power through their combines and boards:—

1. Dispossessed men and deprived them of their trades and their right to earn a living.
2. Subjected traders to unjust marketing conditions both as to wares and as to services they had to offer for the general good, and
3. Constrained men by economic fear and force to exploit their fellow men."

And these statements are adequately borne out and justified by factual details, all of which are clearly given.

"A People's Runnymede" however, is more than an interesting and instructive analysis of Law. The Author is no armchair critic. He is a man out to settle practical difficulties in a practical fashion. His opening chapters, written in a racy fascinating style, clarify vividly the post-war politicians' endeavours to maintain for vested interests a crazy economic system. One feels that these politicians with their so terribly profound statements, are comic actors in a pantomime world, while you, the reader, have been taken backstage by the author and with him see clearly how ludicrous are the antics of those pantomime politicians and how completely disconnected they are from the pulsing blood and flesh which is the real community—the people.

You, the reader, are brought up against reality in its most practical aspects and you find too that the author has an answer to the problems of to-day. Indeed he has a good many answers to the problems of to-day and all are worthwhile contributions to progressive thought and progressive activity. Mr. Scrutton is not desirous of attempting to change circumstances by forming or continuing sectarian organisations with a blindly loyal membership. His is a call to the people; the people who suffer and cause suffering one to another. And it is a call that you too cannot afford to ignore.

MIDDLETON MURRY'S "CHRISTOCRACY"

By MAURICE CRANSTON

[Last month we published a review of this work from the pen of the Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewight, M.A. The present review is written from a somewhat different angle.—Ed.]

"Christocracy" (Andrew Dakers, 6s., sold by Strickland Press), in spite of its forbidding title, is not just another essay in clericalist polemics. It is a valuable work of analytical and constructive political thought by Mr. John Middleton Murry.

Mr. Murry is a pacifist and a Christian; his title "Christocracy" derives from his belief that a good human society is one in which Christian principles are practised and in which Jesus is worshipped as Lord. But Mr. Murry sees that his country is not ready to accept either Christ or Peace, and has written this book on a level which he calls "sub-Christian," and which is also, incidentally, sub-Pacifist. This does not mean that the book is in any sense of the word disingenuous, but simply that Mr. Murry, having "no policy as a pure pacifist," is anxious to prevail upon his combatant countrymen not to forget, in the process of war, the values for which they are fighting. For Mr. Murry believes that Britain does stand for certain values, pre-eminently for tolerance and liberty, and that she has a historical mission to maintain those values in a world of ascendant totalitarian power.

Now, Mr. Murry was one of the very first political writers to discern the true nature of totalitarianism in the modern world. He was able to make his conclusions known in a series of broadcast talks some three years ago, with the result that rude remarks were made about him in the House of Lords. But few people seem to have grasped his point. The clue to totalitarianism, he reiterates again in this book, is the phenomenon of mass unemployment. Capitalism is by its nature unable to cure unemployment; only the intervention of the state can relieve it. Hitler acted in Germany and ended unemployment by turning the nation into one vast army. He was able to realise this sinister purpose because of Britain's lack of imagination and generosity. The temper of weary hopelessness and the feeling that the only escape from despair lay in a mysticism of destruction were created in the German people by the steadfast refusal of their victors to succour them. Mr. Murry says that Germany could do no other than choose Hitler in 1933 since the only alternative solution to her unemployment problem was Peace-Socialism, which would assuredly have been put down as "Communism" by Anglo-French intervention. At that time Britain had but lately rejected the creative solution for her own unemployment problem, when at the 1931 Election a blind and stupid fear for the safety of private possessions had brought to power a specifically anti-Socialist "National" Government in this country. The force of inertia had driven Britain to seek a solution to the unemployment problem along the familiar (capitalist) ways, wherein there was no solution to be found. Germany sought the solution of War Socialism. And here Mr. Murry detects the origin of the present conflict. The war, he says, is not the struggle it is popularly made out to be, but simply the means by which Europe has chosen to solve its unemployment problem. He writes:—

"Rather than advance into the unknown new world, the gates of which would have been opened by a peaceful and constructive solution of unemployment, the nations of Europe chose total war. . . . In yet plainer terms, this war is a vast evasion of justice to the disinherited of the modern world. Peace would have meant doing justice to them; and, even though war was known to be more utterly debased, more fraught with indiscriminate mechanical horror, than it had ever been before, it was not found to be too great a price to pay to avoid doing justice to them. Better the horror of this war than the justice of peace."

Mr. Murry proceeds from his diagnosis of the underlying causes of the war to an examination of the strategical situation in which the belligerent nations find themselves. He believes a total Allied victory to be improbable and undesirable—undesirable because a "peace" that involved the military occupation of Germany and Japan by Allied forces for an indefinite time would compel Britain and America to remain on a totalitarian war-footing themselves and to treat Germany and Japan as permanent captive nations. The sole justification for the war, he considers, is the defence of the British tradition of freedom and tolerance. And the perpetuation of this tradition depends upon Britain limiting herself to a strictly defensive war.

For this reason he is pleased at the absence of a Second Front. He would consider such an adventure fantastic. He thinks the Soviet Union should be left to its fate. He has no affection for Stalin, and seems to consider him worse, if anything, than Hitler. Russia, he says, is quite as great a sinner as Germany in the cardinal matter of unlimited brutality to the individual person in the name of the deified state. This, I think, is true; but would suggest to Mr. Murry that the Soviet Union has more to its credit, albeit very little less to its discredit, than Nazi Germany. Mr. Murry concludes that Britain's purpose should be not to destroy either Nazism or Communism by force of arms, but only to prevent them from destroying her own free policy.

It may well be asked why Mr. Murry, as a pacifist, advocates a defensive strategy instead of an immediate armistice: the reason, evidently, is that he despairs of persuading his countrymen to stop the war, and therefore urges upon them a policy which would involve a minimum of fighting and bloodshed.

The defence of the British tradition is not, of course, all that Mr. Murry asks for. He wants it to develop into something approximating to a Christian society, or what he calls Christocracy. How is this to be done? First of all by educating the young people of this country, particularly those in the Forces, into citizens worthy of the British tradition, and also by providing a concrete image of the new society to serve as a focus for their education. He says:—

"The only idea they can be given, which will save them from degeneration into an instrument of pure destruction, is the idea of a truly co-operative society—a society which is a veritable community. That transfer and transmutation of the spurious commodity of war into the positive community of peace should be going on now, by the awakening of social imagination in the men who compose our idle army. . . . Peace means the struggle to create by peaceful means a society wherein every man's talent is used at once for his own self-fulfilment and for the good of the common weal."

What is the substance of Mr. Murry's Christocracy? Its purpose would be to give economic security to all its citizens, to provide a system of genuine equality of educational opportunity, to see that the talents of every member should be unfolded in work for which he had an authentic vocation. To achieve this end it would necessarily demand decentralisation of industrial, and presumably of political, organisation. It would need the machine, but not the life-destroying monotony of the machine-minder's job. There would have to be a breaking down of the cleavage between the urbanised and rural population, and a general levelling of incomes between agricultural, industrial and professional workers. The key to it all would be the simple joy of its members in truly creative labour. It would seek to realise what Mr. Murry calls "community," or the dynamic sense of being members of one another in society.

The principles of Christocracy seem to me to be wholly sound, in so far as they do not differ from the principles of true Socialism. But I would quarrel with many of its details. Mr. Murry's genius as a historical critic resides in his exceptional ability to enter into the essential nature of his subject; this insight is unique, and it is not accompanied by an equal gift for constructive planning. I do not see why it should be. Planners are twopence a dozen. But the result, so far as Mr. Murry is concerned, is that his proposals too often emerge after an overstrenuous mental gestation and suffer an early demise under his own critical contemplation.

Hence, while the critical sections of this book are packed with profound thought, Mr. Murry's programme is not, I am afraid, substantially different from Mr. Aldous Huxley's testament in bourgeois sweet-reasonableness, "Ends and Means." Certainly, Mr. Murry has a far more realistic grasp of the political and moral condition of our time; for Mr. Murry's understanding is rooted in gruelling experience, Mr. Huxley's in telescopic observation from a comfortable distance. (Significant that Mr. Murry should have responded positively to the challenge of the war by becoming editor of "Peace News" and accepting the responsibility of leadership in the pacifist movement, while Mr. Huxley should be far from the maddening war in that scrap-heap of capitalist culture, Hollywood).

My own objection to Mr. Murry's programme is that, in his fear of the State, he has advocated the maintenance of capitalism, subject to certain restrictions on profits and abuses. He is also quite emphatic about the master-man relationship (or, as Marx called it, the exploiter-wage slave relationship) being natural and good. I believe that capitalism cannot, by its very nature, be an element of a good society. And since Mr. Murry himself has proved that the present crisis in civilisation is due to the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, I do not see how he is going to transcend it (or even cure such evils as unemployment) with Socialism. A society cannot ultimately be both competitive and co-operative, although it may usefully be so incidentally. In an article published in November, 1935, Mr. Murry wrote: ". . . we are convinced that only when communal ownership of the means of production (i.e., Socialism) has been established will the human being be enabled to **be** an individual. Not that communal ownership of the means of production by itself will ensure the complete individuality of the individual: but without that it is impossible." I agree with this earlier declaration of Mr. Murry. Perhaps it is right to say that the master-man relation is "natural"; assuredly there will always have to be leadership and discipline, but should it not be the leadership of the proven best and not of the wealthiest; and should there not be a system of checks on leaders and the participation of workers in the counsels of industrial organisation?

At the root of it all, the crucial issue facing all who seek to create a better society is this: how are we to ensure both liberty and order? It is a tremendous problem, and Mr. Murry's book states its implication with remarkable clarity, even if it does not provide a wholly adequate solution.

NATIONAL PRAYER AND INDIA

Our Comrade, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A., continues to express his views with fearlessness in the weekly letter of the Church of the Holy Cross in Saint Pancras with Saint Jude. In his letter for August 30, Comrade Le Messurier deals with the National Day of Prayer and also the situation in India in these bold terms:—

It is good that a nation should realise its dependence upon God. And it is a gain that the confident and even presumptuous assumptions that God is on the side of the Allied Nations which stained the first national days of prayer are no longer made so unthinkingly. Yet I confess that I can see no real sign of the revolutionary penitence such as God can bless in our nation.

When I read that in India one town was fined £7500, another £3750 and a village £2250; that the death penalty is imposed for cutting a telegraph wire; that meetings of Indians are ruthlessly broken up by police and troops who open fire on all and sundry; that military officers over a certain rank can take life in defence of property without having to render account; that a new flogging order has been enacted (in the past this often meant flogging without trial); and when I recall that the people of India had no choice whether or not they should be at war with the Axis; I can see little difference between the spirit which inflicts such things and that which prevails in occupied countries in Europe. Of course there are differences in administration, but it is the same spirit working in both continents.

The point surely is that if we condemn such things in others and do them ourselves, how can we approach the throne of grace and expect a blessing? Much more do we justify the condemnation of Gandhi when he said, "I see no difference between the Fascist or Nazi Powers and the Allies. All are exploiters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compass their end." "There," states an English editor, "Gandhi touches the quick of our national morality."

And if God gives the Allies military victory, is such a policy of repression the only new order that we can offer the world? Yet nothing else is offered, so far; and God is not mocked.

Few of our readers are members of the Anglican church. Most of them are Freethinkers or Socialists opposed to the Churches. Some belong to the Unitarian congregation, or to the Society of Friends. Those who are Anglicans and live in the North-west district of London, should attend the Church of the Holy Cross and so strengthen the splendid stand made by the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier for pacifism and social justice. Like the late Conrad Noel, the Socialist Vicar of Thaxted, our comrade Le Messurier uses creeds, sacraments, ceremonial, even the Mass, to express heretical thinking and to carry on pacifist and social revolutionary propaganda from within the Church of England. It is as though John Ball has been reincarnated in our day and generation.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Secretary of the Peace Committee of the Warwickshire Monthly Meeting, writing from 8 Dr. Johnson Passage, Bull Street, Birmingham, 4, has asked us to publish the message issued by the Society of Friends, at a meeting of the London Yearly Meeting, held in York:

The whole world is drawn into common suffering. Is there no way out of its evils but by waging war yet more ruthlessly? War is evil and wrong; military victory will not bring true peace. Cannot our common suffering make us aware of our common brotherhood? Let us turn from the terrible deeds we do to one another and seek one another's forgiveness. The way of friendship can overcome evil. We see it perfectly in Jesus Christ. Its cost was the Cross. The loyal spirit which faced the Cross showed us the triumphant power of God. For us as children of a common Father it is time to follow His lead.

WILFRED E. LITTLEBODY,
Clerk.

4. viii. 1942.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Its Jurisdiction, Constitution and Procedure

By CHARLES L. NORDON, LL.B.

[Last month we published an essay by Mr. Nordon on "The World Court." We now publish a further memorandum which Mr. Nordon has circulated in official circles, in the hope that its theme may be thought worthy of development and presentation as an integral part of a constitution for post-war International Relations. Criticism, especially Socialist criticism, is invited.—Ed.]

Leaders of Public Opinion upon whom rest the duty and responsibility for preserving the higher order of life which we term "civilisation," are beginning to turn their attention to such alternatives to War as may be possible for the future settlement of International Disputes and for the Judicial Trial of actual and potential "disturbers of the Peace." The International Court of Justice seems in the opinion of many to open a field worthy of further study.

Just as the Statute Law and the Common Law of our own Country would lead to violence and anarchy unless Law Courts were established to adjudicate on disputes arising therefrom, so "Treaties," "Alliances," and "Charters," if interpretation and application are to be left to those who think they have the most powerful armed Forces.

Lord Halifax, then our Foreign Secretary, said on 15th February, 1939:—

"There is no European Government which has not proclaimed its will for Peace or has not stigmatised War as a fatal method of settling International Disputes."

but no one attempted to answer Hitler when, in his Reichstag speech of 28th April, 1939, he said (later events show with what degree of sincerity):—

"Would Mr. Roosevelt tell me how a New World Court of Law should be constituted?"

In the following pages, severely crystallised, but with the view that its publication may stimulate public thought, discussion and, above all, collaboration in its perfection, is set forth the outline of a Plan for the establishment of The International Court of Justice, which may be found more categorical and practical than the mere generalisations on the theme which have appeared from time to time.

JURISDICTION OF THE TRIBUNAL.

1. All claims by one Government in relation to the territorial administration or acts of another Government, and all complaints against the public acts, threats or conduct of individuals capable of endangering the lives, liberty or property of their own or of other peoples, shall be adjudicated by the Award of The International Court of Justice.

2. The proceedings of The International Court shall take the form of either (a) Articles of Arbitration (the bilateral submission of documents and arguments on a defined International Dispute). (b) Articles of Claim (Petition by one Government claiming relief against the acts or omissions of another), or (c) Articles of Impeachment (the charge against an individual of endangering conduct).

3. Articles of Arbitration or claim may be presented only by Governments duly constituted "de facto" or "de jure." Articles of Impeachment may be presented either by Governments or by the accredited representatives of not less than 25 per cent. of the adult population of a Nation.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIBUNAL.

4. Each other Nation shall in the first instance provisionally nominate two, and the Great Powers four, members of proved qualifications, high moral character and judicial competence, with a deputy for each member to act in case of inability of his principal.

5. The names, qualifications and biographical careers of the provisional nominees shall be circulated amongst all nominated members for internal deliberation.

6. The nominated members shall hold meetings for confirmatory election by secret ballot at which one adverse vote in four will disqualify a nominated member for confirmation.

7. Each Nation, one or more of whose nominated members should fail to be confirmed, may submit fresh nominees for confirmatory election as before. If a second nomination should again be refused confirmation, then a third nomination shall take place, but this time on open voting and the reasons for any objection to confirmation must be stated in writing by the objectors and voted upon by the already confirmed members. Any Nation whose third nomination has been refused confirmation, must wait three months before nominating again, and so on at successive intervals of three months until confirmation of the quota of nominated members.

8. Each nominating Nation may nominate as before successors to such of their nominees as shall die, become unfit to act, or resign.

PROCEDURE.

9. On lodging Articles of Claim or Articles of Impeachment, copies shall be simultaneously furnished to the Government or individual against whom redress is sought, together with copies of all documents on which reliance is placed. The respondent Government or individual shall lodge answer and supporting documents within the time limited by the tribunal.

10. After consideration of such written arguments and documents as shall be lodged on both sides within the prescribed time the Court shall publish notice of the date fixed for hearing and the proceedings shall continue from day to day until concluded, notwithstanding the failure to attend of any Government or individual cited.

11. Without restricting the judicial powers of the Court, its Awards may take one or more of the following forms:—

(a) Revision of Territorial Administration.

(b) That a Plebiscite or Referendum be held in any affected territory.

(c) Pecuniary compensation.

(d) Decree of outlawry.

12. Before entering upon the consideration of any case, each member of the Court shall take a solemn and consecrated oath that he has no personal interest in it and that he has not privately discussed and will not discuss its subject with any statesman or agent of any party to it. The penalty for breach of any such oath shall be the public dismissal of the guilty member and such other penalty as the Tribunal may prescribe.

13. Proceedings of the Court shall be conducted and their judgments and reasons pronounced in public and published in the principal newspapers of every country and repeated at intervals of seven days until obeyed and by such other methods of publication as the Tribunal or any party may think fit.

14. The Court shall from time to time make and publish rules for procedure, venue, language and sittings, and for the appointment of standing committees, registrars and other officers necessary for its due and prompt efficiency.

LOOK OUT FOR OUR

SPECIAL COLONIAL ISSUE

to be published shortly. Coloured studies from Africa. Full descriptive reports of questions and discussions in Parliament since the outbreak of war. Speeches by A. Creech Jones, M.P., reported fully. A new portrait of this great and fearless British champion of the native worker. Tell your friends and place your order now.

A. D. SCHROEDER

At 8 a.m. on Wednesday, August 26th, Mr. A. D. Schroeder, Resident American Representative in Britain of the International Bible Students Association (Jehovah's witnesses) was deported following the failure of his appeal to the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison.

When the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors met three days later, the following resolution was passed nem. con.:—

"The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors sends its greetings to the International Bible Students' Association and particularly to the British section, recording its grave concern at the recent action of the Home Secretary in deporting Mr. Schroeder after he had made known his conscientious objection to compulsory service.

"The C.B.C.O. acknowledges with appreciation the faithful testimony to conviction borne by more than 400 men and women witnesses who have been or are now undergoing imprisonment for conscience sake in this country and assures the I.B.S.A. of its continued determination to maintain the right of conscientious objection to compulsory military and industrial service."

To this message the Association sent a reply of appreciation and thanks.

We are entirely opposed to the theology and teachings of the Jehovah Witnesses. We deem their entire propaganda one of superstition. But we do protest against this deportation. If America and Britain have so much in common as democracies, they should share a common regard for conscience. Conscientious objection to war should be no bar to the full enjoyment of citizenship rights in America of a Britisher, or in Britain of an American born citizen. We would have full citizenship rights established throughout the dominions of both Britain and the United States, and no deportation for opinions, or for any reason except that of criminal jurisdiction such as exists in each country for its own nationals. The Schroeder deportation is a scandal.

We are not complaining at his physical treatment. Every courtesy was shown to him. But the deportation was wrong in principle and contrary to the traditions of freedom established by the struggles of our forefathers.

PITY THE EDITOR

The increasing popularity of "The Word" has caused a large number of comrades to send increasing collections of MSS. It is impossible to publish them all. Our correspondence is very heavy and it is beyond our powers to write to every comrade. The Strickland Press staff is far too small to cope with all the work on hand. In addition to these difficulties, war-time conditions incline a number of comrades to turn to us for advice and assistance. This occupies a great deal of time. The working-day is very long and the working week consists of 7 days. And there are no holidays. We ask comrades to bear these facts in mind. Send your MSS., but keep duplicates. We cannot guarantee return. Write: we will answer if possible. But draw no unfriendly conclusion if your MS. is not used immediately, or if our reply is delayed. This office is a Citizens' Advice Bureau as well as an editorial office. We cannot beat the time machine. So, comrades, pity the editor, and make your pity a lively, understanding sympathy. We cannot work miracles.

SALVAGE

I asked myself—Where's the Wisdom gone
That the gods of our race have given?
Enough pure gold from the well of Truth,
To make this earth into Heaven.
Have they been too wise, or too obscure
When they have had their say?
Or have our minds been fashioned
From the poorest and basest of clay?

From the poorest and basest of clay, by God!
For what did I see this morn?
But the works of Plato and Bernard Shaw,
Battered and tattered and torn,
Lying mixed up in a salvage pile
Of nauseating smell,
To make a case for a cartridge
That would blow some poor devil to Hell!

JOE CORRIE.

THE PEOPLE'S COMMON LAW PARLIAMENT

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

This number of "The Word" contains a review of Mr. Robert Scrutton's book, "A People's Runnymede." His organisation, the People's Common Law Parliament, which I believe has the support of Admiral Creagh, who was mentioned in the September "Word", is interesting and important for two reasons. In the first place it seeks to re-establish the sane and just principles of the old Common Law of the country. I must confess that until Mr. Scrutton explained the position to me, I did not myself realise how important the old Common Law is, nor was I aware of the extent to which its benefits had been neutralized by the (often very inferior) Statute Laws enacted by Parliament.

The other reason why Mr. Scrutton's work promises to yield valuable results is that, with one exception, it seems to be the only real attempt which is being made at the present time to teach the electorate how to organize themselves for the direction and control of their Parliamentary representatives and thus exercise the functions of true democracy. Britain to-day is a democracy only in name. The people do not rule. They are dragooned by a bureaucracy of irresponsible Government officials and party politicians, behind whom are concealed the still more irresponsible financiers and Big Business interests.

I have said before, and I say it again now with even greater emphasis, that there is no hope for this country until the people stop trusting to their politicians to save them and wake up to the fact that they have got to save themselves. They will certainly not be delivered from danger from enemies without until they take steps to curb the folly and restrain the tyranny of politicians within.

Men and women, however, who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, too often ask hopelessly and rather helplessly, "What can we do?" The People's Common Law Parliament suggests an answer and a method whereby purposeless grumbling can be translated into effective action.

The other organization already active in the exercise of the functions of true democracy and in compelling M.P.s. to do their duty as representatives elected to carry out the orders of their constituents, is the Old Age Pensions Movement (Head office "Westmead", Southport Road, Southport). This energetic body has, by its large membership and numerous branches, compelled a reluctant and hostile Government to make concessions to the principles of ordinary humanity and common justice. The little paper which the Old Age Pensions Movement publishes is really most refreshing reading, with its sound appreciation of many important financial issues and even sounder grasp of the proper function and average character of an M.P. and knowledge of the right way of handling him. No illusions here! The average M.P. is recognised for what he is—no friend of the people, but a visionless, time-serving tool of a party machine; always trying to assume the functions of an independent delegate when he is really only a servant; arrogant or indifferent in the presence of a few protesting critics, but a coward when confronted by many.

It might seem at first sight somewhat strange that a pioneer movement in intelligent democratic thought and action should be recruited from men and women in the evening-time of life, who have reached an age not usually associated with a ready acceptance of fresh truth and new ideas. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that Old Age Pensioners are among the worst and most constant sufferers from the defects in the present economic system. Suffering has sharpened their wits and first-hand experience of those who have had the power to redress their grievances but would not do so, has opened their eyes.

Mr. Scrutton tells me that the mental reactions of his P.C.L.P. members are very similar to those of the Old Age Pensioners. When, in their organised demand for the redress of some grievance, individual, local, national or international, or in their insistance on some reform, they are brought into direct touch with their Member of Parliament and come to realise the full extent of his incapacity, obstinacy, or indolence, they begin to get mad —but it is a madness which leads to sanity!

The tiny minority of good M.P.s., on the other hand, are naturally much encouraged by the new interest and support which they find they are receiving from their constituents and, in some cases, may even be emboldened to stand up to the Party Whips.

UNITED STATES HUMANISM

Last month we published a letter from the Rev. Charles F. Potter, of New York, correcting some errors in our references to the Humanist movement in the June issue of *The Word*. We have received two more letters on the same subject.

The Rev. Edwin H. Wilson, Treasurer of the American Humanist Association and Editor of *The Humanist*, the quarterly magazine, published by the American Humanist Association, at 1201 Union Street, Schenectady, New York, writes:—

Schenectady, N.Y.,
July 28, 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Your interest in the Humanist Movement in the United States is a welcome one. Several matters of inaccuracy appearing in your issue for June, 1942, are understandable, but require correction. I trust that you will publish the following.

1. "The Arbitrator" is not the official organ of the Humanist movement. It contains a very fine page of quotations from Humanists by Sherman Wakefield and the personal views of the veteran iconoclast, William Floyd, with occasional items by others. But it remains essentially Mr. Floyd's personal publication and while giving useful service to the humanist movement links it closely to Pacifism, whereas the Humanist movement is not primarily or essentially Pacifistic. Some Pacifists are humanists, but far from all Humanists are Pacifists. It is an error to identify the movement with particularistic reforms.

As near to an official organ of the Humanist movement as there is, is "The Humanist."Membership in the A.H.A. is $2.00 or more a year including a subscription to the Quarterly. Subscriptions are $1.00. Foreign and Canadian, $1.25. Single copies, 25 cents.

2. You have things reversed in listing ten or a dozen Unitarian Churches as "Humanist" churches. These happen to be churches with men as ministers who call themselves humanists and who were willing to have Sherman Wakefield list them as humanists in a Directory. But these churches, as Unitarian Churches, stand for religious liberty for all, theist or humanist and are improperly listed in any humanist directory. Were all the ministers who are members of the American Humanist Association—including Unitarian, Universalist and a few Methodist, Congregational and even Episcopalian ministers—to be listed, there would be at least 100. But the American Humanist Association does not publish names and is against representing the humanist movement as a new sect or cult. So far only two specifically Humanist societies have survived—that led for some years by the able Charles Francis Potter in New York, and a new one led by the poet-minister Hugh Robert Orr in San Francisco.

As far as its appearance in the liberal churches in America is concerned it must be recalled that it was theists in the mid-west who raised the cry of "ethics to the front!" and established a creedless basis of fellowship within which "even the hypothetical atheist" might feel at home. Nor should the American Ethical Culture Societies be forgotten; they are essentially humanistic and part of the wider movement. Empirical theists, also, are tangential to the movement and should receive humanist sympathy and co-operation. They need to stand together against Neo-Calvinism (Barth, Nebuhr, etc.).

3. It would be a key-hole view of humanism to see only the men who lead churches or ethical societies or humanist fellowships. Humanism actually pervades our western civilisation as the brave hope of the future. It is found implicit among all the naturalistic and pragmatic philosophers; men such as John Dewey, M. C. Otto, Roy Wood Sellars represent the philosophic movement. It is found also among progressive educators where the Dewey influence is manifest. It is the working basis of scientists who study science in the manner of Bacon "in order that human life may be enhanced." This is coming to overt recognition in a movement of Scientific Humanists in this country. Among them are Laurence Frank, Oliver Reiser, E. C. Tracy, Arthur Morgan, Albert Einstein.

Mortimer Adler, champion of a New-Thomism, asserted in his attack on American Professors that they are all "Positivists." Although he was not willing to concede the warm term "Humanism" to them, and Jacques Maritain has endeavoured to purloin the term and link it inappropriately with Catholic doctrine. Adler was essentially right in designating the major philosophic trend among American professors as "Positivism." If we take that term as equivalent to "Humanism," they are not Comtian positivists, but closer to what the Scientific Humanist represents. Humanism is the next step for religious liberals, freethinkers, rationalists, world-planners, educators who seek a unifying and emancipating ethics.

4. To sum up, Humanism is really a world-wide movement found wherever the new world view produced by science is accepted as the background for an ethics in which the fulfilment of human life and respect for human life is the centre and goal. The points at which this outlook breaks through the crust of the old supernaturalism, the old class lines, are innumerable. Let's not try to reduce it to a petty sectarian manifestation, but watch for and encourage all of its expressions, seeking at all times to unify the movement and awaken it to a consciousness of common aims and values. To this end we publish our quarterly and invite all types of Humanists to help keep the movement critical and creative. The goal is a world humanism embraced by all men of good will, regardless of their several private dogmas. A positive humanistic ethics need negate no theological faith, but can transcend or deepen all and serve as a highway to unity and co-operation among people of diverse views. That portion of men in our movement whose work seems to be chiefly a negation of the old supernaturalism may well weigh their work in a more co-operative and affirmative direction. I invite you to examine copies of "The Humanist" and grant in advance permission to reprint any of its articles, giving due acknowledgment.

Sincerely,

EDWIN H. WILSON.

Under date, July 29, Mr. Sherman D. Wakefield, Associate Editor of *The Arbitrator*, writes to the same effect from 114 East 31st Street, New York City. After protesting against the errors to which reference has been made, Mr. Wakefield points out that there are approximately one hundred ministers and groups in the United States entitled to be described as Humanist.

RESPONSE IS URGENT.

Begging is a distasteful business. But we are engaged in a total struggle against total war, for the service and salvation of all humanity. Will you help? We are facing a heavy deficit on our press—recently we installed a bigger press to do the work more quickly—and we owe over £1,500 on our pamphlet and paper production; notwithstanding the long hours put in by the small group who work all the time at the press, and so keep expenses low. Please help at once if you want our paper and booklets to continue to appear. Response is urgent.

DR. JOHN HEWETSON.

Last month we dealt with the case of Dr. John Hewetson. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at Hampstead on July 25. His case was taken up by Dr. Charles Brook and Rhys Davies, M.P., both unknown to him. It was learned that the Central War Medical Committee had considered his case, since he refused to register as a C.O., and had recommended the normal procedure. Following further protest, the Home Office placed Dr. Hewetson's case before the Appelate Tribunal. He was released on September 12, after having agreed to take full time work in hospital or institution.

NORMAN LEVERITT

Many comrades have written to us concerning the interesting letter published in *The Word* for August, from the pen of our Spalding comrade, Norman Leveritt, who is a member of the United Socialist Movement.

On Tuesday, August 18, our comrade was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for his determined conscientious stand. We reproduce the very full report that appeared in the *Spalding Free Press*, for Monday, August 24 :—

SPALDING CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Refused to do Civil Defence Work and Submit to N.F.S. Medical Examination.

Completely Opposed to War.

A Spalding conscientious objector, Norman Leveritt (19), of 4 Eley Folly, Hawthorn Bank, was sent to prison for six months at Spalding Petty Sessions, on Tuesday, for failing to comply with a condition of his registration that he should undertake full-time civil defence work, on or about June 11.

Leveritt, formerly a postman, first agreed to do civil defence work when he was registered as a conscientious objector, but, after a post in A.R.P. had been found for him at Crewe, he declined. Next, he refused to submit himself for medical examination for the N.F.S., and had bluntly expressed his intention of doing nothing whatever.

He was not legally represented, and pleaded not guilty.

The magistrates were: Mr. W. F. Howard (Chairman); Aldermen Sir John Gleed, R. Riddington; Messrs. C. R. Thompson, H. N. Shaw, R. S. Donington, J. W. Beba and F. Husband-Clutton.

Mr. Cecil Crust, prosecuting for the Ministry of Labour, explained at the outset that the penalty was imprisonment of a term not exceeding 12 months, or a fine of £50, or both. The Bench were bound to consider any reasonable excuse by defendant for his failure to comply with the regulation.

Order of Tribunal.

"This boy," said Mr. Crust, "was born on December 14, 1922. On September 17th, 1941, he made application to the local Tribunal as a conscientious objector, and on November 3rd he went before the North Midlands Tribunal, where he was ordered to undertake work in full-time civil defence. On November 25th he was sent the appropriate forms stating that he was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that until the end of the present emergency he undertook full-time civil defence work. While he himself was responsible for complying with the order, every effort would be made by the local employment exchange to assist him in obtaining work specified by the tribunal. If he desired that assistance he should call at the Spalding Labour Exchange as soon as possible in order that the necessary particulars could be registered and his name available for any vacancy which arose."

Declined Appointment at Crewe.

Mr. Crust said there would not have been the slightest objection if defendant had obtained civil defence work locally; he had the opportunity. The matter went on for six weeks from November 3, and so far as was known no attempt was made by defendant to obtain the necessary work. On January 8th he was accepted for full-time A.R.P. employment with the Crewe Corporation. He stated that he was perfectly willing to do first-aid work, perfectly willing to go to Crewe, perfectly willing to do what he was ordered to do.

"But on January 13th," said Mr. Crust, "having received the travelling warrant to Crewe he sent it back and declined to enter into any employment of any description."

"He says it was his conscience," added Mr. Crust, "but the Bench may wonder at a person with a conscience who makes a promise to undertake civil defence work and then turns round and says he will not do it."

On January 21st defendant was told he would be called for a medical examination for the National Fire Service, but he would not even go for that. Writing on February 4th that he declined to go, he stated: "As a Pacifist I can have nothing to do with this whatsoever." On June 11th he was interviewed by two officers of the Labour Exchange—Mr. Keen and Mr. Carter—and signed a document on which he had answered questions.

Absolute Refusal.

"The position is that this boy absolutely refuses to do anything in the national interest," said Mr. Crust "and in view of the letters which have been written and the attitude he has taken up I ask the Bench to seriously consider whether any fine would be adequate."

Mr. Crust went through a volume of correspondence dating from September 20th, 1941, when defendant made application to the local tribunal as a conscientious objector, and setting out the grounds on which he alleged he should not enter combatant service. There was a further letter stating that he had received the document registering him as a conscientious objector on the condition that he took up full-time civil defence work, and giving the information that he had been told at the Labour Exchange to carry on with his present occupation until he heard further. The letter was dated December 31, and in it defendant said he had called at the Labour Exchange that day and still no vacancy had been found for him.

Opposition as a Pacifist.

Mr. Crust came to the letter which defendant wrote on January 14th declining the employment at Crewe stating:

"After long consideration I have decided to decline employment in Civil Defence. I do so because of my complete opposition to the war, in which as a Pacifist I can have no part whatever."

Defendant was sent a letter from Regional Office pointing out the condition of his registration, and he was interviewed. He stated he quite understood what his position was. On February 14 he returned papers, declining to submit for medical examination for the N.F.S. and again stating that he could have nothing to do with the war.

He wrote to Regional Officer reiterating that he could not undertake Civil Defence work. He had tried to reconcile himself to it, but as a Pacifist he found he could not do it. The cause of his refusal to take up civil defence or enter the N.F.S. was that his "inner convictions" were against participation in the war in any way. He had not appealed because at the time he appeared before the Tribunal he thought he could do civil defence work, and it was only after the time for appealing had passed that he came to the conclusion that he could not do so.

In a letter three and a half months later, defendant stated that he still had not secured employment, and added: "And I have not the slightest intention of doing so."

When interviewed by the officers on June 11th, defendant had no statement to make but answered certain questions they asked.

George Louis Sands, an officer at the local Labour Exchange, gave evidence that on September 6th last year Leveritt registered as a conscientious objector.

Interviews with Employment Officers.

John Evelyn Arthur Carter, an employment officer at the local Exchange, confirmed the opening remarks made by Mr. Crust. Referring to an interview on November 27th, witness told defendant that he was expected to fulfil civil defence duties, and Leveritt said he was prepared to undertake first-aid work. He agreed to take an appointment at Manchester. This was not obtained and when interviewed again on December 17 he agreed to go to Crewe but asked that he should be allowed to remain at Spalding until after Christmas as he was a postman. The rate of pay at Crewe was 70s. for a 72-hour week. Defendant was requested to travel to Crewe on January 13 ready for work the next day. Then came the letter from him saying he would have nothing to do with it.

There were further interviews in which defendant said he quite understood his position.

"Not Ashamed of Recanting."

Leveritt did not go into the witness box, but read a long written statement.

"I have a reasonable excuse for not complying with the register," he said, "I have a conscientious objection to fulfilling these conditions, and I am well aware that very few courts have accepted that view. The prosecution has placed stress on my recantations at various times. I see very little to be ashamed of in that. Perhaps the Bench may think that I am in good company in that, and I may mention Archbishop Cranmer . . ."

The Chairman: "We are dealing with your case now."

Leveritt, continuing, said he registered as a conscientious objector because he was against war on humanitarian and ethical grounds. At that time he had no objection to doing civil defence work. Although he was allowed three weeks to make an appeal and it was not until the time limit had elapsed that his views underwent a change. In addition to his general humanitarian and ethical views, which had not diminished, he had also developed political reasons against the war, which made him take his stand as an out-and-out conscientious objector and an anti-militarist.

He viewed the war as an Imperialist war, as a capitalists' war in the truest sense, with its outcome from economic rivalry between the various Imperialist groups, Anglo-American powers on the one hand, and the totalitarians, Germany, Italy and Japan, on the other. It was not a fight for freedom at all, but for jealous interests.

He was not there to prove to the court that his views were correct, although he thought they were. No one with such views could take part in civil defence which, he contended, was part of the war machine. When he appeared before the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Lincoln they agreed that he held sincere views, and removed his name from the military register, and he asked the Bench to uphold those views.

Mr. Crust's reply to defendant's statement was that what he had said was nothing to do with the case.

In reply to the Chairman Leveritt said he was not working at present. He had been at the Post Office since 1936 but they had released him to go on civil defence work.

The Chairman told defendant that they had carefully considered his case, and he must go to prison for six months. They could not find that he had given any reasonable excuse for refusing to do full-time civil defence work.

Norman Leveritt's case must be reheard by the Tribunal. He is entitled to total exemption, since it must be clear to every intelligent person, militarist or otherwise, that he is a genuine absolutist objector, who knows where he stands, and has thought out his position thoroughly. He never ought to have suffered a day's imprisonment.

PERSECUTING C.Os.

Dear Sir,—When the compulsory military service was introduced on the eve of the war the promise was given that the persecution of conscientious objectors which took place in the last war would not be renewed, and I wish to acknowledge that as a whole objectors have now been treated more liberally.

There have been some exceptions, however. Despite pledges to the contrary, "cat-and-mouse" treatment has recurred. May I draw attention to the two severest cases?

Gerald Henderson, of West Hartlepool, is a religious objector. He was refused exemption by the Tribunals, arrested and taken into the Army. He has been court-martialled five times and has served sentences of 28 days' detention and 4 months', 6 months' and 7 months' imprisonment. He is now serving a sentence of 15 months' imprisonment. Yet the Appellate Tribunal still declines to acknowledge that he is a sincere objector.

The second case, Stanley Hilton, of Rochdale, is also a religious objector. He has been court-martialled three times, has served sentences of one year's imprisonment and 2 years' detention (commuted to seven months) and is now serving a third sentence of two years' imprisonment.

Have not these boys proved their sincerity? It is of no benefit to the Army to keep on sending them back to prison and it is a bit of a blot on the administration of the conscience clause of the National Service Acts.

Sincerely yours,
FENNER BROCKWAY,
Chairman, C.B.C.O.

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1,
14th September, 1942.

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TWICE COURT MARTIALLED

PETER McKELLAR

Our comrade, Peter McKellar, of 38 South Annandale Street, Glasgow, will have been court-martialled for the second time before these lines are in print.

Then aged 22, a glazier by trade, he registered as a conscientious objector on December 26, 1939. His case was heard on April 23, 1940, by the Glasgow Tribunal, consisting of Sir A. C. Black, K.C., Sir Robert Bruce, J.P., LL.D., and Mr. (now Sir) R. Bryce Walker, C.B.E., etc.

McKellar told the Tribunal that his father was killed in the great war. He would not butcher nor yet would he be butchered. It was enough that this had happened to his father. The Tribunal sympathised with him. He replied that he wanted justice as an anti-militarist, not sympathy.

McKellar lodged an appeal but he did not attend before the Appellate Tribunal on July 19, 1940. His appeal was dismissed. McKellar appeared before the Medical Board on August 9, 1940, and submitted to medical examination. He refused to report to the ——— Training Regiment at D—— and was arrested by the Civil Power and handed over on March 5, 1942.

At D—— on March 8, 1942, he refused to put on the military uniform, and was court-martialled.

The summary of the evidence was taken down and signed on March 9, 1942, by Captain J. M. Ritchie R.A., Adjutant ——— Training Regiment R.A., McKellar being referred to as No. 1140582, Gunner McKellar.

No. 967441 L/Sgt. Holliday A., ——— Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 7/3/42 I was detailed by B.S.M. Hannaway to proceed to C.M.P. Headquarters, 20 Huntly Gardens, Glasgow. There I was handed A.F.O. 1618 in respect of the accused. I proceeded to Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow, where the accused was handed over to me. I returned with him to D—— and placed him in close arrest

No. 938189 Bdr. Catling R., ——— Training Regiment R.A., stated:—I produce enlistment notice (N.S. 12A) in respect of No. 1140582 Gunner McKellar P. On 27/2/42 a letter, dated 26/2/42, was received from Gunner McKellar, stating that he was a Conscientious Objector and returning his Enlistment Notice. This notice was sent back to him from this office on 28/2/42, together with a slip for Army Form B 204A. On 4/3/42 a further letter was received from Gunner McKellar again stating that he was a Conscientious Objector and again returning his Enlistment Notice.

No. 1026473 B.S.M. Hannaway J. W., ——— Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 8/3/42, acting under instructions from my Battery Commander, I went to the clothing store in company with 2/Lieut. R. C. Smith, R.A., with a view to getting the accused clothed up. On reaching the clothing store I ordered the accused to take off his coat and waistcoat to try on his Battle Dress, but he refused to do so, saying "I am a Conscientious Objector." Mr. Smith explained the seriousness of his act and he replied "I understand perfectly." Mr. Smith then ordered him to put on his Battle Dress and he again refused. Mr. Smith then ordered me to put him under close arrest. I did so.

2/Lieut. R. C. Smith, R.A. (155350), ——— Training Regiment R.A., stated:—On 8/3/42, in company with B.S.M. Hannaway I went to the Clothing Store with a view to getting the accused fitted with uniform. When ordered to put on his Battle Dress he refused, saying "I refuse to put on uniform. I am a Conscientious Objector." I was at this time wearing my uniform with the appropriate badges of rank. I warned him of the seriousness of his refusal, but he persisted in this, saying "I refuse to put on uniform." I gave him a direct order to put on his uniform but he still refused. I then ordered B.S.M. Hannaway to place him in the Guard Room under close arrest.

The Court Martial took place at D—— on March 31 and McKellar was senteneed to 91 days' imprisonment with hard labour at Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow. He lodged an appeal to the Appellate Tribunal on April 5, and his application was endorsed by the Under Secretary of State for War on April 13. His case was not heard, however, until after he had served his sentence. He was returned to D—— and treated with every consideration pending his appeal being heard.

The Appeal Tribunal registered McKellar as a conscientious objector, but recommended him for non-combatant service. He was ordered to report to a N.C.C. Corps in Wales but refused to go. He was arrested and conveyed to Wales, on August 28. He was placed in detention and now (as we go to press) awaits a second court martial. Yet his name, under the National Service Acts, 1931-1941, is inscribed on the roll of conscientious objectors. Surely these proceedings are farcical. McKellar is recognised as a conscientious objector and ought to be treated as such.

NEWCASTLE OBJECTORS
The Stand of the Morleys

We have drawn attention in these columns to the Socialist and Pacifist records of our comrades Morley of Newcastle. We have given the history of comrade John Morley in detail, and also reported the cases of his sons, Robert and Alan. Portraits have been published of all these comrades. At the wish of our many Newcastle comrades we again direct attention to their witness against war. In Newcastle there is much local concern about the repeated prosecution of this family and a Morley Defence Committee has been organised. The Secretary is Mr. E. Archbold, of 2 Hartford Road, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne. All wishing to help should communicate with this committee at once and the workers ought to raise the struggles of the Morleys in every part of the country. They are not only witnessing against war. They are upholding traditions of conscience and democracy.

This is the position of John Morley and his two sons, as recorded already in this journal.

JOHN MORLEY—aged 57 years—Imprisoned twice during the last war as a Conscientious Objector. Outstanding worker in cause of peace all his life. Has already been imprisoned twice during this war.

ALAN MORLEY—aged 21 years—Has just been released from Durham Prison, having suffered twelve months' hard labour. Is liable to further imprisonment.

ROBERT MORLEY—aged 25 years—Imprisoned twice during this war as a Conscientious Objector. As we go to press, has been summoned to appear on 15th September, 1942, before the Newcastle City Police Court on a charge of not submitting to medical examination for Military Service. He is liable to a further twelve months' imprisonment.

Fuller details concerning our comrades make interesting reading.

JOHN MORLEY. During last war imprisoned 112 days Wormwood Scrubs and twelve months Newcastle Prison as Conscientious Objector to War.

In May, 1941, was fined at Newcastle-on-Tyne City Police Court £50 and £5 5s. costs for refusing (on conscientious grounds) to make firewatching arrangements at his business premises. On refusal to pay, unsuccessful attempts made to distrain at home and business premises. Ultimately on 1st July 1941, committed to Durham Prison for three months.

Shortly after release from prison the tenancy of his business premises were terminated by the landlord, and he was compelled to find alternative business accommodation "around the corner."

John again was pressed to comply with Firewatching Order. He refused and on 1st May, 1942, for the second time he was committed to Durham Prison for three months—no option of a fine being given.

British Law says: "No person shall be punished twice for the one offence." John Morley's offence is that he cannot conscientiously co-operate in this war measure. He has already, during this war, suffered **two terms of imprisonment for this one offence.** Technically, John Morley is guilty of continuous offence. This question was discussed fully during last war. Everyone recognises that, in cases of conscience, one offence is committed.

Two court appearances.

ROBERT MORLEY. On 20th December, 1940, arrested on warrant at work for not registering, and remanded in custody until 27th December, when he appeared at Moot Hall Police Court, Newcastle, on two charges; failing to register and failing to appear for medical examination. Fined £2 each charge and £12 4s. 9d. costs, and ordered to be detained in custody until taken by police for medical examination. On 8th January, 1941, refused medical examination and was released, having been held in custody for twenty consecutive days.

24th January, 1941. Summoned to Moot Hall Police Court, and on 5th February, 1941, arrested on warrant at work; sentenced to 56 days' imprisonment and committed to Durham Prison same day.

21st March, 1942. Minister of Labour—under Section 5 (7) of National Services (Armed Forces) Act, 1939—provisionally registered him in the Register of Conscientious Objectors, and referred his case to local tribunal.

12th May, 1942. Newcastle Tribunal considered his case in his absence—put on Military Register.

29th June, 1942. Summoned for medical examination, but did not comply.

As we go to press, Robert has been summoned to appear at Newcastle City Police Court on **Tuesday, 15th September, 1942,** to answer a charge of refusing medical examination, and is liable to another term of imprisonment.

This will be his **fourth court appearance** on pacifist grounds.

ALAN MORLEY. On pacifist grounds refrained from registering and failed to submit to medical examination for military service.

Arrested under warrant at work on 3rd November, 1941, and appeared at Newcastle Police Court same day. Remanded in custody one week—bail being refused despite surety for any amount. On 10th November, 1941, same court fined him £5 and ordered to be taken before Medical Board. Refused to submit, and on 11th November, 1941, sentenced to 12 months' hard labour and one month in default of fine. Committed that day to Durham Prison. On 30th November, 1941, transferred to Wakefield Prison. Later, because of his refusal on conscientious grounds to undertake war work in prison, was deprived of certain prison privileges, including loss of bed for seven nights, loss of one week's remission of sentence and re-transferred to Durham Prison. Released from prison 20th July, 1942, and since then has followed his normal occupation in the motor body and coach building trade.

Within three weeks of discharge from prison, pressure brought to bear upon him by National Service Officers, apparently to direct him to work deemed more helpful to the war effort. His non-compliance on conscientious grounds resulted in Statutory Summons to appear for interview at Local Labour Exchange on 2nd September, 1942. He refused to do so and is liable to further punishment.

Three court appearances.

A study of the foregoing facts must convince any normal person that the Morleys are sincere in their pacifist belief. If the Minister of Labour and National Service hopes, by the application of further punishment, to make them abandon their faith, he is alone in that delusion.

We ask the Minister of Labour, and also the Minister of Home Security, to relieve the Morleys from all further persecution. We ask the Socialist and Labour movement to respect the stands made by these Socialist Comrades for conscience and to insist on their principles being respected.

SONNET IN WAR-TIME.

'Tis wrong to sing with an embittered heart
Because we live in Time's most hideous hour,
Why let the hateful ugliness devour
Our sacred beauty. Ours the noble art
Of teaching men to play a worthy part,
And live for love of life, and all things good,
And build a Heaven of Joy and Brotherhood,
That Greed and Selfishness will never thwart.

So let us sing of gentler things, and fair,
And prove to those who are both deaf and blind,
That he who hath a sweet and lovely mind,
And knoweth false from true, breathes sweeter air
Than he who hath no mind to call his own,
And kneeleth meekly at a tyrant's throne.

JOE CORRIE.

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Write for Strickland Press Catalogue.

Glasgow Anarchist C.O.

HIGH COURT APPEAL.

The "Scottish Daily Express" for Wednesday, September 23, published a report of the case of our Anarchist comrade, Edward Shaw. The report is not worded exactly as we would like, and too much emphasis is placed on Shaw's proletarian style, whereas his legal courage and forthrightness should be considered, but it tells the story of his stand and is a contribution to the records of the C.O. struggle and of the Anarchist Movement. It is also an expression of democracy. For these reasons we reproduce it without alteration:—

WORKMAN DEBATES WITH 3 JUDGES

Tousle-headed Edward Shaw, 36-year-old sheet metal worker, 173 Dalmarnock Road, Glasgow, pleaded his own case in a Clydeside accent before the Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Cooper, and two other judges at the Justiciary Appeal Court in Edinburgh yesterday.

His opponent was Mr. J. S. C. Reid, the Lord Advocate, chief legal officer of the Crown in Scotland.

Shaw, who appealed against a decision of Sheriff McDonald of Glasgow that he should be detained in Barlinnie Prison for a period not exceeding seven days so that he might be medically examined under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, lost his appeal.

But Lord Cooper paid him the compliment of saying that he had "presented his case with cogency and force."

"ILLEGAL" TERMS

Shaw's argument was that the Ministry of Labour's summons to him to appear for his medical examination was illegal because in a previous letter telling him that he would be called they used the term "without qualification" in describing his removal from the roll of conscientious objectors.

He pointed out, and the three judges agreed, that this term had been abolished from the National Service Act by an amending schedule in 1941.

He maintained that the use of this term by the Ministry in an official document sent to him might prejudice his future life.

"I am the only tradesman in Glasgow among the sheet metal workers who has been called up," he said. "The Ministry of Labour don't know my trade. I am now 36, and according the the schedule of reserved occupations I should not be called until January next year.

"It's me who is upholding the Act of Parliament, not the Ministry," he said. "They should be in the dock here, not me."

NO EXPENSES

Lord Cooper and his fellow judges in dismissing the appeol, told Shaw that though the letter from the Ministry might have been wrong, the actual notice summoning him for medical examination was quite legal.

Shaw appealed to Lord Cooper to "make the expenses as light as possible as I am only a working man."

The Lord Advocate, however, said the Crown would make no claim for expenses.

Shaw then asked the Lord Justice Clerk if it would be "all right if I surrendered myself in Glasgow."

"I have my return ticket in my pocket," he said, "and it would be much more helpful to me if I surrendered there than if I were pinched here in Edinburgh."

The judges agreed to this course.

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"BLOODY BAYONETS"

Reviewed by LESLIE ROGERS

"BLOODY BAYONETS," The Complete Guide to Bayonet Fighting. By Squadron Leader R. A. Lidstone, R.A.F.V.R. Sketches by L/Cpl. M. C. Clifford. Published by Gale and Polden. **2/-.**

"Bloody Bayonets" is the apt title of this spirited and instructive little book on bayonet fighting. The cover design shows a very grim, even ferocious-looking soldier advancing with fixed bayonet. A background of vermilion gives a touch of realism to the title.

"Bayonet fighting is a bloody business," writes Squadron Leader Lidstone. The chief characteristics of ability to win are confidence, cool-headedness and experience. The soldier "learns how to attack in mass formation, and the offensive spirit, so essential to this form of fighting, is instilled into him."

"Trepidation is the bayonet-fighter's worst enemy, whereas the man imbued with a veritable 'Bayonet Spirit' will terrify his opponent by his ferocious onslaught and will overcome him by fear before striking a blow. The 'Bayonet Spirit,' combined with a sound training in the scientific use of the weapon, must be inspired in every man who may be called upon to use a rifle and bayonet." Bayonet fighting should be encouraged as a recreation.

The author deals thoroughly with the various strokes and parries, and adds a useful tip to beginners that merely to tap weapons with an opponent "will neither frighten nor annoy him."

In a section given to Close-up Fighting, he writes "To use the point in a Close-up is impossible. In a fight with sharp weapons, butt strokes and tripping would normally take the place of thrusts, although kicking, the use of the knee and other unsportsmanlike tricks would not be out of place." "The butt," he goes on to say, "can sometimes be used to great advantage. . . . Nevertheless, the butt seldom deals a fatal blow and consequently must be followed by a bayonet thrust." Instruction is given as to how the opponent's face may be smashed by a right butt stroke or by driving the butt, end on, straight into his face. Tripping may also be employed, "but it must be realised that further action will be necessary when your man is thrown." The Right Ankle Trip is assisted by forcing the butt into your opponent's stomach. The bringing of the knee into an opponent's fork "with as hearty a jab as you can" is also recommended.

In the section entitled "The Kill," Squadron Leader Lidstone refers to the opponent who has been tripped or who has fallen. He says "you must thrust before he has time to recover himself. You must kill, and kill quickly." He then explains the withdrawal of the bayonet after the kill. "To withdraw, place your left foot on the body, slipping your left hand along the barrel towards the hilt of the bayonet. Then withdraw by pulling with both hands in the direction of the butt and pushing with the left foot."

In a struggle for a rifle, if the opponent refuses to let go "you must resort to kicking, jabbing with your knee or heel, punching, etc." Having disarmed your opponent, "without pausing, deliver the death stroke."

A high degree of realism is given to the book by the sketches of L/Cpl. Clifford. In keeping with the title, he does not spare his readers blood. Figure 12 shows a bayonet being thrust into the bare throat of the opponent, and rather more than a mere trickle of blood is in evidence. Figure 24, entitled "Kill (following ankle trip)," pictures the enemy on the ground, one hand held up, apparently as a plea for mercy, whilst his opponent is standing over him, his bayonet ready for delivering the "death stroke."

Any doubt as to whether mercy was shown is dispelled by Figure 25, entitled "Withdraw (following ankle trip)," which concludes the episode and shows the enemy on the ground with half the bayonet driven into his stomach from which blood is gushing. His opponent, with bestial ferocity, has placed his foot on the dying man's stomach and is freeing his weapon by violent tugging and pushing.

Reference should, perhaps, also be made to Figure 30, entitled "Kill (following disarm)." This illustration shows the disarmed man lying on the ground; one hand is raised in agony and the other grasps the blade of a bayonet which is being driven in an upward direction into the pit of his stomach.

The book may have been published with a desire to make us into a nation of bayonet fighters. It is frank and lacks hypocrisy. Whether it will enjoy a wide popularity now that the inculcation of blood-lust has been officially suspended, remains to be seen.

Some readers may think that even if "Bloody Bayonets" does not directly encourage the sadism latent in individuals, it does encourage conditions in which that latent sadism will manifest itself. Be that as it may, it would be a good thing if the book were placed in the hands of our religious leaders and army chaplains—they might find it somewhat difficult to reconcile the "veritable bayonet spirit" with the spirit of God within each one of us.

THE WORLD OF WAR AND RUMOUR

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

As the plight of Stalingrad grows daily more desperate, it is well to consider what the position will be if the city should at length fall.

The daily newspapers are the Government-censored channels of war propaganda, so presumably a person may quote their opinions without being charged with having an undue desire to spread despondency and alarm. Some well-known organs of the daily Press have, in the past, stated quite plainly that if Stalingrad should be captured and if the Axis should gain control of the Caucasus, the military strength of Russia will, at the very least, be crippled and the chance of a decisive victory for the Allies will disappear. In the past, too, the opinion was expressed that if we lost Singapore, we might never again be able to recapture that stronghold from the Japanese or the remainder of our possessions in the Far East.

Now although the time is probably at hand when the expression of such opinions will no longer be a feature of the newspapers as it will not harmonise with whatever fresh "victory" carrot it is considered expedient to dangle before the British donkey's nose; seeing that no new factor has appeared in the war situation to deprive these opinions of validity, it will be wise to remind ourselves of their most undoubted reasonableness.

If the Soviet Government, in addition to losing so much land valuable for food production and so many towns important for the manufacture of armaments, should also have its communications with the main source of its oil supply cut both by water and by rail, it certainly does look as though its war effort would be crippled. Indeed if, as recent news indicates, the Soviet is going to be partly dependent for its food supplies on wheat sent from Canada by sea, sooner or later the Russian Government might be compelled to surrender completely.

If Britain has failed to achieve a decisive victory when a Continental ally with immense resources in men and materials was still at the height of her military strength, it seems hardly likely, to say the least of it, that she will be able to do so when, for that ally, another is substituted who is already in serious difficulties through shortage of certain essential war materials; who has, with inadequate shipping, to transport both men and equipment by long and dangerous sea routes, to fight an enemy with an excellent rail and transport system at his rear; and whose armament firms and politicians have, even in the opinion of the newspapers of their own country, not a very savoury reputation either for honesty or for efficiency.

With regard to the Far East, the Japanese appear, for physical reasons alone, to be superior to European soldiers in warfare under the peculiar and exacting conditions of the tropics, and, supplied as she now is, with oil, rubber and essential minerals, it is difficult to see what reasonable chance exists of turning Japan out of the innumerable positions in which she is now strongly entrenched.

It is also an unfortunate, if humiliating, fact that in almost every major engagement of this war Germans and Japanese have proved their superiority over the Forces of the Allies. There sems no obvious reason why in the future the Axis Forces should cease to continue to prove themselves better led and better equipped and, in modern mechanised warfare, inferiority of equipment, alone, makes the sending into battle of troops or airmen a useless and unjustifiable sacrifice of life.

On September the 16th the "Daily Mail" concluded its leading article with these words "Only when the United States gets fully into its stride will the balance turn against the Axis." That time has not yet come. President Roosevelt tells us that America has reached little more than half her possible war production. . . . The battle of production is by no means won. We shall hold our own through the coming winter only if we work to the limit of our power and to the peak of our efficiency." Nothing very cheerful here, especially in view of America's difficulties with a shortage of rubber, steel and other raw materials! No mention of "victory" at all and even "holding our own" is conditional!

Incidentally, Mr. Donald Nelson, the head of American war production, is reported to have said recently that the U.S.A. is nearing the peak of production. If this be the case the peak of American war production would appear to be about half of President Roosevelt's theoretical estimate.

According to a report, also in the "Daily Mail," Mr. E. Brown, the Minister of Education, in a recent spech addressed to a gathering of Liberals, if slightly more optimistic, was certainly anything but convincing. Mr. Brown is said to have declared that "everything" pointed to a coming change and to the assumption of the offensive by the Allies "until, at an appalling cost in blood, tears, toil and sweat" (but not the blood, etc., of Mr. Brown and his Cabinet colleagues it would seem), "victory is achieved." What the "everything" pointing to the assumption of the offensive by the Allies may be, is not very clear. Possibly Mr. Brown was referring to the disasters at Dieppe and Tobruk, but, while further offensives of this kind certainly seem to promise an appalling sacrifice in blood, toil, tears and sweat, the ensuing victory is not obvious! The plain fact is that we have had more than enough blah of this description and that is the long and short of it.

There is a persistent rumour at the present time that if Hitler should succeed in crippling Russian resistance, he will make another peace offer. I am not myself entirely confident that this will happen, as Hitler some time ago declared that he had made his last peace offer and, during the past few months, we have heard rumours of peace offers all of which have failed to materialise.

Assuming, however, that another offer of a negotiated peace is going to be made by Germany it is of the utmost importance that we should consider in advance the opportunity that such an important event would provide.

In the past more than one peace offer has been made, officially or unofficially, and haughtily rejected by our politicians who have shown themselves more concerned with saving their faces and keeping their jobs than with the true welfare of the country. In every case subsequent events have proved the rejection of the peace offer to have been a tragic blunder. The military position of Britain and her Allies has become worse—sometimes much worse—; for which reason the sacrifice of the lives both of Servicemen and civilians which has occurred after the rejection of the peace proposal has been a useless and unavailing sacrifice.

If another offer of a negotiated peace should be rejected by our Government, the latter will prove themselves worse enemies of Britain than Hitler himself. This is not an exaggerated opinion of an extreme pacifist or defeatest. It is a perfectly obvious fact.

If the opinions quoted earlier in this article from the Government's Press propaganda agents relative to the Allies' position in the event of a collapse of Russian resistance, are correct, then, if Stalingrad falls, the only alternatives that would remain for us would be a negotiated peace or the worst of all evils —defeat.

Hitler, by offering us a chance for a negotiated peace, would be offering us certain escape from the risk of defeat, whether his word can be trusted or not; for a negotiated peace of course assumes that we are left in full possession of our defence Forces until such time as we may see fit to reduce them as part of a general plan for world disarmament. The Government, on the other hand, if it rejected the offer of a negotiated peace, would be exposing the country to further, and perhaps greater, risk of defeat.

Hitler again, by suggesting a negotiated peace, would be giving us the chance of immediate deliverance from further war casualties. The Government, on the other hand, if it refused to negotiate, would be condemning us to suffer still further casualties. These, moreover, would be useless casualties for, if victory were no longer within reach, the best that could be hoped for would be a negotiated peace, i.e., the very thing that Hitler was offering us before the casualties had been sustained.

Lastly, even from the most pessimistic and militarist standpoint which assumes the likelihood of another war, it should now be obvious to anyone outside a lunatic asylum that the Allies have far more to gain than the Axis from a period of respite. Hitler would be offering us such an advantage. The Government, on the other hand, if they again refused to negotiate, would be denying us a badly-needed opportunity for recovery and for profiting from past mistakes.

Recently I had the opportunity, rare in these days, of getting some firsthand information about the position on the Continent from an Englishman who has been living in France and, for a short time, in a neutral country, ever since the beginning of the war.

My informant is an intelligent man whose sympathies are more with the Left than with the Right, but who is very impartial in his general outlook. He has no very strong prejudices or feelings in regard either to Continental or Home politics. He has, I believe, given minor officials of our own Government much the same information as he gave me, desiring if possible to be helpful, while regretting the ignorance and lack of imagination common in official circles.

He told me that, apart from a few fire-eating officers of the old school, there is practically no hatred for the Germans, either among Frenchmen living in France, or among those engaged in work in Germany. There is, indeed, some inclination to co-operate and there is also evidence that when the two races have social contacts each influences the other. This is interesting and important, as it suggests that even if peace were concluded without a German defeat, the bad features in the Nazi system would tend gradually to disappear as the result of the influence exercised upon Germans by people not of German nationality. There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream and an iceberg which resists the demolition efforts of a company of men armed with axes may dissolve slowly but surely under the permeating rays of the sun.

I was not very surprised to learn that Britain is by no means popular in the occupied countries, "perfidious Albion" being the prevailing sentiment. In France there is not the slightest inclination to regard Britain as a potential deliverer and the people have a profound aversion to taking further part in war for any reason or in defence of any cause. Communism is strong among the working-class who look forward to the day when they will will be able to turn out political opponents of their own race, rather than to the day when they will be rid of the Germans.

Although he naturally and rightly called the practice "brutal," my informant said that the killing of hostages by order of German officers was not the indiscriminate and wholesale practice that our propaganda has led us to believe. Probably only a few persons were actually put to death and these, he learned from a French source, were carefully selected from among those who the Germans felt confident had been concerned in acts of violence against soldiers or officials, or were engaged in planning such acts of violence.

The food situation is fair in Occupied France, very bad in the unoccupied part of the country; although the shortage does not amount to actual starvation.

My informant learned from various sources (including a person who had been interned in Germany) that the German people have a great and freely-expressed longing for the end of the war, though this longing is not usually accompanied by opposition to Hitler. They are distressed by the casualties suffered in the Russian campaign. Hatred for the British people is markedly absent among them, the ugly sentiment of hatred for the people of the other side being, unfortunately, more common over here. Differences in propaganda may be responsible, for German propaganda seems to concentrate its attack on British politicians, financiers and Jews; while over here the people are subjected to a good deal of the indiscriminating poison of Vansittartism.

I learned that it is unlikely that the German Government would offer any objection if, in order to ascertain whether the peoples of the occupied countries would prefer a negotiated peace now, or a continuation of the war in the hope that the Allies might drive out the German invaders, some responsible neutral statesman, such as Dr. Salazar of Portugal, were invited to conduct an impartial and unhampered enquiry—a course of action which surely has much to recommend it.

Since writing the above I have had the accuracy of much of my informant's description of the general feeling in Europe confirmed from an independent source to which even the most orthodox supporters of the war might be expected to pay attention.

POLLITT IS PRO-FASCIST!

C.P. Speaker's View.

The September issue of "The Word" was published on Thursday, August 27. Its effect was felt almost immediately.

On Sunday, August 30, the local branch of the C.P. at Kingston held a public meeting in the Market Square to call for "National Unity." The speaker stressed the need for complete unity of the people with their Government, and warned his audience against the disruptive elements who attempted to sabotage such unity. He described these elements variously as "Fifth Column," "Trotskyite," "Pro-Nazi," "Pro-Fascist," etc.

When question time came a questioner explained how he had read the C.P. pamphlet on "Hitler's Agents in Britain," and then proceeded to quote the following extracts from "The Word":—

"It is not too late. Take up the struggle now. Repudiate the surrender to Churchill Government of every victory won by the Labour movement in the course of its long and glorious history.

"End the coalition of Labour with those who have brought the people of Britain to the verge of disaster.

"The workers of Britain cannot afford to trust their destinies to such leaders in peace or war."

Did the speaker think that these statements were written by a pro-fascist agent of Hitler in Britain? asked the questioner.

The C.P. speaker, with a light in his eyes, and an enthusiasm that was remarkable, expounded for five minutes on the subject; he definitely agreed that the writer of such statements must be a pro-fascist, and he showed what an excellent example it was of what a pro-nazi agent could say. When he had finished, the questioner pointed out that the extract he had read out came from Harry Pollitt's pamphlet "The War and the Labour Movement" published in June, 1940!!!

At that, the speaker nearly had a fit!!! Even the peculiar brand of Marxist dialectics used by the Comical Party were of no avail to extricate him from his dilemma. Out of his own mouth, this C.P.er had condemned his own Gauleiter as a "pro-fascist," and the crowd were quick to see the point.

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ROBERT TAYLOR

"The Literary Guide," London, for July, published the following notice of our "life" of Robert Taylor, under the heading "Items of Interest":—

Readers of this journal who are interested in the history of the Freethought Movement, when the struggle for freedom of thought and freedom of speech was more perilous than it is to-day, will glean useful information from a pamphlet just published entitled "The Devil's Chaplain," being the story of the Rev. Robert Taylor, who fought very gallantly against ecclesiastical persecution. It is sympathetically compiled by Mr. Guy A. Aldred, and a copy may be procured from the Strickland Press, 101 George Street, Glasgow. The price, including postage, is fivepence.

Robert Taylor continued his Rotunda addresses until heart trouble compelled him to retire from the platform. He married a wealthy woman, and spent the last ten years of his life travelling with her through Europe and America, finally settling at Jersey. He is said to have repudiated his Deism, and to have returned to the Established Church after his marriage. The conversion stories are answered generally in our biography. No details are given. We have traced the following four references to this alleged conversion:—

"Annual Register," September 1844, p. 273.—"Ultimately he renounced his errors and returned to the doctrines of the Established Church."

"John Bull," Saturday, October 12th, 1884.—"He renounced or professed to renounce his deistical principles.—D. White." (Quoted by "Notes and Queries").

"Gentleman's Magazine," Vol. XXII., Second Series, p. 550, November, 1844.—"Though some disparity of years existed between Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, they lived happily. He renounced his errors and returned to the doctrines of the Established Church, and latterly practised as surgeon at Tours."

"Notes and Queries," Vol. XXII, June 1877, p. 497.—"Taylor seems to have been insane as to religion, but to have died as a convert to the Christian religion.—Charles Cooks."

More light on these statements will be welcomed. Concerning the second-mentioned of these journals, it is interesting to note the appended reference penned by Carlile in "The Lion" for February 1, 1828:—

"The "John Bull" is no more an indication of the political principles of its proprietary, than it would be, if, with the same principles, it were avowedly in the hands of the proprietor of this journal. It was a successful hit at the bigotry and prejudices of the worst part of the community, at a peculiar moment, on the return and trial of the late queen; and, onward, this misnomer, has trod its dirty path. That it has struck successfully at some parts of the cantings of the day, we grant; but only at such parts as were opposed to the interests of the long-established cantings, from which it draws its foul support."

The character of this "John Bull" seems to have anticipated that of the "John Bull" edited and established during the first world war by the late Horatio Bottomley.

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UNITARIAN CHURCH
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Pacifism Criticised

Dear Comrade,—Although I have a big sympathy with pacifists — more so the Political brand — I am afraid few are living up to facts and appear to miss the real point.

Had the war been purely an Imperialist one, then I would agree that it matters not who became our "boss"—Churchill, Hitler or Roosevelt, BUT surely it is clear that with the introduction of Nazism and Fascism, the whole position IS changed. To me I do not blame Germany more than Italy—both are a curse to the future of the world's masses—both are out to keep the Workers down. The chances of ever gaining our hopes of Socialism, should the Fascists win are gone for hundreds of years, but even though our system or our Government are not what WE want, still, if we win we can still HOPE to carry on the struggle and I think that is worth while.

It should NEVER be forgotten that Fascism started in ITALY and was cop'ed by Hitler. Its very teaching is ROMAN CATHOLIC which is totalitarian in itself and the greatest curse the WORLD has ever had to face, and if Pacifists are prepared to humble themselves to the Church, the Catholics may, if successful allow them to carry on as serfs to the Church, but it is time you used your efforts, in my opinion to enlighten the small minority of pacifists to the FACTS. Poor Spain is a good example—I shall NEVER forgive this Country for the farce of Non-Intervention—a sort of Pacifism. Now they are not only under the heel of the gangsters, like Franco and Mussolini, but worse still under the curse of the Catholic Church, a position that could very easily come to us. It looks very strange to me that we never hear of any Atrocities commited by Italians. I wonder why?

It is all very well people like Bedford and Middleton Murry suggesting that there is no difference between the system of Italy, Germany and Russia. The answer is, IF there is no difference WHY has the Capitalist World been so hostile to Russia all these years? Why have they helped Germany to be in a position to attack Russia and IF the system is not all that we desire, I will not pick her to pieces in the middle of a terrible war, but will help her all I can, remembering that the young people of Russia are a new generation and do not deserve the crime forced on them. We can then try to improve on the system that at least stopped man exploiting man and which put "the cat amongst the capitalist pigeons." I am alive to the need of fighting Fascism here at home too, but we dare not let the cruel swines in, a Country that can profess friendship one week and attack the same friends the next for no reason but greed, or a country that can take out hundreds of innocent people and shoot them for nothing at all, need wiping out. I wonder if BEDFORD would be so sympathetic to Germany if some of the shot ones in France and many other Countries, the old Poland, Portugal, etc., had been "some of my friends and other perfectly innocent and patriotic people." **They were patriotic.**

I have no time for British Imperialism, but it is no use just changing from British Imperialism to German or Japanese Imperialism. Christian Pacifism is a myth to me. What is the difference to Christian Pacifism and ordinary Pacifism—why the Christian? It's time the people refused to be led by well-paid Parsons and Priests, but started to think for themselves.

I recommend ALL to read "The Pope and the Italian Jackal" by Jos. McCabe. 6d., The Thinkers Forum.

Sincerely and fraternally

H. J. GRIFFITHS.

Rhyl, Flintshire.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy,—"The Word," September number, cheers one up.

It is good to know that Unitarians are not all repeating the parrot phrases of the war-mongers. Bottomley, Cole, Micklewright, Sidney Spencer speak for a goodly number of Unitarians who do not bow down to the Churchill idol. F. W. Jowett, who worked in a warehouse with my uncle over sixty years ago, is as vigorous and unanswerable as ever.

If we had the machinery of propaganda of this self-elected Government we should sweep the whole lot out of power and mischief.—Fraternally yours,

RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, 2/9/42.

[Comrade Richard Lee's essays will be resumed next month.—Ed.]

Dear Friends,—I have recently read Part I of "Socialism and Parliament" which you kindly sent to me some time ago, and have now started on Part II which you supplied to my order recently. I must express my admiration for the way in which Guy Aldred has presented the wealth of material in the books, which certainly provide plenty of food for thought. I am reminded of remarks I have heard from Tory and Capitalist acquaintances to the effect that it would be a good thing if "Socialist" M.P.'s had to take charge of the government, as they would then have responsibility on their shoulders with a consequent cooling down of their wild ideas. Too true, alas, as "Socialism and Parliament" shows.—Yours sincerely,

STANLEY H. ELLISDON.

Ilford, 6/8/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I was in Glasgow on Sunday last. I really went to attend an Anarchist meeting; I only know a very little about politics, but I have no faith in the round table. A friend took me to your rooms to hear you. I am not sorry he did. I thought you were very good, and enjoyed every minute of your address.

You gave me the impression of having a razor-like mind, and I am surprised that your reward has been much less worthy of your labour than it ought to be.

I understand that when the war is over you will continue to preach non-violence and to advocate the round table for the solution of the workers' problems and their struggle for a square deal. Don't you think a little more extreme measure would help them?

We all know the forces that are against us, and in my opinion, negotiations in the class struggle will serve no purpose, and give us no results. It is impossible to beat human nature, when a man (of working class origin) reaches the top of the political tree, and begins to live on the best of the land (as I believe is every man's birth-right) then the trouble begins. The old school tie gets him in a corner and quietly says to him, "Play ball, or else." He naturally does not wish to come back among the small fry, and so the small fry tumble back to where they belong, and get nowhere. So human nature being what it is, don't you think a little elimination of the temptation, and then the round table, would take us to our goal much quicker.

The best of luck, Mr. Aldred.—Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM HALL.

Hamilton, 14/6/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been amazed at your record of service to Truth. Even though I have struggled through years of reading and mind searching to the stage when I can understand and accept your present belief, it is refreshing to learn that there is a person who has analysed so completely the various "Dogmas" held out to us to accept. I was filled with a certain amount of satisfaction that you with your wonderful record and years of persecution should express so clearly what I had more vaguely believed.

For years now I have "endorsed" the views of Douglas, on the economic side, and Orage and others too have helped me to a clearer picture of what SHOULD be and as to the HOW to achieve it. I now see that it does need a REVOLUTION of thought to end the Power and Domination of the Church over the freedom of the individual through the Marriage ceremony, the subjection of woman to man because of this. When I see more clearly how STALINISM has destroyed to date any real progress, I then accept your analysis.

I am afraid that I find much discouragement and ridicule from those around me, but that is no surprise to you.—Yours sincerely,

A. E. GARRISON.

Rotherham.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you very, very much for all the splendid literature in "The Word." As we go from tragedy to tragedy in this most foul and outrageous of all wars, it is a comfort to read of the noble ideals of some of our fellow-men. How exquisitely sweet and tender are the thoughts of Lady Dunn!

I was looking through Charles Dickens' "A Child's History of England" and came across the following extract in Chap. 21, "England under Henry the Fifth":—

"War is a dreadful thing; and it is appalling to know how the English were obliged next morning to kill those prisoners mortally wounded, who yet writhed in agony upon the ground, how the dead upon the French side were stripped by their own countrymen and countrywomen, and afterwards buried in great pits, how the dead upon the English side were piled up in a great barn, and how their bodies and the barn were all burned together. It is in such things, and in many more, much too horrible to relate, that the real desolation and wickedness of war consist. Nothing can make war otherwise than horrible."

Then follows:—

"But the dark side of it was little thought of and soon forgotten; and it cast no shade of trouble on the English people, except on those who had lost friends or relations in the fight. They welcomed their King home with shouts of rejoicing and plunged into the water to bear him ashore on their shoulders, and flocked out in crowds to welcome him in every town through which he passed, and hung rich carpets and tapestries out of the windows, and strewed the streets with flowers, and made the fountains run with wine, as the great field of Agincourt had run with blood."

After over 500 years have passed, with all the increase of knowledge, war is still being waged more cruelly than ever, with the support of the Christian churches, and sad to say, most of the people seem just as stupid and thoughtless. When will they realise that true Peace can only come from the heart and mind of each one of us.

With all good wishes.—Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) ALICE GOODRICK.

Clifton, 11/8/42.

Dear Comrade,—Your paper is like a breath of fresh air, after reading the utter tripe that is presented to us daily disguised as news. I cannot make up my mind whether the people who call themselves journalists are fools or knaves. When one sees such statements as "Congress must remove the pistol from the Government's head before negotiations can start", knowing that Gandhi's struggle will be non-violent, and also realising the Government has behind it all the armed might of the army, navy and air force, one is inclined to believe that the newspaper men must be knaves.

Our political leaders seem to be trying the same game in India as they played with the prime minister of Burma. They did succeed in putting him away, but they still lost Burma. History—!

Yours in unity,

GORDON BAXTER.

Wragby, 8/8/42.

Dear Comrade,—Since reading "The Word" and your published works I have come to look upon you as the most fearless and honourable fighter in the annals of the British working class movement. May you have the health and strength to continue your noble work.

Yours fraternally,

J. H. CHARLES.

Stoke-on-Trent, August 3.

Dear Sir,—I wish to thank you for sending me your excellent paper, which I enjoy very much. I think you are making a fine stand for sanity.

I am a Rationalist and object to all this madness on Rationalist grounds but I respect all people who are prepared to do and to suffer for their opinions.

I take off my hat to the "Heretics" and "cranks" and most of all to the absolutists.

You have my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

O. E. FOX.

Rock Ferry, August 16.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have now been taking "The Word" since last September, and have enjoyed your forthright and unequivocal articles immensely. "The Word" is to be congratulated on the fine manner in which it is linking up the different approaches to anti-militarism and socialism. The Duke of Bedford's speech in the House of Lords was a magnificent blow for the pacifist cause. A friend once said to me that a man's Christian conviction is to be tested by what he is ready to give up for it. The Duke has shown himself willing to give up one great prize for which most men crave—popularity. His ideas on finance I find most lucid, but I should like to learn a great deal more about the Social Credit system before I feel competent to criticise him.

To be perfectly frank, your own articles, excellent as they are, are to me marred by an over-dogmatic attitude. You write sometimes as if there could be no possible doubt of the correctness of your statements. For example, you say " . . . for the simple reason, that no disciple of Jesus is entitled to employ the sword." For my part I heartily agree with you, but certainly the Archbishop of Canterbury and Reinbold Niebuhr would dissent emphatically with your judgment. Still, Mr. Aldred, one can overlook one fly in the ointment if the rest is as pure as the contents of "The Word."

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

A. ALMOND.

Leyburn, June 15.

Dear Guy Aldred,—After blindly supporting this war for democracy, I have come to the conclusion that it is, in fact, a lot of bloody nonsense. Murder and destruction to no purpose, and every day, an increasing toll of misery and suffering. An Anarchist, whom at first I thought utterly mad, has convinced me finally that Anarchism is the only solution. I would be glad, therefore, if you could let me know of any Anarchists round about Manchester.

Yours sincerely,

(Miss) SYLVIA GREEN.

Prestbury, June 15.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I have been a subscriber of "The Word" since the beginning of the year and have been most heartened and helped by the various outspoken articles and the general high tone of your paper.

My very best wishes for the continuation of the good work you are doing for the Cause and Faith called Pacifism.

Yours fraternally,

WILL BARNES.

Winscombe, June 14.

Dear Friend,—I have just finished reading your booklet this morning "Why Jesus Wept" and find in it many things with which I am in perfect agreement only I do not call myself an Atheist.

I believe there is no such thing as Christianity apart from the practical application of the ethics of Jesus and that Creed and Dogma which is the stock-in-trade of the orthodox so-called Christian Church has neither part nor lot in that application.

Priestcraft has always in every Faith interpreted "religion" in terms of formality and ritual. Jesus interpreted religion in the love and service of That which he called Father (and taught men to do the same) and our neighbours as ourselves. In this way he "fulfilled the law." As Paul explains, Love worketh no ill to his neighbour therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

Others may call me an Atheist. I don't know, it depends very much on their interpretation of the term. The orthodox Church could truthfully call me a heretic as they called Jesus but Jesus was no Atheist in my interpretation of the word as he always recognised and depended upon "Something" that he recognised as the source of his being, and he found that "Something" within himself.

"Of myself I can do nothing."

"It is the Father in me that doeth the works."

Leo Tolstoy accepted the same view. I have read practically all of Leo Tolstoy's religious works and I value them very much indeed.

I left the orthodox Church more than 30 years ago, not because I had discarded religion but I found that the teaching of Jesus did not harmonise with the preachers of orthodoxy.

I am attached to no organisation whatsoever, but use my pen where I get the opportunity of doing so, in the interest of Peace and Goodwill to men.

I was a C.O. in the last war and my son is so in this one but is serving in the R.A.M.C. on the decision of the Tribunal.

I marvel at the Duke of Bedford's maiden speech in the House of Lords and I heartily agree with every word of it.

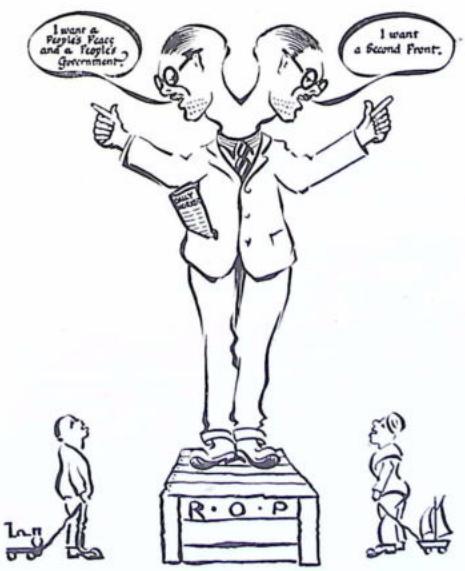
I shall close now with kindest regards.

Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS BELL.

Dundee.

SOMEWHERE IN FIFE



Study of a Lone Communist M.P.

(With apologies to a well-known advertisement.)

PEACE AIMS GROUP

HOW R. J. DAVIES, M.P., SEES THINGS

During the parliamentary recess, our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party Peace Aims Group, was active in various parts of the country. On Saturday, August 15, he addressed a conference of Labour delegates covering the whole of the Westhaughton Parliamentary Division, at the Labour Institute, Westhoughton, on Saturday. Mrs. Rhys Davies, Mr. F. J. Kettle (agent) and several County and District Councillors were present. Mr. R. Robinson, of Hindley, presided.

The meeting was reported well in the "Bolton Journal" for Saturday, August 22; and also in the "Wigan Observer," for the same date.

In reviewing the present situation, Mr. Davies said that a Coalition Government never rested easily on the shoulders of Labour, especially when Labour was in the minority. It was almost imperative in that case that Labour became subservient to Tory policy, and that was the root of the present political difficulties in home affairs. Labour had always been an agitative and propaganda body because it was a minority aspiring to become the Government with an absolute majority; the Conservatives on the other hand stood in the main for the old order of society, and it could be conjectured therefore, as a consequence, that the role of Parliament itself was difficult though we were at war. The Conservatives promised the country a good time when peace returned; Labour wanted an earnest of the New Jerusalem here and now, and the conflict between those two policies was becoming acute.

The war had thrown up many new problems, such as the tragedy of missing soldiers, about whom the relatives were naturally very anxious; workmen's compensation cases in Government factories; imprisonment and fines for absenteeism; pay and allowances for men in the Forces; old age and widows' pensions, women directed to work away from home; and the removal of railings.

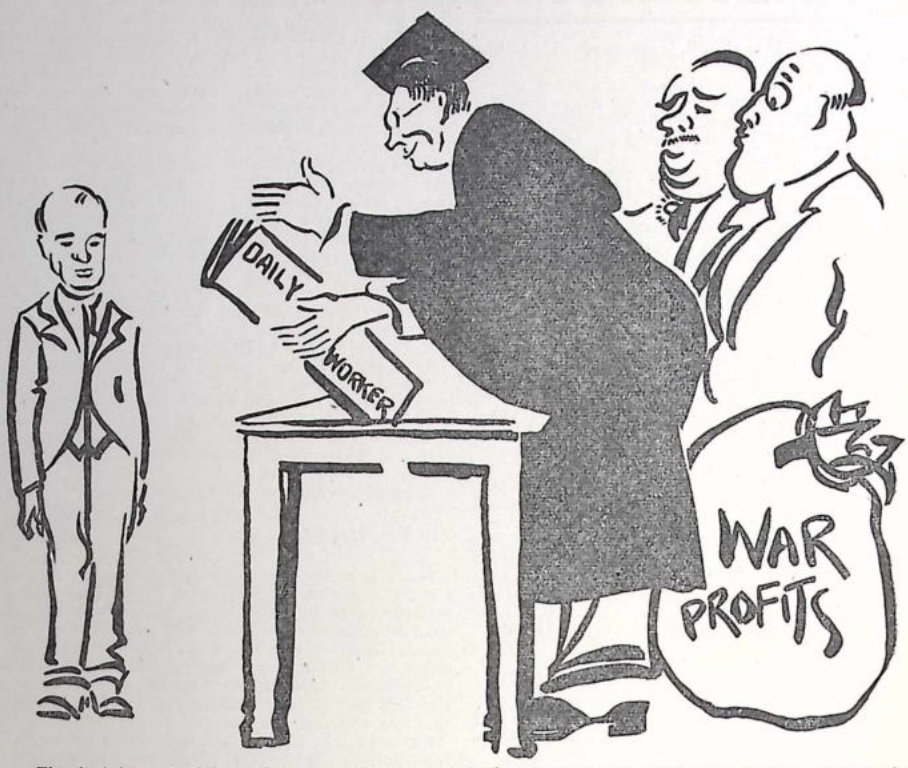
No Racial Hatred.

He had conducted a very successful campaign throughout the constituency recently, and was very pleased with the reception he got. Indeed, he was informed that some of those who had come to curse remained to bless. In short, he challenged anybody to prove that he stood for peace at any price; he was rather opposed to war at any cost. In any case he was not going to be a silent witness to the destruction of the best in the civilisation of our own country and Europe, and he declined to join in the spirit of revenge, racial hatred and the lust for human blood which had developed in the present conflict. He rested on the policy of the famous statesman Burke, who told his Bristol constituents about a century ago that he preferred to be a pillar rather than a weathercock in politics. The statesmen, in spite of their loud protestations about "evil men," would meet round the table some day. The issues coming before the Peace Conference would be those that gave rise to Hitlerism and the conflict itself, which were economic, financial and territorial.

Mr. Davies felt certain that the imprisonment of the Indian leaders was a mistake. Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin, too, were imprisoned by the democracies; that was why they became martyrs in the first instance and then the heroes of their peoples. The same would apply to Gandhi and his followers in due course.

In conclusion, Mr. Davies said that he and a few of his Labour colleagues in Parliament were doing their best to prove that war as a means of settling international disputes was futile. In any case, what they were doing was following Labour's traditional role in international affairs.

A PRIZE FOR A GOOD BOY



The bad boy, Pollitt, having duly repented of playing truant with Peace Conventions, and having promised to be a good boy and not to worry the nice kind capitalists any more for the duration and after, receives a prize from Mr. Schoolmaster Morrison.

AGE OF LIES.

R. J. Davies Exposes War Propaganda.

R. J. Davies addressed a meeting of the Horwich Brotherhood, on Sunday, September 5th. He spoke on the text, "And this is the condemnation, that Light is come into the world, and men love the darkness rather than Light."

The meeting was reported in the "Bolton Journal," for September 12.

This age, he said, would be known in history as the age of the black-out, both mentally and physically. As in the case of individuals, so it was with nations on occasions; they preferred false-hood to truth; it was much more palatable. The science of propaganda through the Press and the radio, and the assumption of government power over it all, had made that much more possible than in olden days. The struggle of the truth to live was always heavy in peace time, but when war raged the difficulties were multiplied a thousand fold.

Telling falsehoods in war-time had developed into a fine art, and what was worse than a direct lie was deliberately hiding the truth.

If they scrutinized closely the recent propaganda of Germany and our own country, they would become real cynics and decline to believe anything. For instance our airmen hit every target when they bombed Germany, but the Germans always struck our hospitals, churches, schools and ordinary buildings.

When the Germans issued their propaganda one would almost conclude there was hardly a factory or gasometer standing in our country; the Luftwaffe had devastated the lot.

A Difference in Terms.

Another instance of how the truth was twisted was in the use of words to describe events. When the Germans conquered Poland and Czechoslovakia that was "aggression", when the Russians entered Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and the Polish Ukraine, we called that "annexation", but when we entered Egypt, Iran and Iraq, that was "campaigning."

In Germany, as in every other belligerent country, they would almost certainly find the very same words being used the other way round. "Light" was truth, and the contest between light and darkness was the same throughout the ages; there was nothing new under he sun in that connection.

Hitler and his associates would have it that every Jew was a traitor whilst in time of war, there were many Britons on the other hand who would have it that every German was a devil. They knew in their own hearts, of course, that all that was wrong, but they liked superficially to believe those things. The simple fact was, of course, that no race or nation was composed exclusively of demons; the good and the bad, light and darkness, were struggling for supremacy in all people alike. Indeed, the same struggle proceeded in every individual, too.

Fighting for Freedom.

Every nation going into battle was "fighting for freedom and religion", and those who said those things knew full well that when the statesmen reached the conference table at the end of the conflict, not a single reference would then be made to those great ideals. Statesmen told them that the world after the war would be such a pleasant place to live in, when they must know that the contrary would be the case. They must know, too, that they might not be in power to affect the situation one way or the other. History told them that it was seldom a nation to war, was left in power to make the peace. They, themselves, had already had one change of Government since the war began. When that change took place, the Germans felt sure that our moral was cracking. On the other hand, when a German General was dismissed or a Minister of the Reich handed in his portfolio, then some of our propagandists were certain that the Nazi system was beginning to crumble! And so the falsehood proceeded.

Finally, the common folk everywhere must not allow themselves to be deceived by false propaganda; they must learn to distinguish between the truth and the lie; between light and darkness, and to that end they must be educated to think correctly. In any case, war and truth could never blend.

LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

(An Association of Pacifist Members of the Labour Party.)

Chairman - - Reginald W. Sorensen, M.P.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Cl. W. C. Elliott, Secy.	Lord Farringdon
Miss Ethel Watts, Asst. Secretary.	Fred Longden
Cl. E. R. Simmons, J.P., C.C., Treas.	Eric Messer
John R. Battley, J.P., L.C.C.	Sybil Morrison
Rev. A. D. Belden, D.D.	W. R. Page
Rhys Davies, M.P.	S. Peck.
Miss Dorothy Evans	R. S. W. Pollard
	Donald Port
	E. C. Redhead
	H. Reginald Underhill

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship seeks to associate those members of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations whose convictions preclude their endorsement of War and who endeavour in consistency with their Socialist Faith to encourage elements of social and international sanity essential to constructive Peace; to safeguard and improve the well-being of the working class; and to seek the achievement of a Socialist Commonwealth.

The Fellowship holds that modern war endangers those high principles for which this war is allegedly waged, involves incalculable destruction, waste and misery, perverts the capacity for creative effort and stimulates perilous, impulsive, cynical or reactionary tendencies.

The Fellowship desires to work with other Labour Party comrades in loyal service to common purposes that will secure peace, justice and dignity for mankind.

All individual and affiliated members of the Labour Party who are Pacifists are invited to join the above fellowship.

Further particulars from Assistant Secretary, Miss Ethel Watts, Weylands, Water Lane, Chesham, Bucks.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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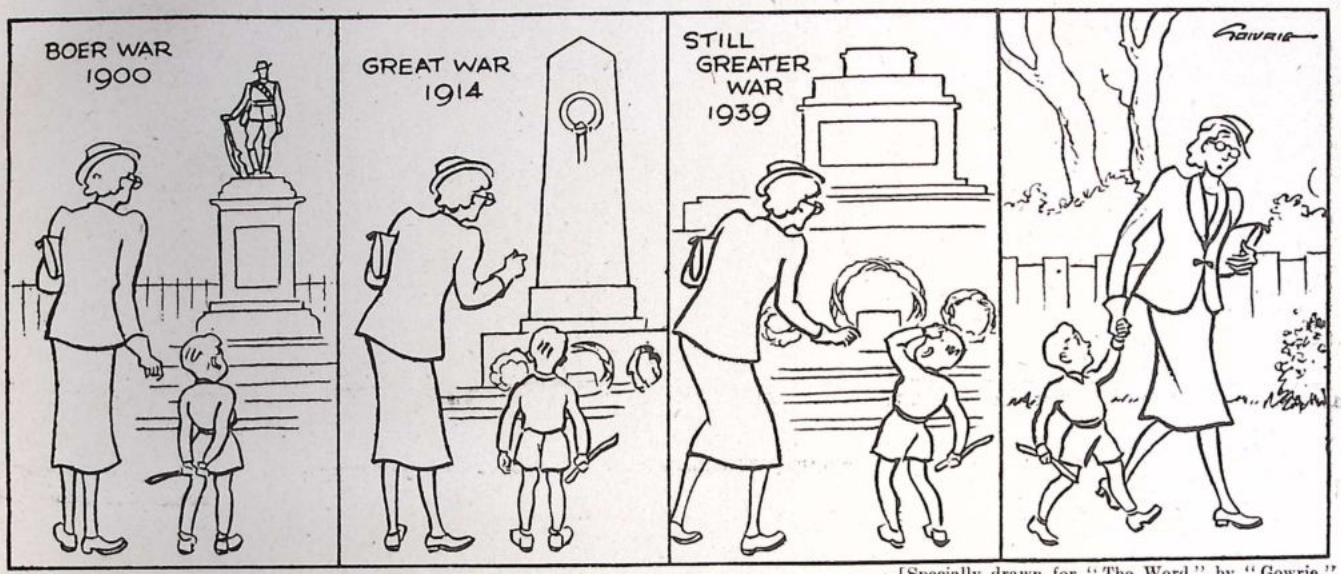
THIS WAR MEMORIAL BUSINESS: YEAR 1950.



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

"Your great grandad was killed in that war."

"Your grandad was killed in that war."

"Your daddy and your sister and your granny were killed in that war."

"—H'm! Will I be killed and have a war memorial some day, Mummy?"

IN WAR TIME.

To-night I look upon the sky,
Pale blue, with white clouds sailing by,
The trees are green, the air is still,
The purple heather crowns the hill,
The waters run so quiet and clear,
And now and then my listening ear
Is charmed by one lone wild bird's song,
That sings so clear the woods among,
Oh, perfect world, and perfect night!
My heart is swollen with delight.

Then comes the whir of aeroplane,
To change my joy to grief and pain,
A world at war, hearts filled with hate,
Blood, sin and shame in every state,
Guns, bombs, and bayonets, fire and death,
A curse in every human breath,
Oh! World of beauty, World of love,
When will mankind deserving prove
Of all thy bounties, all thy joy,
And, thankful for thy mercies die?

—JOE CORRIE.

FRONT PAGE APPEAL.

We make this a front page appeal, because, if the readers do NOT, individually and collectively, respond, "The Word" cannot continue in its present form. This is news, urgent news. This paper is the most independent journal in the country. It has no sectarian bias and it stands for journalism as it should be. Last month we asked for £1,500 to clear our new press, to enable our pamphlet work and the paper to continue. Will you please respond? One good response from every reader — FROM YOU COMRADE—will end this begging for a year. Please respond.

This paper is sold on the street. The blackout days make street selling difficult. Become an annual subscriber. The journal will be sent, every month, post free for twelve months in Britain or places allowed abroad: 3s. 0d.

Don't delay. Send your sub. and your donation now. "The Word" is an essential journal if thought and freedom are to mean anything.

CREECH JONES, M.P.

Member for the Colonies!

CHAMPION OF THE NATIVE WORKER

Readers of these columns are familiar with the courage and forthrightness with which our comrade, A. Creech Jones, M.P. for Shipley, has addressed himself to questions of conscience, civil liberty at home and in the colonies, and, above all, rights of the native worker. His speech on conscience describing his experiences as a war-resister during the Great War of 1914-1918, made in the House of Commons on May 18, 1939, and his defence before his first Court Martial, have been reproduced. Also his great speech on conditions in the Copper Belt, made in the House of Commons on April 10, 1941, and his concluding powerful cross-talk with the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. We have reprinted an essay written by Creech Jones on the subject of Civil Liberties in the Colonies some years ago, and also outlined his career since 1916. In our comrade, the cause of liberty has a fearless champion, and the native worker an able defender and advocate. We feel that his stand should receive the support of public understanding and appreciation. Parliamentarians do not seem too willing to assist in this matter. It becomes necessary, therefore, from time to time, to direct attention to questionings and speeches in our Anti-Parliamentarian columns. Creech Jones makes full use of the House of Commons as a sounding board. It is no part of our argument against parliamentarism and careerism to refuse to second his efforts. Hence the present incomplete and arbitrary survey.

On July 16, 1941, Creech Jones asked what was the composition and terms of reference of the Committee on Colonial post-war Reconstruction, set up in the Colonial Office under the chairmanship of Lord Hailey; what outside bodies it would consult, etc. The official reply was not very satisfactory, and described the Committee vaguely as a fact-giving body.

On the same day, Creech Jones asked for a statement on the work of the Cocoa Board, on the arrangements for the storage and processing of the cocoa crop in West Africa, and the price being paid to cocoa producers.

The reply was evasive and futuristic.

On August 5, 1941, Creech Jones reverted to the Hailey Committee question and asked for, and obtained, an assurance that the new committee or secretariat would not deal with constitutional problems.

On October 1, 1941, Creech Jones asked that a White Paper be published setting out the development programmes submitted by the respective governments under the Development and Welfare Act. He pressed that Parliament should be given the fullest information.

Six days later, he enquired on what grounds of public policy the Government of Nigeria has enacted legislation prohibiting strikes, and whether it is intended to extend such a prohibition through the Empire.

Mr. Hall, that sorry caricature of a man, a worker turned pseudo-statesman, replied that such legislation had been passed in N. Rhodesia, Hong Kong, Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and was to be passed in Palestine. Strikes and lock-outs were illegal unless the

dispute was reported to the Governor. The object of the legislation was to ensure that the war effort was not prejudiced. Such legislation would be enacted wherever the Governor so advises.

What a study in a miner's leader elevated to the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonial Office! The proletarian turned pompous and impressive!

The following day, Creech Jones asked what schemes had been submitted to and recommended by the Comptroller of Development welfare in the West Indies. In reply a full description of the procedure whereby the Comptroller of Development works, was given. Sixty-one concrete schemes, dealing mainly with agriculture and public health had been submitted, of which 15 had been approved.

The next day (October 9), Creech Jones asked whether the Ministry of Food would furnish a statement of the profit and loss on Government sales of West African cocoa.

Major Lloyd George stated that for the year 1939-40 the West African trading account showed a loss of about £263,000. For the 1940-1 crop the Ministry of Food purchased its requirements from the Cocoa Control Board, and made a profit of £382,000 on these purchases and distribution. This profit resulted almost entirely from the policy introduced on 1 March, 1941, by which the Ministry charged an additional £10 per ton to the manufacturer.

On October 14, Creech Jones made a vigorous attack on the Jamaica Defence Regulations. He asked if searching investigation would be made into the administration of Defence Regulations in Jamaica since the war, and what steps were being taken to rectify the injustices committed.

Mr. Hall refused to accept his suggestion that injustices had been committed.

Creech Jones asked if the Jamaica regulations would be amended to the form adopted in Britain after Parliamentary discussion.

Mr. Hall stated that the Jamaican Defence Regulation corresponding to the U.K. regulation 18B had been amended to conform exactly with the U.K. regulation.

At this time, it should be added, the number of persons interned in Jamaica was returned, officially, as 1,055. Of these 1,036 were enemy nationals, 11 British subjects, and 8 Allied or other nationalities.

On November 26, Creech Jones asked what steps had been taken in Kenya to secure decent housing for the African people in Nairobi.

Mr. Hall announced in reply that approval had been given for expenditure of £20,000 from Kenya Government Funds on the construction of houses for African Government employees in Nairobi, and for a loan of £30,000 to the Nairobi Municipal Council for a housing scheme.

On December 9, Creech Jones asked that the conference being arranged by the S. Rhodesian Prime Minister with members of the Legislative Council of N. Rhodesia to discuss amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland be cancelled, seeing that this action was an interference with the prerogatives of the British Government and calculated to create disaffection in territories for which the House of Commons was responsible.

Behind this question, as all who have studied the matter know, was concern for the well-being of the native.

The Government emphasised its precious assurances.

The following day, Creech Jones pressed for a statement on the proposed conference at Salisbury.

Mr. Hall replied that the Governments of N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland would not be represented at the conference nor in any way committed to its conclusions.

On January 28, 1942, Creech Jones challenged, in the form of a question, the character and quality of the work discharged by the Colonial Services in Malaya during the previous year. Hall expressed complete satisfaction on behalf of the Colonial Office. Creech Jones attacked broadcasters and journalists and asked them to apply their criticisms to the whole problem of colonial policy.

A. CREECH JONES, M.P. TODAY

On February 3, Creech Jones asked to what extent schemes had been submitted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; whether they would be considered by the Dufferin Committee, and whether Lord Dufferin could give proper attention to this work, in view of his full-time appointment in the Ministry of Information.

Mr. Hall replied that the time required for this job was about one hour a week.

Creech Jones "Is not that hopelessly inadequate?"

On February 4, Creech Jones asked why recruitment for the African military labour, pioneer and transport corps in East Africa had been suspended.

The reply was that this was to avoid competition from the Forces for the African labour required for increased production for war purposes.

Actually, this question was directed to the matter of the exploitation of the native worker. It was not the mere military question it seemed.

On February 11, Creech Jones asked what progress had been made in implementing the recommendations of the Copperbelt Disturbance Inquiry.

The reply stated that the recommendations in respect of wages and conditions had been put into effect. Domestic science classes for the women had been started in some of the Compounds. The United Missions were sending out a third woman welfare officer. The mine managements were encouraging the making of flower gardens, but have not increased the size of plots. The "Elder" system had been accepted at all the mines. Legislation providing for improved rates of workmen's compensation had been enacted. Every encouragement was being given to workers to bring their wives with them to the mines. As for the extension of opportunities for Africans to take on skilled work *this* matter was receiving attention.

On March 4, Creech Jones asked for full details about the proposed conscription of African labour in Kenya, and what steps had been taken to secure the most economic use of the African labour available.

In a lengthy reply, it was stated that more labour was needed for Kenya's increased production campaign in the war effort, and that the present shortage was due to a large increase of Africans in employment, and the absorption of 47,000 Africans into the Army. A Committee set up to examine the situation had unanimously recommended compulsory labour for Africans. The proposals had been approved by the Secretary of State. There was an immediate shortage of 22,500 workers for agriculture.

By question, on June 10, Creech Jones secured the names of the members of the Colonial Research Advisary Committee: Lord Hailey (Chairman), Sir Edward Appleton, Professor A. V. Hill, Sir Edward Mellanby and Dr. W. W. C. Topley.

The Labour riots in the Bahamas were

discussed on June 17. Sir Archibald Southby asked for information. The official reply was that peace was restored and that the whole question of wages under discussion. Creech Jones asked whether, in view of the continuous opposition of the Legislative Council to progressive labour legislation, consideration could be given to revision of the constitution.

The same day, Creech Jones asked why forced labour had been adopted in the private tin mines of Nigeria.

Mr. Macmillan replied that the regulations were enacted as a measure of great urgency to meet the loss of Far eastern tin supplies. The regulations gave power to regulate the conditions of employment and the provision of more specific safeguards was being taken up.

Creech Jones asked what was to be done in regard to the additional profits and royalties. After other supplementary questions, Creech Jones stated that, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, he would raise the matter on the adjournment. (June 17.)

On July 1, Creech Jones enquired about the financial assistance given by the Government to the Palestine Citrus Industry. A detailed reply was given concerning the season 1942-43.

On July 22, Creech Jones raised the questions of compulsory labour in Nigeria, and native-grown maize in Kenya.

On the first issue, he asked what Regulations to secure proper labour conditions had been made in Nigeria arising out of the scheme for industrial conscription and whether adequate arrangements for inspection and welfare had been made and labour inspectors appointed?

Mr. Macmillan replied that subsistence and free transport to and from the minefields had been provided; also a reception camp, where free meals were given. Prior medical examination would be carried out. Wages and conditions were the same as for voluntary labour on the mines. Free housing was provided and free medical facilities were available. Further welfare measures were being arranged. An administrative officer had been posted to supervise general welfare. Health conditions were inspected by the medical department.

On the Kenya maize matter, Creech Jones asked for details of the scheme in Kenya for extending control and guaranteed prices to African-grown maize; and how did it compare with guaranteed prices for non-native grown maize?

The reply showed that the price paid for native maize was less than half that paid for non-native maize.

In his questionings, Creech Jones has been backed ably by David Adams, E. Harvey, G. Mather, R. W. Sorensen, and D. L. Lipson, the Independent Conservative. He remains, however, the outstanding, well-informed, vigilant, untiring defender of the native worker in the House of Commons, and in the public life of Great Britain.

MORE IGNORED SPEECHES

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All Members of the Labour Party who believe in the struggle towards peace should write to R. R. Stokes, M.P., Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

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POVERTY AND OVER-TAXATION

By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

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COMMUNISM AND INDIA

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Your scarifying strictures on the Communist Party in the—as usual—admirable current number of "The Word" are greatly to the point and richly deserved; and in no matter do these people show their typical party politicians' rascally and unscrupulous mendacity and shameless opportunism than in respect of India, to one of the communities whereof I have the honour to belong, and of whose "freedom" (Communist Party version, naturally, with, doubtless, Stalinist concentration-camps, Ogpu and liquidations all complete) they have the effrontery to pose as champions. In this connection vide Souvarine, Andre Gide, Eugene Lyons, A. N. Chamberlin and Max Eastman, who can by no stretch of imagination be called "hostile" critics, until they saw for themselves what the Proletarian Paradise was like.

A placard has recently appeared about London repeating in aggravated form the pestilent and mendacious twaddle of an earlier one with its "Enlist India's 400,000,000 for Freedom", this time adding that "in spite" ("in spite" if you please, when "out of spite" would better meet the case) of Mr. Gandhi, India's 400,000,000 can still be "won" as Allies in the cause of "freedom" and in the "fight against Fascism," etc., etc., *ad lib et nauseam.*

Now anyone not utterly ignorant of the evidence that exists or dishonest, or both, knows that such talk is pestilential malignant drivel. To begin with the sheer physical condition of the vast mass of India's population—with its average income of one-twenty-sixth or less of that of England—is such that it would require years of good nourishment plus good living conditions to bring them up to let us say even a C.3. standard. Again, if England with all her vast mass-production facilities has, after the best part of a decade (including the pre-war period of rearmament) not succeeded in yet adequately arming and equipping such armies as she has, how is India with not a minute fraction of those mass-production resources going to do so within any measurable period of time? Meanwhile, Japan, doubtless by private arrangement with the Bosses of the Communist Party will kindly hold her hand until Indians are first fed up to the minimum standard of military fitness, then trained, then equipped, all of which processes might occupy twenty-five years at a conservative estimate! . . . In reality the Communist Party and those who like them want to "enlist India" for this that or the other are India's worst enemies for they want our unhappy country dragged into a War for the furtherance of their own party purposes and ends, not for any problematical good they think or believe may accrue to her therefrom.

Gandiji's attitude is not only utterly right spiritually and morally, it is sheer realistic common-sense as well, for it is for India the only way possible in face of a possible Japanese attack, since she (India) has not and cannot have within any measurable period of time the means or ability suitable from the War-monger's point of view for resisting Japanese or any other aggression.

And why India should submit to be used as a catspaw to pick the Dictatorship of the Proletariat chestnut out of the fire for the Communist Party (and it is certainly not intended for anyone else!) and more than the Freedom and Democracy chestnut—and WHAT a chestnut!—for British Imperialistic and Bib Business Interests is in no manner of way clear to

Yours sincerely and well-wishingly,

KAIKHOSRU SHAPURJI SORABJI.

MESSAGES FROM INDIA.

The following are extracts from the Indian section of three Annual Reports of the Methodist Missionary Society (for the years 1940, 1941 and 1942):—

1940: "The European war has not yet affected our activities in North India, but it has affected OUR THINKING, and when one remembers the horrors which are being perpetrated between nation and nation in Europe one can hardly feel proud of coming from that area. . . . India is thinking; thinking hard. There can be no doubt that these great wars in Europe are an obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the more educated Indians. Yet there are not wanting signs that here and there thoughtful men still turn wistful eyes towards Jesus Christ."

1941: "The very fact of the war is an obstacle to Christian work, for it creates a spiritual problem. For twenty years the country has been nurtured on the doctrine of non-violence, as exemplified by the greatest of its exponents, the Mahatma Gandhi, and the people find it difficult to see the righteousness, or practical utility, of violence even in the most noble cause. That nominally Christian nations should be engaged in a war so bitter is a very serious hindrance to the acceptance of the Christian Message. To this difficulty must be added the increased political strife and bitterness. There can be no question that these powerful factors hinder the coming of the Kingdom of God."

1942: "In Mysore, our workers have been taunted by Hindus, both in public and private, with the accusation: 'It was your CHRISTIAN nations that began the war; why don't some of you people get together and stop it?'"

"SOCIALISM" IN NEW ZEALAND

EX-CONCHIE AS WAR TIME PREMIER

Our comrade, Charles H. Cole, Minister of the High Street Unitarian Church, Portsmouth, sends us an interesting letter that he received from New Zealand dated May 31 last. Here is an excerpt:—

"What amazes and confronts me is that in conservative England you are still allowed to circulate papers like "The Word" . . . in N.Z. under Labour Rule such literature would be regarded as subversive and immediately suppressed. The Social Credit people started a magazine here recently, but because they dared to criticise the Government regarding certain of their financial policies, the paper was suppressed after about three or four issues. . . . Our Labour Prime Minister has said he will shoot or have shot anyone who goes on strike in the future, and should there be any more industrial trouble he will not hesitate to call out the military to deal with it."

Prime Minister Peter Fraser was jailed during 1914-1918 as a conscientious objector, because of his opposition to war.

The *Union Record*, Auckland, New Zealand, for May 1, 1942, told the story of Fraser's threats to the workers in the following report:—

FRASER THREATENS

ARMY AND STRIKES

POLICE ALREADY USED

"The Government will not flinch in enforcing the law in cases like that at Westfield. Those who took that action were betraying their country and their fellow-workers. Someone here suggested a general strike. If anyone spoke that way in Russia he would be shot. IF CIRCUMSTANCES ARISE THEY WILL BE SHOT HERE TOO. Someone here spoke of the volunteer workers getting free petrol. If there are any repetitions of Westfield they will get more than petrol, THEY WILL GET THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE ARMED FORCES OF THE STATE."

Thus the Prime Minister to the Federation of Labour Conference in a vigorous condemnation of the Westfield workers, whose action he attributed to a few trouble-makers.

Both Mr. Fraser and Mr. Webb condemned the Westfield workers for acting precipitately and referred to the repercussions on the war effort. They appealed for co-operation. (Full report appears in "The Standard" on April 9).

Though this report mentions that a delegate asked the Prime Minister why there had been no prosecution of Hellabys, Mr. Fraser made no reference to this point.

There is substance in the Prime Minister's threat. A Wellington incident makes it clear that the forces of the State will be used against workers dissatisfied with the breaking down of their conditions.

A few days before Easter, police visited the Silverstream Convalescent Hospital job late in the afternoon and questioned a number of workers.

As a result, the following motion was passed by the building workers on the job.

"This mass meeting of Building Trade Workers on the Silverstream Convalescent Hospital Job desires to make a vigorous protest against the action of the Police in visiting the above job with a view to obtaining information as to the potential opposition by workers to working during the Easter period. This meeting considers the action to savour of Gestapo methods, and as such, must be condemned in the strongest terms."

"Westfield" is a reference to a strike of the Freezing Workers at the Westfield Works, Auckland.

Coventry

GREAT MEETING HOUSE

HOLYHEAD ROAD.

Minister - - - Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

Our Religion stands for—

SOCIAL JUSTICE, WORLD PEACE, WORLD TRUTH.

Services—11 and 6.

INDICTMENT BY SUICIDE

A Review of The C.O. Tribunals

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

"An Oxford graduate, Charles W. Perring, of Kensington, was turned down at the tribunal and, after receiving several medical notices, was summoned to appear at Oxford Police Court on September 15. On the previous day, however, he told his sister that he did not intend to join up or go to prison and would find a way out. Later on the same day he threw himself from the roof of his parents' flat in Kensington and was killed. At the inquest on September 18 a verdict was brought in that Charles Perring took his life while the balance of his mind was disturbed."

A pitiable story and one of the many signs of the spiritual and moral degradation into which the country is drifting under the curse of war.

Charles Perring was brave enough to refuse to join that portion of the herd of conscripted sheep which knows that the war is wrong, but, in spite of that knowledge, allows itself to be driven off to kill, or be killed, at the bidding of the politicians. Yet, though he was brave enough to go so far, he lacked the determination — and who can greatly blame him? — to endure imprisonment under the disgraceful conditions which, one hears from many quarters, are now allowed to prevail. So he took the short way out.

"Charles Perring took his life while the balance of his mind was disturbed." And who was to blame for disturbing the balance of Charles Perring's mind and at whose door does responsibility for his death,and for the agony of his parents and sister, lie? It lies at the door of those miserable fools on, presumably, the Oxford Tribunal and on whatever the Appeal Tribunal may be to which Oxford sends its cases, who, lacking all capacity and not improbably all real desire, to judge questions of conscience fairly, pass sentence upon men wiser and better than themselves.

Some members of Tribunals, I know, endeavour to discharge their duties fairly, but there are very many who do not, as is amply proved by the known character and record of those to whom they have refused exemption and by reports of their manner and conduct. A share of responsibility for Charles Perring's death lies at the door of those war propagandists of the Press and the B.B.C. who, not caring as to whether what they write or say be true or false, for the sake of money, stuff the minds of all men, including members of Tribunals, with a hate-dope destructive of humanity, reason and justice.

A share of responsibility — and a heavy share — lies also with a Parliament and a government who, shedding crocodile tears over the sufferings of Poles whom they betrayed into war by a senseless alliance and promise of military help they were unable to implement, take no effective steps to prevent tyranny and injustice in their own country. Especially contemptible is the share of guilt of those Labour members of the Cabinet whose past utterances on the subject of war and conscription might have been expected to shame even the most hardened consciences into refusing the bait of power and office in a War government. These men, who have turned their backs on the light they once saw, took no effective steps to secure fair play for those who, at the bottom of their hearts, they must surely know are right; nor will they ever dissociate themselves from a government which neglects to provide justice for men and women whose opinions they once themselves professed.

What is the remedy for the abuse arising from the unfit personnel of Tribunals? In a country where propaganda and war hysteria have upset balance and moral sense of the people from top to bottom it is not easy at first to know where to look for justice. (For a description of Britain in the autumn of 1942 I would commend to readers of "The Word" the study of Isaiah and Jeremiah, preferably in Moffat's translation of the Bible, if they wish to be moved at times to laughter and at time to tears by the closeness of the resemblance of the prophets' times to our own!) Seeing, however, that ordinary Tribunals are at present so heavily weighted by prejudice and feeling **against** the objector, it seems to me that the best way of securing justice and a fairer balance would be a rule that the majority of the members of Appeal Tribunals shall be composed of persons opposed to war but nevertheless known to be of such broad-minded integrity that they would not be too tender-hearted to recognise and turn down any obvious fraud.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

What will be the Position of the C.O.?

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

[This article is reprinted from the "C.B.C.O. Bulletin" for October. An account of Rhys Davies' career appeared in our columns for January. There is a record of his war opposition in SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT, Pt. II. Comrade Davies started life as a farm servant and spent ten years as a coal miner in the Rhondda Valley. He was Under-Secretary of the Home Department in 1924. —Ed.]

The late Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., whom I knew intimately, was an absolute pacifist during the last War; and his remarkable career provides the best clue to the attitude of the public towards the Conscientious Objector when war is over and the usual reaction against blood-letting sets in. Every C.O. in the Great War of 1914-18 did not, of course, travel the same path; but it is astonishing the number who became M.P.s, officials and leaders of all kinds of organisations. "Martyrs" became "heroes", as of old, as it were.

Morgan Jones was a Certificated School Teacher in South Wales; he refused to have anything to do with conscription; he defied all authority and found himself in prison for two years. His Teacher's Certificate was cancelled, and he never again followed that profession. The only way of securing a livelihood after imprisonment was to become a colliery labourer, and he followed that occupation underground for the next two years. In due course he was elected as Labour Councillor on to his Local Authority, then a County Councillor, became ultimately an M.P., and later on still parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, the very authority which had cancelled his Teacher's Certificate. The wheel of Fate turned round completely in his case.

On the other hand, some C.O.s lost their health and went down to their graves as the result of ill-treatment and persecution; others became successful shopkeepers and business men, and not a few made good in the factory and workshop. I have met some who emigrated to Canada and the U.S.A.; I never heard one regretting the action he took in 1914-1918. Indeed, some have proved themselves such implacable opponents of conscription that they are in prison once again for their principles.

THIS TIME.

What is to happen to the much larger number of C.O.s when this War is over? That is, naturally, a very difficult question to answer. There is a law on the Statute Book providing for the return to employment of all those who have been conscripted. That cannot mean much, even to the conscript, especially to those who on return home find that their employers have changed hands or have closed down for good, or that their original form of employment has disappeared for ever. What, then, is to become of C.O.s? Unless history declines to repeat itself, they may find a better niche in the industrial and commercial structure that if they had become conscripts. As a rule, it requires much more personal grit and character to be a C.O. than to become a soldier; that is recognised, even by the soldier himself. It is that grit and courage in affairs that determines a man's fate in society, whether he is a C.O. or a conscript, whether employment is good, or the out-of-works run into several millions.

THE FATEFUL DECISION.

It is seldom that we find a drunkard or a wastrel among C.O.s; they are for the most part men and women of excellent personal character, and they are gnerally honest and reliable in business. Beyond all that, they are much better mentally equipped than the average individual: they must have cultivated the habit of study and have disciplined themselves in many ways before they could arrive at the fateful conclusion to resist the awful power of the State.

That being so, there can be no doubt that the action they take, which is almost universally condemned during war, will stand them in good stead later on in life. It is well to remember in passing that most of the leaders of mankind are those who have suffered for their beliefs. Hitler, Mussolini and even Stalin were all in gaol for these very reasons; they were conscientious objectors to the laws of their respective countries for the time being; they became martyrs first, and then were hailed as heroes. In this connection history repeats itself without exception from age to age.

A DUTY CALLS.

It is common nowadays to say that when the soldiers return to civilian life they will make sure that the world shall be made better. We may be sure that there will be many more C.O.s in proportion to their numbers taking part in that effort, not merely to make "the world fit for heroes" and "safe for Democracy", but to induce mankind to believe that war settles nothing and that as an instrument of national policy it has proved its sheer futility a thousand times or more!

NORMAN LEVERITT

Last month we recorded the police court prosecution of our Spalding United Socialist Movement comrade, Norman Leveritt.

Comrade Leveritt appeared before the North Midland Tribunal at Lincoln, on November 3, 1941.

Leveritt was accompanied at the Tribunal by his uncle, J. R. James, of Hull, who is Socialist, but does not claim to be a Pacifist. Mr. James was, at one time, a Unitarian preacher. He served in the Great War. Mr. James told the Tribunal that he has discussed war with his nephew and could testify: *"My nephew's conviction is born of inner wrestling and is deep and sincere."*

The official report of the evidence given at this Tribunal, contains the following summary of Leveritt's statements:—

"Not a member of any religious body. All wars are equally alike to him. . . . Boils down to a question of a peaceful solution. . . . common sense and humanitarian grounds. . . . humanity cannot be saved by wars and evil. . . . Sympathetic with I.L.P. . . . Has not done anything in the national effort. Every little thing helps the war and it is difficult to find anything that is not helping the war effort. Is assisting in carrying on the life of the country but is not participating in the war. R.A.M.C. integral part of the Army. . . . would not serve with a civilian ambulance . . . as it would be helping the war effort however minutely."

Leveritt was registered by this Tribunal for full-time A.R.P. duties. The realisation tnat this did not square with his complete war opposition explains his present imprisonment. Under the *National Service Acts* he is entitled to receive unconditional exemption.

THE PROSPECT OF A TEN YEARS' WAR

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[The following escay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, September 18.—Ed.]

Lord Hankey, who for nearly thirty-five years was Secretary to the British Cabinet, attended all its meetings; and has more direct political knowledge of international relations of Governments (and political leaders who form governments) than anybody else, writing for the "Sunday Times" of September 6th, quoted with approval the opinion of Sir Earl Page that **this war would be a ten years' struggle.** Speaking in Sydney, Sir Earl Page had said that:—

"he had no reason to alter his opinion that the Axis would win the first four years of the war and the Allies the last six, making a ten year's struggle."

Although I do not know enough of Sir Earl Page to have any idea of the value of his opinion about the probable length of the war, I do know enough of Lord Hankey (after having sat opposite him at Cabinet meetings for nine months) to be quite sure he would not quote Sir Earl Page's opinion approvingly if he did not attach great importance to it.

As to the war being a ten years' war, that I can well believe. Indeed, if it is to end in the promised military victory for the Allies (which means reconquest by military operations of all lost British possessions in the Far East and acceptance of defeat by the Nazi and Fascist governments of Germany, Italy and Japan) then I see no possibility of the war being **only** a ten years' war. Nor do I see any possibility of the tide of battle turning in favour of the Allies at the end of this, the fourth year of war.

Deeply committed as we seem to be by the determination of all Governments concerned, and their supporting peoples, that the war must be a fight to the finish, it has the outward appearance of unreality to speak of a better way than that which lies through blood and tears to a fighting finish in the dim and distant future.

Yet I believe on the contrary that it is more realistic to think and speak of a better way, than it is to think and speak of fighting this war to a military finish. Because **there must be a better way** than that which lies through an unimaginable number of years of blood and tears of countless millions of people.

How is that way to be found? On what does the possibility of its opening depend? It is not to be found by giving confidence and trust to Governments and party leaders who think and speak only of an illusory military victory, as if no other way to end the war were thinkable or possible.

The possibility of opening that better way than fighting the war to its military finish depends on the attitude of peoples concerning the war. And this can be changed. Indeed, **it is changing now,** not here at home as yet, I agree, but in Germany and in Italy, where peoples of aggressive Governments have already suffered bereavements in millions of homes and are facing a second winter with millions of their men-folk freezing in Russia's arctic cold regions, under constant attack from people frantically, and at the cost of any sacrifice, **defending their own homeland and their way of life.**

That Hitler knows and fears this change of attitude of the German people towards the war is **proved** by his decision to organise a special army for dealing with internal disorder.

In Italy it is notorious that masses of the population are disillusioned, and that only the strangle-hold of German Nazi forces stationed in Italy prevents serious disturbances in some regions.

On July 20th the "Daily Herald" reported that Dr. Goebbels had opened an intensive propaganda to convince the German people that they will suffer "hell on earth" if the Allies win. Vansittart's infamous book, threatening the whole German people with after-war punishment, has been **translated by the Nazis into their own language, to use for their own war propaganda** to bolster up the determination of their own people. And it is only to be expected that Wolstencroft's "punish the German people" speech at the recent Trades Congress will be used to similar purposes.

The next step of approach must be taken **here at home.** There is no promise of it yet, but we do not yet know, from general and widely-shared personal experience, what war in its super-devilish modern form really is.

We have had nothing like what happened to Dusseldorf one day last week, for example. Dusseldorf, when I was there over thirty years ago, was a town similar to Bradford in many ways. Its population was only slightly larger, and it is probably as clean and attractive as ever. The running water through the centre of the town will still be clear, and the people, old and young, strolling through its handsome tree-lined thoroughfares, **will be the same kindly and friendly folk as they were then.**

How many of us reading that vauntingly display headline in last Saturday's "Daily Herald" (September 12th) realised that this Bradford of ours (for which we are now organising a Civic Society to make Bradford as beautiful as Dusseldorf was made a generation ago), may, with many other towns, have to suffer similar destruction if no better way is found than that leading to a fighting finish!

"100,000 FIRE BOMBS ON DUSSELDORF"

screeched the "Herald", and other papers.

"the flares dropped by the earlier planes and fires cause by incendaries illuminated the vast industrial area, with its munition factories, railway network, oil refineries, steel-works and blast-furnaces, better than a moon."

It was not one of the largest-scale raids, explained the "Herald", but one made by a "force running into several hundreds."

"Their work of destruction was concentrated into under one hour."

Can we now appreciate the truths of common humanity, and the beauty of human fellowship, and not have to wait to learn through bitter experience the full horror of their opposites? Germany is learning that lesson now. It will be our turn next.

Let us not forget the widely-quoted words of the American broadcaster:—

"A fate apart from the fate of Nazism is contained in none of our propaganda—and so the German people fight and offer their lives to save their families—and incidentally the Nazis—from total destruction, and they work their hands to the bone to make the guns the Nazis need.

"And the war will go on for a needless number of years because the German people are afraid. . . "

—"The Last Train from Berlin"
by Howard K. Smith.

This is outspoken testimony in favour of finding a better way than the fight to a finish, and moreover the idea is gaining ground, though very slowly, here in Britain. I quote last week's Cavalcade (September 12th):—

"The duration of the war and its outcome depend on a clear definition of objectives, for without definition we really do not know where we are going, and IT MAY TAKE YEARS GETTING TO THE PLACE WHERE THE POWER PRESSURE GROUPS WANT TO GO."

And "the place where the power pressure groups want to go" is no paradise for the people—even for a victorious people.

ALDRED'S "LIFE" OF DEBS, Post Free, 3d.; 12 copies, post free, 1s. 9d.; 24 copies, 3s. 0d.

ADELA CREAGH.

On September 28, Miss A. V. G. Creagh, 22-year-old daughter of Rear-Admiral J. V. Creagh, D.S.O. (retired), of Mycenae-road, Blackheath, S.E., successfully appealed against the decision of a tribunal for conscientious objectors to remove her name from the register. She was granted conditional exemption.

Rear-Admiral J. V. Creagh, D.S.O., made a vigorous statement on behalf of his daughter.

He said in part:—

My daughter wishes to record her Christian faith. She sees that noble ideals cannot now be achieved by people whose actions are ignoble. It is for these convictions of her conscience that she takes her stand.

For the convictions of her conscience my daughter has sacrificed friends, the material pleasures and comforts which are counted of importance by many who have not her views, with a courage worthy of her clan, which has bred fighters for 16 centuries.

As stated in our September issue, Rear-Admiral Creagh commanded destroyers during the last war, and received the D.S.O. in 1918 for his services.

Miss Creagh's full statement, and also the very clear letter addressed to the Tribunal by the Admiral, will be published in a later issue.

JUDGE RICHARDSON.

Our comrade, John Morley, published the following letter in the "Newcastle Daily Journal", for September 30. last:—

JUDGE AND C.Os.

Sir,—The report of Judge Richardson's speech on Conscientious Objectors makes amazing reading. Here is a Judge who is appointed chairman of a tribunal whose duty it is to inquire impartially into a person's statement that he (or she) has a conscientious objection to taking part in war, and to assess as nearly as they can the degree of objection to war which the applicant may sincerely and conscientiously hold.

The whole of this speech exudes the most virulent prejudice against C.Os.

JOHN MORLEY.

"Rosslyn," Highfield Road,
Westerhope.

We endorse comrade Morley's statement. We have a complete record of Richardson's disgraceful performances on the Tribunal. He dishonours his office and his behaviour is an outrage on every principle of jurisprudence. He is without dignity and without balance. The man is suffering from hysteria and ought to be removed from office.

EUGENE DEBS.

F. W. Jowett writes:—

Bradford, September 20, 1942.

My Dear Aldred,—Thanks for copies of story of Debs pamphlet. It is an inspiring pamphlet exceedingly well planned and produced. I hope it will be well received and extensively circulated. You have done good service to the cause for which Debs spent his whole life's effort by preparing and publishing the pamphlet.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

F. W. JOWETT.

Rhys J. Davies, M.P., writes:—

House of Commons, Sept. 26, 1942.

Dear Aldred,—I am delighted that you are publishing that Pamphlet about Debs. It may interest you to know that I was privileged to know his personally. We both spoke on the same platform at a very large meeting in Brooklyn, and I have before me at this moment a splendid photograph of him with his hand-writing as follows:—

"To Rhys Davies, staunch, fearless Leader of the British Workers in the great struggle and inspired evangel of the Coming Day. With the love and appreciation of his Comrade, Eugent V. Debs."

I am so glad that you are giving publicity too to the Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

Kind Wishes.

Yours faithfully,

R. J. DAVIES.

THE EDITOR LOOKS BACK

FLEET STREET, 1902-1907.
Fleet Street as the Editor knew it, in the days of the old horse bus. Here he worked for the National Press Agency and the "Daily Chronicle." Fleet Street then was supposed to be Bohemian, but the Editor revolted at its ignorance, sordidness, and corruption. He honoured spots where Richard Carlile had lived and worked.

THE EDITOR IN JUNE 1906.
Last portrait taken of the Editor as a Parliamentary Socialist Propagandist.

The editor attained his fifty-sixth birthday on the fifth of the present month. Five days later he will celebrate his fortieth anniversary as a public speaker. For he was born on Guy Fawkes Day, 1886, and made his first appearance on the public platform on November 10, 1902, as a Christian Boy Preacher. Excerpts from his Boy Preacher sermons are to be found in the appendices to Part I. of "Dogmas Discarded." The story of his early thought evolution is told in the two parts of that work.

We live in days of danger and uncertainty. Because of this the reader is asked to excuse the editor his birthday indulgence of looking back and recalling some of the milestones. Such musing is a vanity rather than an egotism because it savours of weakness rather than of strength. It is human, all too human. But to recall what one has been, and what one has done or dared or experienced, is a method of examining one's consistency. One stands in judgement at the merciless bar of one's own conscience, which knows all that is to be known. Here there is no excuse. Thus one gathers strength for further battles against that which is false. The frailty of pausing to look back is a sign of growing age and inevitable decline. But if it recreates the power to struggle, it is a weakness calling for forgiveness. The life of an agitator or pioneer has few breaks. Much abuse is suffered and some compensation is merited.

As a Boy Preacher, I developed heresy in prayer. A few of these heresies were published at the time but have not been printed since. The idea has occurred to me, often, of reprinting these forty-year-old prayers, but I have dismissed the thought as foolish. The Channing celebrations revive the idea for the most outstanding prayer embodies his idea of no gallows in the universe. But it goes beyond Channing's thought.

In 1902, my mind was undergoing rapid changes, and my sermons did not agree so much in the logic of their theology as in the logic of their development.

That was forty years ago. I often wonder how many persons who attended the meetings, listened to the sermons, and joined in the prayers, have followed my later activity. How many are in touch with me to-day? I know of one such comrade who writes me from Australia and another who is resident in the United States of America.

The Boy Preacher days ended but I sometimes think that I have followed faithfully the path indicated by my activity of those days. Many things have happened since I repudiated the idea of God and reached the conclusion that the faith once delivered to the saints was a message of uncompromising pacifism and social revolution. My courage may have faltered at times but my ideals have been clear. So have my ideas.

I pick up my cuttings at random, ignoring only the reports of my trials and imprisonments. They are too tiresome to recall at the moment.

I have written against three wars, spoken and written against two wars, completely resisted one war. I was fifteen when I opposed the Boer War. My interest was raised by the treatment meted out to Sir Redvers Buller, whom I regarded as a great and able soldier. But it developed into a fierce opposition against the war itself. This is not difficult to understand for my grandfather, with whom I lived, was an enthusiastic and uncompromising Christian Pacifist. He had a Radical love of justice and encouraged freedom of thought and expression.

In December, 1911, the "Daily Express" made a strenuous effort to secure my incarceration for blasphemy because of the part I played in the Streatham Free Speech fight. I delivered a purely logical attack on prosecution for blasphemy, and said some uncomplimentary things about the policeman as an authority on religion. The entire attack merits reprinting as also my dispute with the Vicar of Streatham at the time.

At one time I was the youngest Socialist speaker in Great Britain. I have reports of meetings I addressed at Ewell under the auspices of the local Social Democratic Federation in 1905. In these days I was active in Clerkenwell, Islington, Southwark, New Cross, Brixton, Clapham, Camberwell, Bethnal Green, and Mile End, in London. Outside London, I spoke in Strood, Gillingham, and Rochester, in Kent. When I decided to leave the parliamentary Socialists in 1906, I was asked to deliver a farewell lecture in Strood, and a local comrade, named Taylor, insisted on taking the photograph of me published in this issue. This was my first photograph as a Socialist and it marked the beginning of my anti-parliamentarian career. For that reason I consider it a picture of interest. Since it is not included in "Dogmas Discarded" I venture to publish it as a feature of this musing. I like this picture because the photographer seems to have caught my spirit of challenge to the world.

In 1925 came the Hyde Park alleged Blasphemy and Sedition prosecution, in which the police authorities were defeated, after repeated court appearances by myself, and remands were made in order, as the magistrate said and the papers reported, "that the police might have expert legal assistance", actually Crown Counsel. This case involved repeated journeys from Glasgow, since I was living in Glasgow at that time and had given up my London domicile the previous year.

It is interesting to recall how this tremendous and unsought spate of publicity came about. I arrived in London from Glasgow on Saturday, February 14, 1925, on a visit of a few days' duration. I had no intention of speaking anywhere. During the previous year I had been involved in the Glasgow Green Free Speech prosecutions. I certainly expected no trouble in London. The following day, Sunday, I naturally went for an afternoon stroll in Hyde Park, to listen to speeches, and to resume acquaintance with the famous forum in which I had spent so many Sundays, year after year, discussing and lecturing. Hyde Park had been my University. I was persuaded to mount a Socialist platform. Within a few minutes, to my amazement, two over-zealous policemen, one in plain clothes, had moved through the meeting and arrested me from the platform. I actually agreed to go with them to save a riot, as the crowd naturally resented their conduct.

I appeared before Mr. Cancellor, who was one of the magistrates at Marlborough Street Court at that time, on Monday. I was remanded on my own recognisances of £20, the magistrate making the remarkable statement that the police would require legal aid to meet my defence. When I appeared in Court again on February 24, further charges of blasphemy were added, the items being served on me in Court. I was handed charges at the meetings I addressed in Hyde Park on the Sundays during the period the case was being continued. The case was continued on March 3 and concluded on March 10, when the magistrate declared that I was innocent of blasphemy, and had said no insulting things

"EVENING STANDARD" HEADLINES.

HYDE PARK SPEAKER IN COURT.

OBJECTS TO THE CHARGE AS BEING "VAGUE."

REMAND ON BAIL.

MAGISTRATE SAYS POLICE SHOULD HAVE LEGAL HELP.

The arrest of a speaker in Hyde Park yesterday was followed by his appearance before Mr. Cancellor at Marlborough-street to-day.

Guy Alfred Aldred (38), described as a British subject, whose address was given as

Photographic reproduction, same size, London "Evening Standard" headlines and opening sentences report Hyde Park prosecution, Monday, February 16, 1925. Similiar headings as to police needing legal help appeared in other papers on the Tuesday.

about the deity, but had been somewhat insulting about the Union Jack. Actually, the case had fizzled out, after giving me an opportunity of avowing my Atheism and my Socialism, on affirmation, on the witness stand, and in my speech from the dock.

The press throughout the Country made a bigger sensation of this case than of my more serious prosecutions. The "Daily Sketch", in its northern edition, which circulated in Scotland published an excellent picture of me speaking in Hyde Park. This I reproduce from its columns for Wednesday, February 25, 1925.

This sketch did not appear in the London edition.

The London edition of the "Daily Sketch", in its issue for Monday, February 23, 1925, published the following account of my Hyde Park address:—

"MERRY LIFE OF REBELS."

Guy Aldred Speaks in Hyde Park a Week After his Arrest.

"We rebels live a merry life, but I am not sure that it is always a short one", declared Guy Aldred, who was arrested a week ago in Hyde Park, to a similar meeting held at the same spot yesterday.

When he had finished his speech and received three cheers he was handed a document by a police inspector. It was a statement of the offences with which he will be charged when he appears at Marlborough-street to-morrow.

At one stage of his address there was some interruption. Aldred called upon the police to remove the offenders, and, because they made no move to do so, announced that he would report their failure to give him protection to the proper quarter.

When I appeared on the Tuesday in the dock at Marlborough-street further charges were served on me.

Readers will be interested in the caricature of Henry Lanny Cancellor, the magistrate, as pictured by a capitalist journalist—and published in the press at the time—presiding at the first day's hearing of the case.

Born in 1862, Mr. Cancellor was educated at Oxford, and was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, in 1888, two years after I was born. He served as Metropolitan Police Magistrate at West London Police Court, 1914-21, Thames 1921 and Marlborough-street, 1921-29. He died—almost immediately after his retirement from the Bench—on October 6, 1929. The following year was published his memoirs, "The Life of a London Beak." Cancellor had a sense of humour.

I conclude by looking back at the Fleet Street I once knew, the Fleet Street of Harmsworth and Arthur Spurgeon and Robert Donald, the Fleet Street of the old horse bus. It was said to have been a street of Bohemianism. But I think that it was a network of courts and alleys in which sordid and shabby day-labourism lived, moved and had its being. I knew Spurgeon and Donald well. I knew many of the old Fleet St. characters and much of its gossip and history. Fleet Street, to me, is a memory of evil enchantment, a byway of falsehood and corruption controlled by vermin. Here genius was destroyed and talent prostituted. But it had its pleasant places. In these odd nooks and crannies I paused to vision the passing of the capitalist press, the doom of commercial journalism, and the dawn of a new civilisation. I often thought of Richard Carlile and his heroic shopmen and shopwomen who had sanctified the site and I prayed, if that be the correct term for intense hopeful dedication and consecration of one's energies, that I might tread in his footsteps.

And so I pass another milestone.

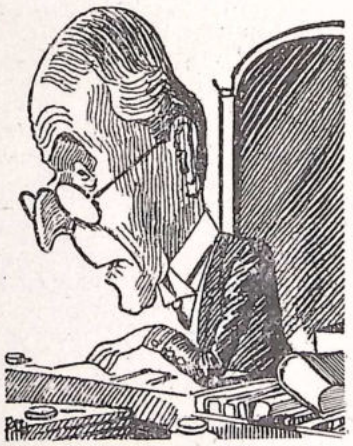
I have looked back a little, I have mused and have gained some strength from my musing. I look forward to what—?

Could I decide the future it would be a free earth and a free humanity: an earth of joy, brotherhood, and service. One day that will be the decision, not of a small minority of pioneers, but of the great majority of mankind, the great common people in a mood of great common sense.

BLASPHEMY CHARGE

When Guy Aldred (above) was again before the Marlborough-street magistrate yesterday a further charge was preferred against him—that of "using insulting and blasphemous words in Hyde Park." He was again remanded on bail.—(D.S.)

[Photographic reproduction, same size, of heading, portrait, and text from "Daily Sketch," Northern edition, for Wednesday, February 25, 1925.



[Reproduced from a London evening paper, probably "Star," February 15, 1925.

A WORRIED MAGISTRATE.

Marlborough St. Magistrate decides that the police need legal aid.

I AM THE COMMON MAN.

I am the Common Man,
I am the brute and the slave,
I am the fool, the despised,
From the cradle to the grave.

I am the hewer of coal,
I am the tiller of soil,
I am the serf of the seas,
Born to bear and to toil.

I am the builder of halls,
I am the dweller of slums,
I am the filth and the scourge
When winter's depression comes.

I am the fighter of wars,
I am the killer of men,
Not for a day or an age,
But again, and again, and again.

I am the Common Man,
But Master, oh! take you heed,
For you have put in my head
Many a wicked deed.

I am the slave and the brute,
And my hands are strong as steel,
Oh! Master, how will you fare
When down at my feet you kneel?

—JOE CORRIE.

"Dogmas Discarded" (Pts. I. & II.), fully illustrated, will be sent, post free, for 1s. 2d.

"Socialism and Parliament" (Pts. I. & II.). Aldred's 36 years' factual study of parliamentarism, will be sent, post free, for 1s. 4d.

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Chairman: Francis E. Pollard.

Nov. 3 The Experience of Penn and Pennel — Karlin Capper-Johnson

Nov. 10 Freedom from Fear (1) In World Affairs — Gerald Bailey

Nov. 17 The Trial of Willian Penn — Mabel Harrod

Nov. 24 Freedom of Expression — Robert S. W. Pollard

Dec. 1 Political Freedom — Francis E. Pollard

Dec. 8 Freedom from Fear (2) In Industrial Life — Joyce Wells

1943.

Jan. 12 Freedom to Worship — Franz Hildebrandt

Jan. 19 Freedom for Conscience — (to be announced later)

Jan. 26 Freedom or Empire — Charles Coullett

Feb. 1 Can we be Free? — Francis E. Pollard

(Arranged by the Friends Peace Committee)

The editor of "The Word" urges all readers to secure and study

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6d. (Post Free 7d.)

A NEW 24-PAGE FACTUAL PAMPHLET with a

Foreword by Fenner Brockway

The repeated prosecution of C.O's considered, in this war and the last.

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Obtainable from "The Strickland Press."

JEHOVAH WITNESSES

ARE THEY BEING PERSECUTED

A. D. SCHROEDER
Deported Leader of the Witnesses.

Last month we commented on the recent deportation to the United States of Albert Danger Schroeder, organiser of the Jehovah Witness sect in Great Britain. That the deportation was an offence against conscience is established by the fact that the Ministry of Labour told Schroeder that he must work on a farm or leave the country. He refused, voluntarily, to accept either alternative. Accordingly he was deported.

Prior to his deportation, Schroeder stated, to the press, that Jehovah's Witnesses are not a pacifist group, that they have no connection with the Peace Pledge Union, and leave the question of National Service entirely to the individual conscience of their members.

In Glasgow, the case against the deportation of Mr. Schroeder has been stated clearly, and vigorously, in the press, and on the platform, by Mr. Alexander Ratcliffe, the editor of "The Vanguard", and leader of the British Protestant League. Since the outbreak of the war, Alexander Ratcliffe has felt that no Christian can support war, and he has conducted an untiring and fearless anti-militarist campaign. This activity is to be honoured because it has cost him the support of many of his Protestant supporters. It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Ratcliffe's theology to appreciate his defence of liberty of speech and writing; and his championship of the rights of conscience.

Mr. Ratcliffe considers Schroeder to be the victim of a Roman Catholic conspiracy. We believe that he is merely the victim of political arrogance and stupidity such as only bureaucracy can exhibit in war time under pretence of military necessity and equal patriotism. We believe that Schroeder ought to have been treated with exactly the same courtesy as would have been shown to a Roman Catholic priest.

Mr. Ratcliffe states the facts clearly:—

Mr. Schroeder was educated in the University of Michigan, U.S.A. In 1932 he was ordained a minister of the Gospel as preached by the body known as "Jehovah's Witnesses." That body is recognised in the U.S.A. as a "Religious Organisation," and its ministers in the U.S.A. are recognised as "Clergymen." A preacher of "Jehovah's Witnesses" in America has the same religious standing as a Presbyterian Pastor or a Popish Priest. And when Mr. Schroeder came to Britain in 1937, he came as an American Minister of the Gospel. He came to this country with an American clergyman's rights and status, and he was not interfered with by the Government till the 14th of May this year, when he was ordered to go back to the U.S.A.

Let the reader note the position. From 1937 till 1942 no interference was made with Mr. Schroeder. The war had run for two years and six months before the authorities "got after him." When commanded to leave the country no reason was given. It was not suggested that he was a menace to the war effort, or that he was an undesirable foreigner. He was first a friendly alien, and then he was our American Ally.

Mr. Schroeder refused to leave the country, for he wanted to know why he should do so. Nothing more was said of the matter till June 17, when he was told that he must undertake work of national importance. He appealed against this, but failed. He was then told that he must take up agricultural work. He refused to do so, stating that his work was to preach the Gospel as he knew it: that he was ordained for that purpose, and for that purpose he came to this country.

And now a Deportation Order is issued against him, and although he appeals to Mr. Morrison, the Home Secretary, to be heard on the matter, his appeal is refused. Ultimately, without any given reason, he is arrested and shipped back to America in August.

Now, if a Roman Catholic priest had been treated thus, what would have happened? . . . Would not the Pope have been appealed to and successfully got the British Home Secretary to withdraw his Deportation Order and to apologise? . . . But Mr. Schroeder is not a Roman Catholic priest.

In our pamphlet, "Armageddon Incorporated", we have criticised the Jehovah's Witnesses. At the same time, we have drawn attention to their treatment by Tribunals. We propose to add to this statement of fact in the present essay.

Jehovah's witnesses as an organised body of Christians have been worshipping in Great Britain since the year 1880. To-day there are 575 congregations in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland with approximately 15,000 active associates. Of this number 1,500 are full-time appointed ministers and full-time field missionaries.

Jehovah's witnesses are NOT pacifists. They claim to be neutral as to wars and organisations of this world. They do not hinder the war effort of the nations. Jehovah's witnesses in Germany follow the same course of neutrality. Hundreds of German Witnesses have paid with their blood and thousands still lie in Hitler's concentration camps. (See H.M. Government's White Paper Cmd 6120 by Sir Neville Henderson). Since 1933 Jehovah's witnesses in Germany have bitterly opposed the Nazi regime where their numbers are greater than in Britain.

The United State Government recognises as regular ministers Jehovah's witnesses who are serving full-time, granting them exemption from war duties similar to the clergy, nuns and religious workers of the churches. In Britain the Minister of Labour has chosen to make an exception of Jehovah's witnesses by refusing to recognise them as "regular ministers of any religious denomination." [See Section 11 (c) National Service (Armed Forces' Act, 1939.] The issue of Jehovah's witnesses in Britain centres chiefly around the full-time servants who are singled out by the Ministry of Labour for prosecution and their "cat and mouse" treatment.

For the ten months' period ending July 18, 1942, 440 Jehovah's witnesses in Britain were imprisoned serving sentences ranging from one month to two years. 377 of these were men and 63 are women full-time missionaries.

Severe treatment has been meted out to William Nisbet, of Edinburgh, Arthur Russel, of Middlesbrough, Gilbert Lane, of London, Gerald Henderson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Thomas Goulden, of Liverpool. They were kept naked for hours, severely beaten, knocked unconscious and suffered assults even, in the case of Arthur Russel being manacled to a table leg.

On July 16, 1942, at Marylebone Court three officers of the London headquarters of the Society of Jehovah's witnesses were sentenced to two months under section 58A of the Defence Regulations, 1939. These officers were Alfred Pryce Hughes (47), Frank Gordon Plat (44), and Ewart Charles Chitty (44).

Hughes served a two-years' sentence in the last war and Platt three years' imprisonment (1916-1919) for their stand against war. Platt as a prisoner in the last war was forced to the front line in France and No. 1 Field Punishment was administered to him where he was strapped to a gun for eight hours at a time. Thereafter for seven months in France he was given solitary confinement. Now he is being called upon to suffer again for his principles.

On May 6th, 1942, the Home Office intimated a deportation order to the resident American Director of the Society, Mr. A. D. Schroeder. Mr. Schroeder has been an ordained minister for more than ten years. His forefathers for two generations have been American citizens.

ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE
Editor of the Glasgow "Vanguard," vigorous Protestant and Anti-War propagandist, has championed boldly the rights of the Jehovah Witnesses. The picture shows Mr. Ratcliffe speaking at Tower Hill, London.

Officials of the Ministry of Labour have admitted their purpose to close down the London Headquarters of Jehovah's witnesses using the instrument of 58A to clear out all its regular ministers. Eight further regular ministers received directions under 58A on July 17th notwithstanding that an appeal was pending in the High Court of England with reference to these regular ministers. Their names are J. B. Robb, James E. Barr, John E. Barr, H. G. King, S. E. Teasdale, A. S. Coville, F. A. Willett, and W. V. Emery.

Five Jehovah's witnesses are serving their second terms of imprisonment for resisting war. Their names are P. A. Relf, James Armstrong, G. A. Robertson, N. Gaydon, and R. W. Hindmoor.

Eleven refugee aliens have been interned by the Home Office because they are Jehovah's witnesses.

Miss Klara Bosshard, a Swiss National, was repatriated in June, 1942, the only reason given being that she was a Jehovah's witness. The British Government paid her air passage to Lisbon and thence to Switzerland.

Many of the lower Courts are prejudicial in their dealing with Jehovah's witnesses. In the case of Louisa Hercock (22) at Tottenham, March 6, 1942, Magistrates Bennett and Smith said:

"People are virtually using this organisation as a cloak for fifth column work and it is a national menace."

—"Evening Standard," 7/3/42.

"Sometimes one must do the work of the country before the work of God."

—"Hornsey Journal," 13/3/42.

In the case of E. Beavor at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, April 9, 1942, Mr. J. H. Thorpe, K.C., in passing a sentence of two years' hard labour on a Jehovah's witness minister said:

"Parliament provided for a person in your position to be sentenced to a sentence not exceeding two years. Yours seems to be such a case. We do not know of a worse one, at a time when the country needs every able-bodied man to protect it."

—"Court Shorthand Record."

Prosecutors for the Ministry of Labour abuse their privilege in Court by heaping much slander for public consumption through the press. Mr. Trevor James, in the case of Louisa Hercock (see above):

"I am led to the conclusion that many young people are being sheltered by this organisation, which

is not recognised by the Ministry. I am inclined to the view that these young people are its dupes."
—"Evening Standard", 7/3/42.

In the case of J. W. Felix before the Middleton Police Court June 8, 1942, Mr. Haywood, prosecutor for the Ministry of Labour said:

"This man calls himself a Jehovah's witness and is a member of a sect which can only be described as a small band of canting, hypocritical humbugs who have commercialized religion in the most sordid manner, and obtain an easy livelihood by playing on the gullibility of decent religious-minded people."
—"Evening Standard", 8/6/42.

In the case of Mrs. Fairweather, April 20, 1942, Mr. W. F. Watts, prosecuting at Ilfracombe said:

"I am very much tempted to suggest whether there may not be something sinister behind this movement. This woman and those who associate with her are willing to avail themselves of all the advantages of this still free country without doing a single thing in the national effort."
—"Western Morning News", 21/4/42.

Conscientious Objector's tribunals are biased in their consideration of Jehovah's witnesses who appear before them. Judge Thomas Richardson, Chairman of the Newcastle-on-Tyne tribunal said in the case of T. L. Hillary on December 6, 1939:

"You are a lot of cranks." (His decisions still bear out this prejudice.)

The late Judge Frankland, of Leeds, amongst his many tirades against Jehovah's witnesses made these remarks in his tribunal:

"You have fallen for this very obvious money-making concern, Jehovah's witnesses. You, a schoolmaster. I want you and your friend to leave the room. I don't want other people to be contaminated by your presence."
—"News Chronicle", 10/8/40.

"I want to say publicly that there is a grave doubt in my mind about the bona fides of this organisation and the people it employs."
—"Empire News", 11/8/40.

"I have been trying for a fortnight to draw your headquarters and to get them to send a balance sheet or a solicitor. They prefer to shelter; they prefer to lurk behind the privacy of Craven Terrace, London. It is another dodge for making money, most of which goes to America."
—"Daily Dispatch", 16/8/40.

"America has the biggest gold reserve in the world. I should think quite a lot of that belongs to Jehovah's witnesses and to poor English dupes they have got hold of like you."
—"Manchester Guardian", 10/8/40.

Judge Finnemore, at Birmingham, May 5, 1942, said:

"Apparently your only objection to military service is that it would mean interfering with your work as a member of Jehovah's witnesses and in my opinion this does not constitute a real conscientious objection."
—"Staffordshire Advertiser", 9/5/42.

Judge Wethered (Bristol Tribunal) described Jehovah's witnesses as:

"A mischievous society, persuading people that they should refuse to take part in the defence of their country."
—"Western Morning News", 21/4/42.

Judge Wethered, at one time, showed marked consideration to every conscientious objector who came before his Tribunal. He endeavoured to understand even when he turned down the applicant. His remarks about the Jehovah Witnesses betray war-bias.

We have no sympathy with the theology of the Jehovah Witnesses. We dislike their propaganda. We find them most annoying persons in themselves. But we would refuse to judge their cases if our bias, or genuine antagonism of feeling, rendered us incapable of delivering honest judgment as to the integrity of their war resistance. We do not like burglars but we have met burglars who were most genuine war-resisters. Charlatans or not, it is a fact that the Witnesses are genuine war resisters and that war resistance follows from their concept of Jehovah. They have resisted to the concentration camp and to the death in Germany. This fact ought to be recognised.

If Tribunals cannot put aside questions of theology and personal likes or dislikes, they are abusing their function and their personnel ought to be changed.

ANGLICAN PACIFISM MILITANT

Our fearless comrade, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A., Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras with St. Jude, continues his splendid stand for pacifism and socialism. Comrade Le Messurier aims to show that pacifism and socialism are plain, straightforward and orthodox deductions from Christian bases.

This weekly leaflet for October 11 urges his parishioners to, among other objects:

Pray for: An early ending to the war;

The return of the nations to God;

A just and lasting peace;

Those in prison for conscience sake;

The war's victims, living or dead.

In one place his weekly leaflet asks:—

Is this a joke, or not?

First schoolboy: What have you got for homework?

Second schoolboy: Bayonet fighting and Scripture.

Comrade Le Messurier concludes his leaflet with an exposition of New Testament Scripturt, from which we excerpt:

He who said, do not commit adultery, also said, do not kill. Now if you do not commit adultery but if you kill, you have transgressed the law.

The full passage is a magnificent identification of Christianity with the law of freedom and a strong denunciation of propaganda by defaming.

The letter to his parisioners deserves to be reproduced in full:—

Lest I should merit an accusation of being one-sided, I thought that this week most of this letter should be the actual words of one who is no pacifist. His prominence in the world to-day should give his words some weight. Writing of the first world-war, he shows clearly how the best things in the life of the nation and the individual were all taken over by the war spirit, and what happened as a result. These are his words:

"It was not until the dawn of the twentieth century of the Christian era that war really began to enter into its kingdom as the potential destroyer of the human race. The organization of mankind into great States and Empires and the rise of nations to full collective consciousness enabled enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale, with a perseverance never before imagined. All the noblest virtues of individuals were gathered together to strengthen the destructive capacity of the mass. Good finances, the resources of world-wide credit and trade, the accumulation of large capital reserves, made it possible to divert for considerable periods the energies of whole peoples to the task of Devastation. Democratic institutions gave expression to the will-power of millions. Education not only brought the course of the conflict within the comprehension of everyone, but rendered each person serviceable in a high degree for the purpose in hand. The Press offered a means of unification, and of mutual encouragement; Religion, having discreetly avoided conflict on the fundamental issues (Note this—R. H. Le M.) offered its encouragements and consolations, through all its forms, impartially to all combatants. Lastly Science unfolded her treasures and her secrets to the desperate demands of men and placed in their hands agencies and apparatus almost decisive in their character."

This is a terrible picture, my people, of how the Devil uses everything decent for his foul ends. But let us follow the sketch a bit further. Our writer continues:

"In consequence many novel features presented themselves. Instead of merely starving fortified towns, whole nations were methodically subjected, or sought to be subjected, to the process of reduction by famine. The entire population in one capacity or another took part in the War; all were equally the object of attack. The Air opened paths along which death and terror could be carried far behind the lines of the actual armies, to women, children, the aged, the sick, who in earlier struggles would perforce have been left untouched. Marvellous organizations of railroads, steamships and motor vehicles placed and maintained tens of millions of men continuously in action. Healing and surgery in their exquisite developments returned them again and again to the shambles. Nothing was wasted that could contribute to the process of waste. The last dying kick was brought into military utility."

And the result. What does he say about this? Listen.

"The former peace-time structure of society had for more than four years been superseded and life had been raised to a strange intensity by the war spell. . . But now the spell was broken. . . The boundless hopes that had cheered the soldiers and the peoples in their tribulations died swiftly away. . . . How could it have been otherwise? **By what process could the slaughter of ten million men and and the destruction of one-third of the entire savings of the greatest nations of the world have ushered in a Golden Age?** A cruel disillusionment was at hand for all."

Now for the writer's name. Believe it or not, it is the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, in his "Great War", pp. 1603, 1278f.

There, my people, is truth, put by a non-pacifist. Now perhaps we see why we cannot be told what we are supposed to be fighting for, except in general terms which help to cheer us in our tribulations. By what process can the present slaughter bring in a Golden Age? How well does religion deserve the sneer which Mr. Churchill gives it in the words in bold type!

Pacifists are sometimes accused of irrational thinking. But what can be said of a person who believes a thing to be no use, and yet persists in doing it? The war-method stands condemned by one of its great exponents, two thousand years after its condemnation by its greatest opponent, our Lord JESUS Christ. By their fruits ye shall know them. God give us grace to follow the peace-way, the love-way here and now.

Your servant for Christ's sake,

R. H. LE MESSURIER.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

America's Peace Aims. 9d. Pot. 2d.—National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

Allied Peace Aims. 6d. Post. 1d.—National Peace Council.

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Duke of Bedford's Article concluded from p. 48

discontinue night air-raids on civilian centres of population could still be arrived at. It is a question of bringing sufficient pressure to bear upon our politicians, the figure of whose air-raid casualties, as far as I am aware, still stands at 0.

The answer to the footling objection that even if the Germans promised to do so, they would not observe such an undertaking as I have mentioned, is so obvious that I shall not waste paper by giving it.

THE BREAK-UP OF AN EMPIRE

A Review of the War Situation

By C. H. NORMAN

Since the appearance of the article " On the Rocks " in the " Word " for September, 1941, many remarkable and disturbing events have taken place in the international conflict. As foreshadowed in that article, the United States and Japan have entered the war as active participants, with disastrous results to the British Empire and its associates, especially Holland, which has lost control over the whole of her Pacific possessions.

There are one or two preliminary comments which must be made before indulging in a more realistic analysis of the situation than the British people are permitted usually to consider owing to the activities of the propaganda and censor departments, which combine ingeniously and successfully their efforts to confuse the mind and cloud the intelligence.

It is notable as an achievement of " democracy " in that country which has imagined itself controlled by the will of the people that President Roosevelt is the second President of the United States who, having been elected on a specific pledge to keep the United States out of war, has, shortly after election, plunged his people into a calamitous and avoidable conflict. There is not a scrap of difference between the conduct of President Wilson and President Roosevelt in that respect. It may be said in reply that the action of the United States was dictated by the fact that Japan adopted at Pearl Harbour the tactics resorted to by Great Britain against the Danish Fleet lying at Copenhagen during the Napoleonic War, on which subject the memoirs of Lord Malmesbury are most instructive. But the answer can well be made that the acts of the Japanese were provoked by the freezing of Japanese assets everywhere that Britain and the United States could lay hands on them in July, 1942, the " freezing of assets " being a polite euphemism for annexing other people's property over which there was not the slightest right to exercise control. According to the " Evening Standard " of May 22, 1942, the Allied Statesmen were not agreed on this dangerous and provocative policy: " When Britain and America imposed economic sanctions on Japan last July this was done against the wishes of Mr. Menzies' Government in Australia," which country was likely to be involved seriously in a Pacific war. It would be interesting to know how far the Dutch Refugee Government agreed in the policy of economic sanctions. Anyhow, the weaker party was overborne by Britain and the United States with the consequences which are before everyone to see in the geographical and military position of Japan now compared with then.

The Japanese statesmen, no doubt, resented, quite properly, the homilies on the virtues of quite properly the homilies on the virtues of " democracy " and the wickedness of " aggression " of which they and the Japanese Emperor had been recipients at the hands of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill. Of all people, the Japanese could measure the value of Mr. Roosevelt's horror at aggression, as the Phillipine Islands were obtained by the United States as a result of the most aggressive war, except the Boer War, in the last century. It is instructive as evidence of this man's state of mind, to read the full text of President Roosevelt's message to Congress on December 15, 1941, on the entry of Japan into the war, setting forth a summary of the American policy in the Pacific. The reference to Japan is put thus: " In 1853, Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's door," and there is a discussion on trade relations. There is no mention of the fact that a decade later the Japanese port of Shimonoseki was bombarded without cause by the combined fleets of the United States, Great Britain, France and Holland, just to learn the Japanese to adopt Occidental trade methods! But the sentence which can hardly ever have been exceeded even by the Germans or the Soviet for humbug is the sentence in which the President describes the seizure of the Phillipine Islands as a result of the American-Spanish War in 1898: " At the end of the 19th Century, the sovereignty of the Phillipine Islands passed from Spain to the United States." That is all that is said by the President, who was presumably relying upon the fact that the organised ignorance produced by the American educational system made it certain that the ordinary American citizen had never heard of the Spanish-American War, any more than he had ever heard of the seizure of the Panama Province of the Republic of Colombia in 1904 as an example of non-aggression, or of the seizure of the Danish West Indian Islands in 1916 by President Wilson as a further instance of the policy of non-aggressive acquisition! Perhaps, however, the Japanese statesmen were not so ignorant of those historical events as the United States population and took the correct measure of the pose of the United States President as a champion of non-aggression. It may be, too, that the Japanese statesmen were equally unimpressed, from their knowledge of the history of the relations between Burma and Britain, at the affecting spectacle of Mr. Winston Churchill's indignation about unprovoked aggression. The following quotation is taken from the " New Stateman " of 6th June, 1942. " What possible excuse could there be for the re-conquest of Burma by the British Empire? If one reads the story of Britain's wars in Burma, they are about the most aggressive and least justified in the nineteenth century; Hitler has only a little enlarged and improved on the technique. I was amused to learn that, in 1825, the British neatly anticipated Hitler's technique by a proclamation which began by saying that the King of Burma " by his unprovoked aggression and extravagant pretensions had forced the British Government to invade his dominions." There were three major wars necessary before Burma was subjugated by the British. Since the end of the European War, 1914-1918, there have been two major revolts in Burma put down with considerable ferocity. What finally turned the Burmese against the British was the treacherous seizure of U. Saw, the Burmese Premier, on his way home from Burma in 1941 after a mission to England. What has happened to that unfortunate man no one has been permitted to know—in England anyhow. It ill befits Mr. Winston Churchill to lecture other people upon their moral delinquencies in the circumstances.

The events in the Malayan Peninsula, the Dutch Archipelago, Hong Kong and Singapore were no surprise to anyone who had any realistic knowledge of the situation there. The wars between the Dutch and the Achinese made it exceedingly unlikely that the inhabitants would keenly support the Dutch against a Japanese invasion. There was really something comic about the Chinese trying to relieve Hong Kong, recollecting the attitude of the Hong Kong Government towards the Chinese population of that city. The same remarks apply in connection with the major Malay States. The case of Singapore is rather different. What has happened at Singapore has entirely justified the attitude of those who, in the days of the Liberal Government of 1906-1914, opposed the expenditure of money on the Singapore naval dock. The argument was this, as advanced by the present writer, among others. At that time the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance was in full force. The proposal to build the dock was known to be a naval, capitalist-imperialist ramp. Its opponents pointed out that the dock could only be of value against Japan. To build such a dock against a country that Britain was in alliance with seemed extraordinary. It was further argued that the naval dock would be of no value for its purpose against Japan for the following reasons. It could not be defended against land attack except by the expenditure of enormous capital sums in fortifications and the maintenance of a huge garrison, which the House of Commons would certainly not sanction in times of peace. If it were not possible to defend the dock from Japanese attack, then the purpose of the dock was futile, as the only result would be that, in a war between Japan and Britain (the only circumstance in which the dock could be of value) the British could not hold Singapore owing to the enormous length of communications, and so to build the dock would simply be handing over a valuable prize to Japan. That argument has been entirely borne out by the events which have occurred since December 1941. It is also important to remember that the breaking off of the policy of friendliness towards Japan was taken at the instance of the United States, which took the view that such an alliance lowered white prestige throughout the world. The folly of acting on such a view is plain to everyone. Those who gave the matter even a moment's thought recognised the profound wisdom behind the original policy which produced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the change-over which took place after 1919 has been the result of the maleficent skill shewn by Vansittart and his colleagues in turning the allies of England into her enemies. In the war of 1914-1918, the following states, now enemies, were then Britain's allies: Italy, Japan, Roumania. France, a loyal ally through 1914-1918, is being treated in 1941-1942 as Russia was treated in 1918-1919 after the Russians retired from the war: her territories being blockaded and invaded on the flimsiest pretexts. This, notwithstanding that the successful evacuation at Dunkirk was only effected by the skilful covering of the French Army of the North!

Nothing perhaps is more interesting in the turns and twists of this Imperialist-Capitalist war than the unity of purpose which has developed between the Communist leader, Mr. Stalin, and the leaders of ruthless exploiting Anglo-American Capitalism, with the South South American dictatorships and the Chinese military gambiers lagging slightly behind. One has only to re-read Mr. Stalin and Mr. Molotov's speeches about Anglo-French Imperialism between 1939 and 1941 to appreciate the hugeness of the joke, coupled with a study of what was said by the United States, Britain and France about the Soviet during the Russo-Finnish war, which is fully documented in Mr. and Mrs. Coates book entitled " The Soviet-Finnish Campaign, 1939-1940." Never were so many lied to by so few should be the slogan of the war of 1939—!

After the invasion of Russia by Germany, which seems to have been caused by the curious activities of " non-Imperialist " Russia in Poland, Finland and the Baltic States, Mr. Stalin has rather excelled his newfound friends in telling the tale to his unfortunate subjects, who find that the results of Russian Communism are no different from the results of Russian Imperialism. During the winter campaign, the Russian communiques announced nothing but successful advances and the annihilation of millions of Germans. It was certainly a surprise to find at the end of the Russian winter that the Germans were still in occupation of vast Russian areas, still holding every large town taken in the summer advance of 1941 with the exception of Rostov-on-Don. Certainly an Englishman would be astonished if the leaders of England declared that the British forces were uniformly successful if that success were signified by the towns of Birmingham, Lincoln, Bristol, Cardiff and the interlinking territories still remaining in the hands of German invading forces. Yet that is what the propaganda of Mr. Stalin and his colleagues amounts to. It is perhaps a measure of the

real intellectual condition of a Russian peasantry and industrial workers after 20 years of so-called Communism that the Russian leaders think such nonsense is excusable.

(To be concluded)

COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Native Conditions again Exposed in a Further House of Commons Speech

By A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

[The following speech was made by our comrade Creech Jones, on the motion for the Second Reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Ed.]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 4th August, 1942.

Mr. Creech Jones (Shipley): The American Ambassador remarked the other day that a survey of American public opinion showed that there was a greater divergence of view on British Colonial policy than on any other subject dividing the two nations. If that misunderstanding exists in the United States there is also in our own country and in this House a great deal of misunderstanding in regard to our Colonial policy. I therefore make no apology for asking the House to give again to-day some little attention to our Colonial responsibilities. The broad outline of Government policy was given to the House by my right hon. Friend the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Debate a few weeks ago on the Colonial Estimates. My purpose to-day is to draw attention to a number of special problems which have occurred during the Session and which have given rise to some misgiving and doubt.

I wish I had found at the Colonial Office the open door to which the Under-Secretary referred in the last Debate. As far as I, personally, am concerned, I usually get a very sympathetic hearing at the front door, but there seem to be many inner doors. Everybody behaves with great charm and everyone treats me very nicely. I am not likely, however, to find myself on the floor through falling into space as suggested by the Under-Secretary but because of the existence of unforeseen inner doors which most effectively block any resolute action.

Let me say something first, about the war effort. My criticism has been directed on a number of occasions in the past to the fact that the Colonial peoples are not always able to contribute to the war effort according to their capacity or their wishes. The Under-Secretary recently told us of the contributions being mobilised by the Colonies for the war effort. He said that the Colonial Office were stimulating exports of the minerals and raw materials we needed and that we were creating export machinery for that purpose. The Colonial peoples were growing more food and developing their own resources more and more, which, he said, was good in war or in peace because these factors contributed to health, nutrition, soil conservation, and so on. Further, local industries were being stimulated; and imports were being limited by Government bulk purchase of goods. All of us would agree that most of these things are of permanent value in Colonial life, but I would add one or two reservations about this policy.

Industrialisation and the exploitation of minerals and other natural wealth in our Colonial Empire should be very carefully controlled and developed with an eye on future policy and the consequences when the war is over, because such exploitation of mineral and natural wealth has a profoundly disturbing effect on native life in all its aspects. It is also important that in planning Colonial economy to keep an eye on maintaining some sort of balance in Colonial economies. In any case, it seems to me that when the Government opens out new resources and grants new concessions steps should be taken to see that definite conditions are laid down with respect to wages, conditions of employment, welfare conditions, profits, royalties, the application of I.L.O. Convention and, sometimes, the ultimate ownership of the resources concerned. It is also important in the second place, that in creating machinery for the control of exports and imports monopolists should not be strengthened. In some of our Colonies their insinuating influence is pretty strong. Already certain steps which have been taken by the Colonial Office have created some apprehension among merchants and others both here and in West Africa and other colonies. No steps should strengthen existing monopolies. Further, if we are promoting local industries, I ask that the Government should do it through local native enterprise on co-operative lines if possible, and that there should be the maximum of co-operation within the framework of an ordered plan. I hope that certain proposals which are being considered at the moment inside the Colonial Office in regard to West Africa will receive the endorsement of the Government.

In regard to raw materials and products, I hope the Colonial Office will give every encouragement to co-operative production, will encourage co-operative marketing and credit, and take steps to ensure much more rationalism in the handling of products before they reach consumers. Above all, there is very real need that producers should be given a guaranteed price. That applies to the small native producers as much as to the larger concerns. There should be some stability in regard to price, and the small peasant producer should be shown some way out of his chronic poverty which often means serfdom to him. The Government should take all the necessary steps to ensure a price which will give a reasonable standard of living to prime producers engaged in meeting the world's needs. Before I leave this side of my argument I need scarcely add, as being fundamental, that I hope that nowhere will the Colonial Office, or those responsible, permit native land to be further alienated or allow individual land ownership to be introduced.

I recognise that it will be one of the problems after the war, in applying the trade and economic freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, to reconcile the reasonable claims of the Colonies with the kind of economically regulated world which we hope to create. We shall want new Colonial industrial enterprises to get on their own feet, we shall want no unreasonable restrictions in respect of their goods and products and the markets therefor. The Colonies economically need a fair chance, yet they have to be integrated into a larger economic order.

In passing, may I also say that from time to time I receive complaints and read complaints that local Colonial Governments do not go fast enough or show enough drive in regard to the war effort. Sometimes the people are not actively associated with the effort. I suggest that this state of things ought to be remedied. It is not only true on the economic side, it is a criticism made by the Colonial peoples in respect of their defence — civil defence, military organisation and the rest of it, and repeatedly voiced in West Indian and West African newspapers. I do not refer to Palestine because I understand that later this week we shall be discussing the special problem of the Jews. There is one observation, however, which it is necessary to make in respect to this war effort. The Colonial territories, because they are apt to be regarded as Imperial possessions, as material possessions, are being exploited to the full. We are using or proceeding to use their limited mineral resources; we are using their manhood, and profoundly upsetting their native life. The Under-Secretary remarked in a recent broadcast on the generosity of the Colonial peoples, which I am sure we all gratefully acknowledge. But, after all, the Colonies, if I may use his words in the last Debate, are not his "goodly heritage." They are the territories of the Colonial peoples, and these people have views and wishes. There is room in regard to all economic and social development for much more consultation with them and their permission obtained for what the Imperial power itself does. I want to stress that the corollary of this considerable contribution from the Colonial peoples to our present struggle for freedom and civilisation is our responsibility for bringing them more rapidly to political maturity and social and economic prosperity. They were excluded by the Prime Minister, from the proposals of the Atlantic Charter, though the recent speech by Mr. Sumner Welles for America does not seem to make that discrimination.

The other night my right hon. Friend reminded us that many soldiers from the Colonies were playing an active part in this war and he told us that they would in due course return to their homes. They will have travelled. They will have gathered a pretty wide experience, and some will have had the advantages of education. We have to remember that these soldiers will be a most stimulating element in Colonial life after the war. Because of those facts, I suggest that in the West Indies, as in West Africa, we should be a little more concerned about preventing the frustration experienced by these people to-day. We should seek to secure their fullest co-operation. As the recommendation of the West Indies Royal Commission put it. "the Governments should adopt a much more positive policy in bringing their point of view before the mass of the people and in explaining in much more simple terms the reasons which lie behind their decisions on major problems." That point has been raised also in regard to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Schemes are in active discussion in the respective Colonies, but too often the people vitally concerned are brought into consultation at all. It is one of the complaints of West Africans over here that there is far too little consultation and far too much patronising, too much of doing good to the people, instead of inviting them to use their brains and to co-operate in the changes which we think desirable.

I would further suggest that steps should be taken now to make some progress in political institutions. I have been a little apprehensive at recent developments in the Continent of Africa, particularly in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. For the purposes of the war we have been obliged to set up new authorities, executive authorities, with powers in regard to economic mobilisation. At the same time, so far as the Legislative Council and the Executive Councils of both territories are concerned, there has been no recognition that the black people live in an overwhelming majority in these territories. I have said before that it is not that there are no educated black people. There are, and some of them are experienced. If you create new authorities—which may be of some importance in the future constitutional developments of those territories — it seems reasonable to ask that, in regard to existing constitutional machinery, there shall be more representation from the great masses of the black people in those areas.

Likewise, there is a strong tendency for the colour bar to increase its strength in Northern Rhodesia at the present time. I hope the Government are watching that situation with very great care and that some action can be taken in Northern Rhodesia at the earliest possible moment to check this very unhappy and very unfair development. It is also desirable that we should look again at the constitutional arrangements in West Africa, to see whether we cannot make indirect rule a little more flexible than it is, and whether we cannot immediately take some steps in regard to what the West Africans themselves have been demanding for a long period, some fundamental reform in municipal government. I see no reason for prolonged delay.

While I am dealing with certain difficulties in our Colonial policy I might mention the clamour for constitutional reform in Mauritius and in the West Indies. I received a vague promise from the Colonial Office a year or so before the war that constitutional reform in Mauritius would receive the serious consideration of the Department. The great mass of the workers in that Colony still clamour for political expression in the local legislative council, but nothing is done, although all other interests can be expressed and a place found for them. That situation has become intolerable. In regard to the West Indies, why this very slow progress? The Colonial Office sometimes shelter themselves behind the terms of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, but let me point out that since the issue of the report—which we have not been privileged to see, although I do not understand why it should not now be published — vast changes have occurred in the world. There has been the impact of war on those Colonies. These people have shown considerable desire to play a larger part, not only in the war, but in their own local affairs. The war has gone right into the Caribbean sea. America has, with our permission, established bases in a number of these Colonies. Therefore, the people feel that if defence is in the hands of America and if much of their economic future will be tied up with American organisation, it is important that they should, at least, have some effective control in regard to their local affairs.

Why, therefore, do we dilly-dally so long in respect of representative government and of moves towards more responsible government? The people themselves are clamouring for change. It is not good enough to say, "There is a Franchise Commission working in Trinidad and another in British Guiana." The Royal Commission said that more and not less participation by the people in the work of Government was a real necessity for lasting social advancement. I would urge that it is important to press on with constitution-making in the West Indies, even to permit the beginnings of responsible government, and, in the case of most of the Colonies, of real representative government. May I also draw attention to our continued failure to do very much in regard to the constitution of Bermuda, Barbados and the Bahamas? Labour difficulties are arising — the failure to adopt I.L.O. Convention is a case in point. There are intolerable labour conditions. Yet, we have no authority over the governments of those three Colonies, though it has long been obvious to everyone that the archaic constitutions should be drastically remodelled.

While dealing with political change may I make some reference to the position of civil liberty in certain parts of our Colonial areas? What is the answer, I ask the Under-Secretary of State, to the continued detention of Domingo in Jamaica? What has Domingo done? Is there any reason that he should be under lock and key merely at the pleasure of the Governor, while no evidence exists, certainly to the outside world, why his detention has been allowed to last so long? Let me refer also to Wallace Johnson. This man was taken possession of by the authorities before the war was actually declared. Some excuse was found; he went through a process of criminal prosecution. Almost before he left prison he was put under detention again, and then, because of the clamour, he was released, but not unconditionally. He is conditionally released, and the most wretched arrangements are made as to the conditions under which he shall live. Unreasonable conditions are imposed upon him in regard to his living. I do not understand why, because a man has allied himself with working-class societies, oecause he is a trade union leader, these onerous conditions should continue to operate in his case. Again, is there now any reason why the leaders of the Kikiyu Central Association and other kindred organisations should continue in detention? Why should so many of the natural leaders of the people of Kenya continue to be withdrawn from them?

Finally, on the question of civil liberty, I want to refer to the operation of the Defence Regulations in the West Indies. Have those Defence Regulations been brought into line with the Defence Regulations in this country? Certainly they were in Jamaica as a result of pressure. But for several years many people have been detained in the Colonies for no adequate reason, and all our efforts to obtain from the Colonial Office an explanation of why these people are detained have been completely unavailing. I have just received from Jamaica a telegram telling me that three or four persons whom I have been trying to yet released for considerably over a year have been released at last. But what was the purpose of their detention? They were simply swept into detention and it was nobody's concern to see that justice was done.

(To be concluded.)

AIR RAID HORRORS: MUST THEY CONTINUE

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The recent speeches by Hitler and Goering contained two points of special interest.

The first was the confident assertion that Germany's economic problem has been solved and from now onward a rising standard of living may be expected in Germany and also in Europe.

This announcement may have caused surprise to those who anticipate that the war will end soon with Germany in a starving and disorganised condition. The statement calls for consideration and enquiry, as to the nature of Germany's financial system and business efficiency. Is its financial system sensible? As a result of conquests or alliances in Eastern Europe, given access to agricultural wealth and rich stores of minerals, is it reasonable to conclude that a steady rise in Germany's economic prosperity must result?

If Germany's gains in Russia are held, will the economic position of the Axis, on the whole, be stronger than that of the Allies? Are the Axis, indeed, now favourably situated for a long war?

The other matter of special interest in Hitler's and Goering's speeches was the grim threat that, as soon as Russian resistance should be broken, there would be devastating reprisals for our air attacks on the civilian population of Germany.

Those who are disposed to go into hysterics over what they regard as fresh evidence of the brutality of the Hun would do well to remember that, as far as the conflict between ourselves and Germany is concerned, it was we who started night air-raids and persisted in them in spite of Hitler's plain warning that there whould be reprisals if we did not abandon this particularly loathsome and to some extent unnecessary feature of the present conflict. Not only did we start night air-raids on civilian centres, but we also restarted them last spring at a time when the baby-killing competition seemed to have died down and one began to hope might be allowed to remain in abeyance for the rest of the war.

Nocturnal air-raids are, as I said in my last speech in the House of Lords, the last refuge of a strategic bankrupt. They have been condemned as a waste of men, planes and petrol even by the experts on war strategy who have not been concerned with the humanitarian side of the question at all. They appear, however, to be approved of by the Prime Minister, one of whose favourite maxims seems to be, "If you cannot do anything sensible, always do something silly rather than do nothing at all." A disaster, if the B.B.C. and the Press are sufficienty mendacious and inventive, can always be presented as a victory, or at any rate as an invaluable means of gaining information. Mere inaction, however, has no propaganda possibilities!

Sir Ernest Gowers, Senior London Regional Commissioner (who seems to have a house in Hampshire) is reported to have said that we face the prospects of air-raids which will make April 16, 1941, and May 10, 1941, "mere picnics." Jolly, isn't it, especially as there is **such** a lot to look forward to after the picnics are over!

Intelligent people of my acquaintance seem, indeed, to fear that it may be the Government's policy to send all troops out of the country; garrison Britain entirely with American troops whose homes are on the safe side of the Atlantic and who may be more reliable if restive civilians should need "firm" treatment; and turn these islands into an air base for a bombing contest with Germany, regardless of what our people may have to suffer.

If such a programme does not appeal to British citizens, they would do well to inform their M.P.s of the fact, **in adequate numbers and also in time.** Even the most satisfying punishment of war criminals will not bring the dead back to life and it will be discouraging for a British soldier to learn that his wife and family have perished miserably in an air-raid, what time he is engaged in "smashing Hitlerism" in far-off India by shooting tiresome natives who **will** imagine that they, as well as Poles and Czechs, have a right to freedom from alien tyranny!

A woman whose daughter died recently from a virulent form of tuberculosis which, owing to war conditions, is now rapidly on the increase among children and young people, received a letter of condolence. She replied that she was glad that her daughter was dead. Her son was in the Air Force and she would soon lose him (she did). She wished that her two remaining daughters were dead, also, as they would then escape what she felt lay in front of us.

A little boy who had had no undue amount of experience of air-raids and was then living in a quiet district, was being examined by a doctor for some minor ailment. Suddenly he went deadly pale and his pulse began to race. Afterwards the doctor asked the boy's mother what had happened for he felt confident that nothing had been done to alarm the child. "Oh," replied the mother, "There was an aeroplane over. Didn't you hear it?"

Another little boy who had been in a badly blitzed area, but who has now also been moved to a safer place, is abnormally quiet and spiritless. He has sensible parents who, when they were living in the town, took pains to speak of the nightly visit to the air-raid shelter as a nuisance and not as a cause for alarm. The boy had two playmates of his own age, the girl's name being Margaret. One night Margaret and her brother were blown to bits and the other boy's parents did their best to keep the news from their son. A few days later the family were returning home after a night in which a raid had occurred. There was an object lying on the doorstep; the boy picked it up; then dropped it with a shriek. The mother, making an effort to cope with the situation as best she could, said, "It's only a bit of pork the butcher has dropped!" "No, Mummy," was the reply, "It had fingers on it like Margaret's."

The above are true stories told me recently by members of the medical or nursing profession from their own personal experience. They are also straws in the wind and a red light for those whose heads are not of wood and whose hearts are not of stone.

There is quite good reason to suppose that a mutual agreement to confine air attacks as far as possible to military objectives and to

(Concluded on page 45)

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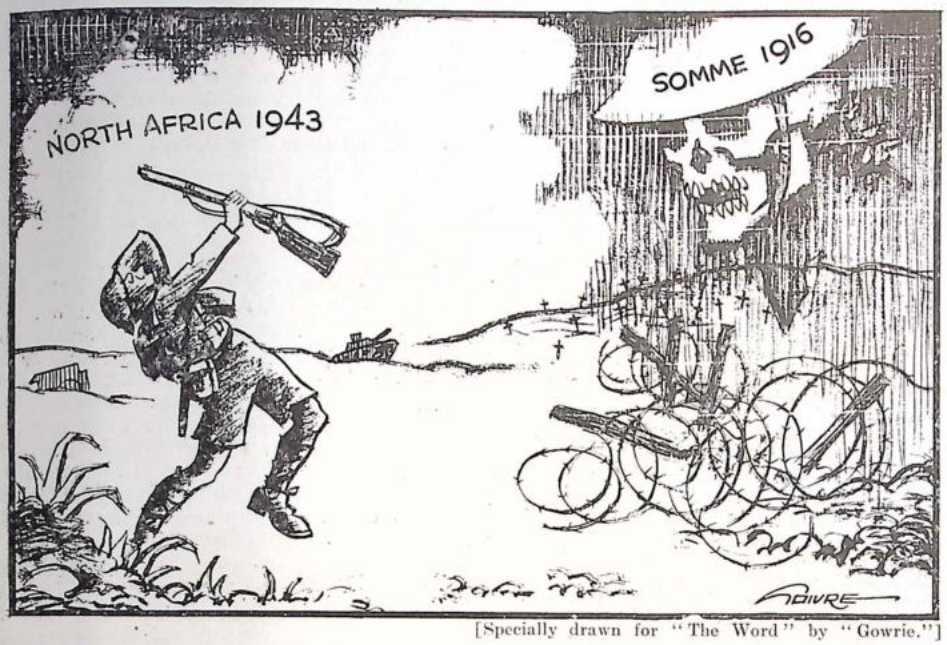

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."]

FATHER AND SON

WHEN THE WAR ENDS

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT.
(First Commissioner of Works, 1924 Labour Government.)

[The following essay by our comrade Jowett is reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, January 22, 1943.—Ed.

The war will end some time and whenever it ends there will be problems to face and to solve which will be infinitely more difficult to deal with if preparations for dealing with them have not been made beforehand.

At the centre, and in the key position in relation to all these after-war problems, there will be that of unemployment which it will be impossible to solve if we do not recognise at long last that we are living in a machine age.

Indeed, we in this country are living in a machine age at a time when we no longer have the advantage we held before the last world-war of a competitive lead as the first comer into the machine age. Failing to recognise that the competitive advantage of this lead could only be temporary, British parliaments of pre-1914 generations made no effort to maintain a safe balance between production for home consumption and the large-scale production which machinery made possible for export. A neglected and rapidly declining agricultural industry has been the most outstanding penalty for this disastrous national policy.

This fact was clearly revealed by experience in the last world war—experience which is being repeated in this war, but on a far larger scale.

British exports were higher in 1913 than they had ever been, but they slumped tremendously after the last war with no sign of recovery when this war began. Cotton goods, Britain's leading exporting industry, for example, which exported over 7000 million yards in 1913, exported less than 1500 millions in 1938. During the first world war countries unable to obtain British cotton goods had developed their own cotton industries, and in some cases had become *successful competitors for foreign trade.*

All exporting industries suffered grievously through loss of markets during the last war, whilst, at the same time, under war conditions machinery was being improved, new machines invented, and every possible device applied for *saving labour* in production and transport of goods and services. With far greater intensity during this war all these labour-saving devices have been put into operation.

Furthermore, unless it becomes possible for American and British capitalist financial interests to destroy (by means of a dictated peace and an army of occupation to enforce its provisions) the trading organisation which Germany has already established over a large part of Europe, British continental export trade will be severely limited, and in some previously British-controlled markets, completely destroyed.

There are European countries which are finding markets for their agricultural and dairy produce now at their doorsteps which previously they had to seek at the far ends of the earth. As Wilfred Wellock correctly stated in the I.L.P.'s monthly journal, "Left", of last March, concerning transactions conducted through this new form of trading:—

"No cash is used" (or paper credit borrowed) "balances are struck periodically in order to see which countries have credit and which have debit balances."

It is this new system of foreign trading that was destroying British export trade in countries of eastern Europe before the war, and was, in fact *one of the main causes of the war;* and I doubt whether it could be replaced even if Allied armies dictated terms of peace in Berlin.

And yet, notwithstanding all the evidence founded on past experience which points inexorably to even further drastic reductions in British exports, after-war development of British export trade is being advocated officially by Government spokesmen and unofficially in many quarters as one thing which can be done to increase employment when the war ends!

Now it appears clear to me that only those who vainly expect return to pre-war world conditions with the bankers' credit trading system prevailing everywhere and consequent wars and preparations for wars, can possibly believe that there will be more and not fewer workers employed in producing for export trade when the war ends.

Therefore, it appears equally clear to me that whether one thinks of the immediately succeeding after-war years as leading to a new Socialist State or Commonwealth or not, the first thing to be done in preparation for dealing with after-war problems is to ascertain to what extent we need imports and to what extent we are able to supply goods and services to exchange for what we need.

There may be, say, five millions of workers in the Forces, and, say, ten millions of workers employed producing munitions for the Forces. These are being maintained now, together with the rest of the population; and although we are receiving from the United States far more than we should have goods and services available to exchange for them even if our own resources were developed to the absolute limit, yet by far the largest portion of what we are receiving, indeed the bulk of what is coming unbalanced by exports, is for munitions for destruction by war and not for consumption and re-organisation in conditions which only ought to be tolerated after the war.

In this connection it will be well for us to recognise that it is possible to learn even from the economic system that the hateful Nazi German Government has adopted, although that system has been applied to the evil purpose of war.

Here is an account of it as described in two speeches of the German Chancellor on 30th January, 1937, and 30th January, 1939 (quoted in Peace News, 11th September, 1942):—

"The will to place the economic system at the service of the people, and capital (money) at the service of economics, is the only thing that is of decisive importance. . . . The folk-community does not exist on the fictitious value of money, but on the results of productive labour, which is what gives money its value."

"In the second speech he pointed out that prices were stabilised as well as wages, and that the seven million unemployed were put to work and the extra money needed to pay them was created, the product of the work giving the extra money its value. As more goods were produced more money was issued; in short an automatic balance was established between production and purchasing power (money). Stabilised prices rendered 'inflation' impossible."

There are, as I see it, three alternatives before this country after the war. The first is a complete and drastic social and economic revolution

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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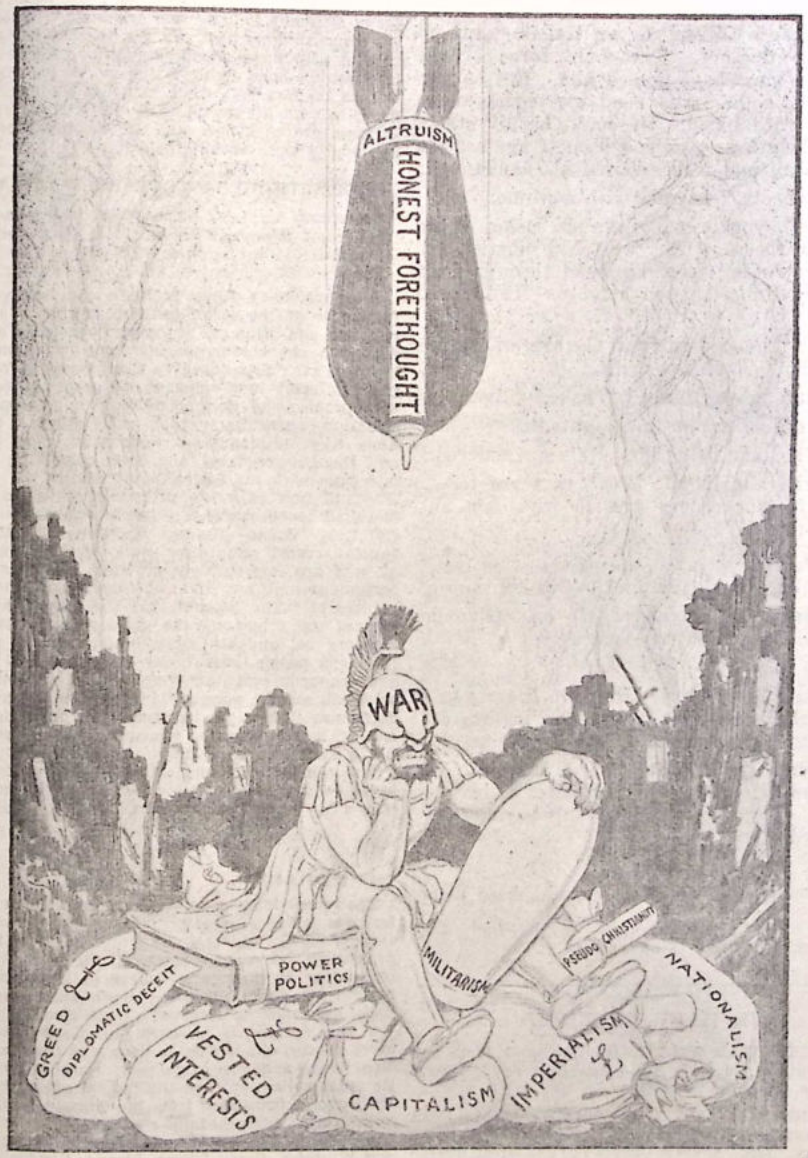
Vol. IV. No. 5 DECEMBER, 1942. Price: TWOPENCE.

THE ONE BOMB NEEDED.



Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

AWAKE YE LOWLY

Awake! ye lowly, arise from out your graves,
Arise! and stand like men, erect and free!
Too long have ye been serfs, and chattel slaves,
The hour has come to claim your liberty!

Arise! the world is yours, for ye are strong,
'Tis by your toil all things are good and fair,
'Tis ye alone can bring the age of song,
And brotherhood from shore to shore declare.

Awake! Arise! The hill is not so steep
But ye can breast to-night and gain the crest
And with the dawn your tryst with Justice keep
That all may live in love, and peace, and rest.

JOE CORRIE.

THE CURE

BY THE REV. R. H. LE MESSURIER, B.A.
(Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London).

Oliver was sick, violently, disgustingly sick.

"Wot's up, mate?" demanded the thin-faced, thin-lipped Rube Allcop, his Cockney friend.

"Er—I don't know. . . . I . . ."

"I gets yer mate. It's these 'ere bloody stiff 'uns. I wuz the sime the first time I sor 'em too. But ye soon gits used ter it."

Oliver's stomach gave another heave. He was empty by now, but this only made things worse, not better. The retching still went on, and he doubted if he'd ever get used to it.

He'd got used to the desert, with its gamut of alternating cold and heat. He hardly noticed the sand by now, though it got into everything—his nose, his eyes, his mouth, his food. There was no escape from it. So he'd gritted his teeth—literally—and by now didn't notice it much, except of course in the frequent dust-storms which swept over the Libyan desert. Then the only thing to do was to get under any available cover and wait till they passed.

He'd got used to the flies and the bad food. In fact, most of his meals were a mixture of the two, plus a liberal helping of sand. And Oliver Sanders, so finical at home, could hardly remember the time when he ate from a clean plate at a spotlessly covered table.

But this was different. They'd been in action several days now, and Oliver's crowd spent most of their time burying corpses—their own pals sometimes, but mostly the "Eyeties" whose positions the Blankshires had systematically infiltrated and stormed. Great, bloated corpses they were, with gaping, blood-crusted wounds. Bits of brain, strings of queerly coloured guts, detached limbs—no, Oliver couldn't get over the violent nausea which always attacked him whenever he was "detailed" for this job.

He wished he wasn't so sensitive. How he longed to be like Rube, who didn't bat an eyelid, no matter how gruesome or disgusting the job was.

Rube was a queer little Cockney. He was coarse and foul-mouthed. He'd been in action in the International Brigade in Spain. He'd knocked about in all sorts of queer places before he seemed to find a peculiar vocation in fighting. Tough, wiry, with a perpetual leer on his drawn face, Rube was a holy terror when it came to action. At other times he was crude. He drank enough for ten, yet never seemed to get really drunk. He spent every available minute stalking women, trying to get them on the cheap. But if he couldn't, well, he'd pay up. Women were indispensible to him now. He been in hospital twice, too . . .

Yet Oliver liked Rube. They had somehow developed one of those queer, military friendships which just happen in wartime. They had nothing in common, really, unless it was their business of learning to kill for their country. Their friendship was the attraction of opposites. Rube was short and thin: Oliver tall and hefty. The Cockney was deep and cunning: the Bristol man open and frank. Above all, Allcop was irreligious and even blasphemous: Oliver Fordham religious and in his own way devout. That was, of course, in the old days before the war. Now, well, he wasn't quite . . .

Oliver felt he wasn't cut out to be a soldier. But, like many of his kind, he just had to put up with things. He had been called up, left his librarian's job, and now was just one of the boys with a number. He had made himself get used to the bayonet-training. Forced himself to plunge his bayonet into the straw-filled "dummies" on the assault-course, and

even compelled himself to listen to the literally bloody stories of men who had been in action.

But he couldn't get used to burying corpses, though he'd been at it four days now. It was always the same. As soon as he began his ghastly work, his stomach seemed to turn inside out. And the process, once started, continued for hours after the job was done.

"Trouble with you, mate," went on the little Cockney, "Ye've never done one of 'em in. You wite till ye've 'ad a real go at one of 'em. Ye'll feel different then."

Oliver was engaged at the moment in helping to lift a corpse with a huge, putrefying abdominal wound, and Rube's coarse remarks only added to his misery.

"Shut up, do," he hissed between his teeth, trying once more to stop the awful retching.

"Orlright. Orlright, chum. Keep yer 'air on. I wuz only tryin' ter 'elp yer. But ye kin tike me word. When ye've 'ad a reel go at 'em, ye'll be better. That'll cure ye of bein' sick."

That night Oliver couldn't sleep. He could not get his mind away from the corpses. They might be enemies, but somehow or other he thought of their families, especially their women. They'd soon be mourning the death of their men, and it was just as well that the mothers and wives didn't see what their boys looked like when the desert sand received their bodies.

He fell asleep at last, only to dream of more bloody horrors. Yet in his dreams he was fighting mad and did things which as yet he would never have done in the waking state.

All his nausea disappeared in sleep.

An hour before dawn they were called. A patrol was ordered out to take an Italian machine-gun position not far away.

"That's more like it," said Rube Allcop cheerfully. "I don't mind makin' a few more ruddy stiff-'uns. This time someone else kin dig 'em in."

Oliver felt strangely cool as the ten men half-crawled, half-ran, over the cold, black desert. Everything went like clockwork. It seemed almost like "night-ops" in England. He could scarcely think it was the real thing at last.

"Stick close ter me," Rube hissed in Oliver's ear, as they gathered themselves for their final run, and the sergeant gave his last whispered instructions.

"Scatter out a bit, but keep me in sight. As soon as it's light enough to see the M.G. post, I'll blow my whistle. Lob your bombs over. Wait till they've gone off. Then dash in."

"I 'ope the ruddy Millses leave somethun' for the knife," whispered Rube plaintively.

Oliver wasn't so sure. He wasn't afraid. But he'd rather wipe out the Italians with bombs than have to do the work with the bayonet. For a long time he lay still, waiting for something to happen.

Suddenly the desert turned grey, then a strange lilac. Dawn was coming up fast. Oliver peered in front of him. A little quiver was now running throughout the entire length of his body. When it was light enough he saw a few shapeless mounds of sand about thirty yards in front. It was the machine-gun nest. Nobody stirred in it. Only an occasional boom of a distant gun broke the stillness.

The sergeant's whistle. Oliver heaved himself up, pulled out the pin of his Mills bomb. Threw it. Then buried himself again in the sand.

The bombs burst with a staccato pattern of sound. Oliver jumped up and followed Rube, who was racing for the post, yelling like a man possessed.

Tut-tut-tut-tut. One gun was still manned. Out of the corner of his eye Oliver saw three men fall on his right.

A short trench—merely a square hole in the ground—yawned in front of him. Rube jumped in Oliver followed. Except for two dead men, the hole was empty, and the machine-gun pointed drunkenly skywards. Right and left, from other holes, came sounds of fighting, and a few shots. Then silence.

"'Ere," shouted Rube suddenly, pointing with one hand. "Chuck a Mills dahn there, quick."

Oliver looked. Saw the entrance to a dug-out. Threw down a bomb. And darted away from the opening as the bomb exploded underground. There was a scream, cut off suddenly in the middle.

"That's got 'em orlright," Rube shouted gaily.

All at once Oliver saw an Italian crawl up from the dug-out. The main force of the explosion must have missed him. But he was a ghastly sight. His head and hands were covered with blood. He could hardly stand. But at length he propped himself against the trench wall and feebly raised his hands.

"No shoota," he said with a whine.

Rube's bayonet was within six inches of the Italian's throat. The wretched man's eyes were protruding from his head through fear. Suddenly Rube laughed harshly. He lowered his rifle.

"'Ere," he said through the side of his lips to Oliver, "'Ere, 'ave a dip."

"What do you mean?" asked Oliver.

"Go on. Plug 'im in the guts."

"Oh! I can't do that. He's surrendered."

"Christ almighty! Wot's that got ter do with it? Our orders wuz to wipe 'em aht, wuzn't they?"

"Yes, but . . ."

"Go on, ye bloody fool. 'Oos ter know? He's near dead, anyways. Go on. Give 'im one quick, afore anyone comes."

"But . . . I . . ."

"Don't be so cissy. He'd do it ter you if 'e 'ad the charnst. Go on. Do 'im in. It'll cure your sickness, too. Go on, d'ye 'ear?"

Half in a dream, Oliver moved forward. The Italian whimpered . . . The whites of his eyes showed. He plucked at Oliver's bayonet . . . screamed.

In . . . twist . . . out.

"Bloody good work, mate," chuckled Rube.

* * *

Oliver was never sick again.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

WHEN THE WAR WILL END! By Joyce Wells and Vic Butler. 4d. 47a Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham.

THE RIGHT TO LIVE. Selected Essays by Max Plowman. With an Introduction by Middleton Murray. 7/6. Andrew Dakers Ltd., 42 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

CIVIL AND MILITARY PRISON ROUTINE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS. C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. 4d. By Post 5d.

HUMILIATION WITH HONOUR. By Vera Brittain. 3/6. Andrew Dakers Ltd.

CHRIST AND OUR ENEMIES. By Stephen Hobhouse Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. 2d. By Post 3d.

RETRIBUTION AND THE CHRISTIAN. By Stephen Hobhouse. F.O.R. 2d. By Post 3d.

SOMETHING TO LOOK FORWARD TO. By J. Rhys Williams. Economic Reform Club, 32 Queen Ave., Muswell Hill, London, N. 10.

CHRISTMAS TREE LAND. A book for Children. By Charlotte Evelyn Payne. 2/-. Post 3d. extra.

BLOOD AND SWEAT AND TEARS. A Book of Wartime Verse. By Ronald S. Mallone. 1/6. Postl d. New Vision Publications, 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

BOOK REVIEWS

HUMILIATION WITH HONOUR.

Vera Brittain's new book "Humiliation with Honour" (3/6, Andrew Dakers Ltd., 42 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1) is one of the finest things written during this war on the spirit in which Christian Pacifists should meet the trials and temptations of a time of martyrdom and crisis. It also contains powerful exposures of the moral degradation that war brings

18B CASES.

"In search of Justice" by Henry St. George (18B Publicity Council, 15 Woburn Square, London, W.C., price 6d.) is an excellent exposure of the notorious Defence Regulations, which should be read by every freedom-loving man and woman. Some of the examples of injustice and ill-treatment are enough to make one's blood boil, particularly the case of a woman and her two tiny children. From this case alone it is evident that one does not have to go as far as Germany to find "war criminals." The wonderful organisation which, we are told, is being set up to deal with these offenders might do worse than try its 'prentice hand on those responsible for the torture inflicted on Mrs. W. E. B. and for the death of her baby, in case the members of the tribunal should be in their graves before any war criminals of foreign nationality were within their reach!

SOMETHING TO LOOK FORWARD TO.

"Something To Look Forward To" by Lady Rhys Williams, Economic Reform Club, 32 Queen's Ave., Muswell Hill, London, N. 10. (No Price). Probably 6d., post free 8d.

Although Lady Rhys Williams can hardly, in the full sense of the term, be described as a monetary reformer and although her ideas need to be combined with monetary reform to give them maximum utility, her booklet, "Something To Look Forward To" is of great interest and value to all who are concerned with problems of demobilization and post-war reconstruction, especially in their early stages. Many of Lady Rhys Williams' suggestions are most practical and thought-provoking and have something in common both with the Social Credit idea of the National Dividend and with the proposals contained in Mr. Marshall Hottirsley's 6d. booklet "Now or Never" (S.C.C.C. Grens House, Swinton, Mexborough), another recent publication well worthy of study by all who are interested in post-war problems. These booklets tempt me, however, once more to remind readers of "The Word" that the longer the war is allowed to drag on, the harder and slower will recovery be, and the more protracted the suffering for many people, even under the most ideal political and economic system. Well may this war-period of spiritual, mental, physical and economic degeneration be termed "those wasted years." I am impatient to end it and begin the reconstruction of something worth while before still more has been destroyed. The Prime Minister is reported to be quite uninterested in post-war reconstruction. I can well believe it; but it is a bad thing for the country that it should be so.

BEDFORD.

THE RED army.

The recent Moscow celebrations, and the references, for war alliance purposes, in the capitalist press, throughout Britain and the United States, to Stalin as though he were creator of the Red Army are nauseating to those who believe in truth as a pearl beyond all price. Without truth there can be no social order and no progress. Truth alone is harmony. For this reason, as an enemy of discord, we direct every reader who wishes to know the truth about the Red Army and the magnificent work of Trotsky in its organisation, to read the factual record by Enrich Wollenberg, translated from the German by Claud W. Sykes. This work contains a wonderful and most helpful bibliography. It was published in 1938 by Secker and Warburg, Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.

BOW STREET WORLD.

Inspired by the centre article in last month's "Word," and the references to the Marlborough St. Magistrate, a comrade has lent us "Bow St. World," by Albert Lieck, who was for many years chief clerk at Marlborough St., and subsequently went to Bow St. This work is published by Robert Hale, 102 Gt. Russell Street, London, W.C.1. We believe that it is out of print at the moment. We have read and enjoyed thoroughly this most interesting, thoroughly human, truly philosophic, and well informed work. We are anxious to secure a copy of this work for "keeps" and advise readers to do the same. We would like also to secure the other writings of this able author and would be grateful for an opportunity to buy second-hand copies. "Bow St. World" is a far greater study in sociology than many alleged Socialist writings.

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THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND ITS CRITICS

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT.
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government).

[The following article by our comrade Jowett is reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, 9th October, 1942. We reproduce it because we believe in full and free discussion. We are entirely opposed to Stalin and to the Stalin Government and do not believe the enemies of Stalin are, of necessity, the enemies of Soviet Russia. We are opposed to the Soviet Trials, to suppression of the truth concerning the part played by Trotsky in the Russian Revolution, to the persecution of the Anarchists and the anti-Parliamentarian Bolshevists under Stalin, and even before, under Lenin and Trotsky. We are opposed to Soviet diplomacy and we are opposed to the Stalin-Hitler pact. These facts do not prevent us from entering into complete co-operation with Comrade Jowett in the struggle against war and towards Socialism. We wish our readers to form their own opinions and to follow neither Jowett nor ourself without question. In the interest of truth we print Comrade Jowett's reply to our article and are content to leave the matter there. For our part, there can be no Socialist fellowship with the Stalin Government that, like the Hitler Government, has murdered and tortured Socialists. We have complete Socialist fellowship with the common people of the Soviet Union as with those of Nazi Germany.—Ed.]

What masses of people in all other countries are thinking of Soviet Russia, as that Socialist Sixth of the World goes through its ordeal of blood, tears and sweat for maintenance of its Socialist way of life, is tremendously important for the future of Socialism in the world.

Therefore, statements concerning Soviet Russia which are misleading, either because they are not true or because they tell only part of the truth, ought not to be allowed to go undenied or uncorrected. In my opinion nothing seems so sure as a future effort by British and American financial and big business interests to undermine and if possible to destroy Soviet Russia's Socialism.

When Soviet Russia, weakened economically by its sacrificial resistance to nearly the full weight of the mighty Nazi mechanised armed forces, not only ceases to be of military use to them but in need even of food and raw material, Soviet Russia's capitalist and imperialist enemies will resume their nefarious pre-war activities. Anti-Socialist propaganda, artfully and cunningly devised to discredit Soviet Russia, is then to be expected and what is said in Socialist anti-war publications now will be used in one form or another for anti-Soviet propaganda later.

Consequently, it is my present purpose to comment on one of the statements that have appeared recently which I think are misleading because they do not state the whole truth, or do not give due weight to relevant circumstances which, in fairness to Soviet Russia, should be stated and taken seriously into account as a necessary part of the matter.

I have in mind the statement which appears on the front page of "The Word" for October. It is accompanied by an expression of sympathy for the common people of Russia and condemnation of the German invasion which is quite natural from such a militant anti-war Socialist as is "The Word's" editor, Guy Aldred, but, as a statement of case, it is, in my opinion, incomplete and tends to give force to what may be the most dangerous part of future anti-Soviet propaganda. The statement I refer to I will quote. Here it is:—

> **"Whatever may be the deeper social and economic causes of the Second World War, the 1939 Moscow agreement freed Germany for war and so made the present terrible clash inevitable.**
>
> **Our sympathy for the common people of the Soviet, our condemnation of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, must not blind us to the criminal folly of a pact that was designed for war, not peace, and was never intended to emancipate the workers of the world from war and oppression."**

Now I see two substantial objections to the statement I have quoted appearing at this time, and, unaccompanied by any statement of relevant facts which explain why the Government of Soviet Russia entered into a Pact with Nazi Germany.

One is that it seems to me grievously unfair to the peoples of Russia for Socialists to throw this question of the pact with Germany into public discussion whilst the peoples of Russia are in the agony of a life and death struggle against the mightiest anti-Socialist state in the world.

The other is that without a statement of relevant facts which led Soviet Russia into signing the pact, disastrous as the consequences have been—the statement itself must have the effect of seriously prejudicing the case of Soviet Russia whilst masses of people in every part of the world are being attracted to the Socialism for which Soviet Russia stands by Soviet Russia's Socialist achievements, and, by the unity of its varied peoples in the most terrible trial of endurance in all the world's history.

To get the whole truth about Soviet Russia's pact with Nazi Germany it needs to be stated that it was really a move in the game of power politics in which all the Governments of the great European powers were at the time deeply implicated.

Soviet Russia took part in this international game of power politics under, I believe, the grievously mistaken view that it was the only way by which the security of Soviet Russia, as a Socialist federation of peoples, could be safeguarded.

Previously, as a Member State in the League of Nations, Soviet Russia's representative, Litvinov, had stood alone for years in his continuous efforts to work the policy of international alliances inside the League of Nations (illusively described as "Collective Security") for peace and collective action against aggressive Powers. Not until the policy of so-called "collective security" failed and it had become clearly evident that the Governments of Britain and France were willing to get a temporary peace for themselves with Nazi Germany at the expense of Soviet Russia did Stalin and his colleagues in the Russian Government abandon their efforts for peace by working for it through the "collective security" system.

Chamberlain and Daladier's negotiations with Hitler and Mussolini in 1937 were believed by the Soviet Government to have been to patch up a temporary peace with Hitler for the Western Powers, in return for giving Hitler a free hand to attack Russia. Whatever the real object of these negotiations may have been Soviet Russia was not told, but the events of the following year (after the Franco-British negotiations had failed) gave Soviet Russia every possible reason for being sure that Chamberlain was scheming to get Russia involved in a war with Germany whilst Britain and France made preparations for their own **inevitable Imperialist War with Germany.**

The Soviet Russian Government's answer, to this Franco-British scheming to involve Russia in war with Germany, was swift, startling, and tragic. It was the pact with Germany. Stalin and his Government went in up to the neck in the morass of power politics. They sought to strenghten Russia's position and safeguard Russia's Socialism by extending Russia's frontiers. They made war on Finland because agreement to remove all Finland's menacing positions was found to be impossible.

It was a mistaken policy—tragically mistaken. All that can be claimed for the policy is that it gained time for Soviet Rusia's preparations for the war with Germany which Stalin and his colleagues knew would have to come, for Hitler's book, "Mein Kampf," had had made that clear for all the world to see.

But although tragically mistaken, the policy and the pact with Germany was the beginning of it, was not "designed" to promote war as "The Word" seems to imply but to keep **Socialist Soviet Russia out of an inevitable war between the British and German rival Imperialist States and, to prepare Russia for its own defence, with or without allies, whenever Hitler should decide to strike at Soviet Russia and its Socialism.**

Hitler's Nazi Germany has struck. For more than fifteen months the peoples of Russia have been going through an ordeal unequalled in in all history.

Millions of forgotten people in other lands are now **with the Socialist peoples of Russia in sympathy and understanding, and the number grows.**

It is not for us who are Socialists to provide material for discouraging the growth of Socialist fellowship which is being kindled and fanned into flame by evidence of Soviet Russia's Socialistic achievements and the Soviet people's unity in sacrifice in defending their new way of life. The enemies of Soviet Russia and its Socialism, will do more than enough of that themselves at their own time.

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COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Native Conditions again Exposed in a Further House of Commons Speech

BY A. CREECH JONES M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

(Concluded from page 48)

I want now to refer to a number of economic difficulties. Most hon. Members on these Benches are conscious, from correspondence and messages reaching them from the Colonies that the cost of living is rising, that wages do not keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, and that conditions in many areas are now becoming almost intolerable—so intolerable that in a number of Colonies, in spite of their patriotic zeal to support the war effort, the working people are threatening strikes. It is no good saying that the Essential Work Order is a satisfactory expedient for meeting a situation of this kind. You cannot fob off the working people with the idea that in the course of time a report will be made on the cost of living and something may be done about their wages. I put it to my right hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State that if the Essential Work Order is made operative, there should be, at any rate, definite guarantees in respect of conditions of employment, that if the strike weapon is withdrawn from these men, other means should be open to them for the purpose of securing proper adjustments in their standards. This situation in regard to the lowering of the standard of living as a result of the war situation is a condition that is prevalent in West Africa and the West Indies. I have just received a telegram from Ceylon pleading that I make representations with the Colonial Office on this very matter. In view of this feeling, I ask that the local Governments should make some effort to adjust what has become an almost intolerable situation. It is not enough to say that these people must make some sacrifice for the war effort.

The second point of an economic nature that I want to raise is forced labour. I shall not discuss the problem of forced labour, but I want to make one or two observations to my right hon. Friend concerning the application of this policy. Why is it that permission to apply this policy is so readily given from London without substantial facts being produced as to the necessity for it? The latest Colony in which this policy has been operated is Northern Nigeria. Why? There is a great surplus of labour there. Would it not be possible for the Colonial Office, in such a case, to say to the Colony, "Why are you not able to recruit that labour? Have you made absolutely certain that there are reasonable conditions in the industries concerned and that they are sufficiently attractive to the labour that is available?" Why is it that permission is given without the most stringent safeguards being made in respect of the new labour to be caught up in the industries concerned? Why, in Northern Nigeria, are there no labour inspectors? All that is done is to send up an administrative officer who, probably as part of his other duties, looks after the new situation created in the tin mines. Are the Minimum Wage Regulations being operated or is it simply said, as the Under-Secretary said in reply to a Question the other day, "Yes, we will see that local wage rates are operated"? I suggest that that is not good enough. To what degree is the Minimum Wage Convention, to which we are a party, being operated? How far-reaching is this minimum wage legislation? Those are some of the questions to which I would like to receive an answer.

I said the other day, in a Supplementary Question, that there was reason to doubt whether, under the Forced Labour Convention, the policy of the Government could be justified. I am supported in my view by so distinguished an authority as Lord Lugard, who said that he was at the Permanent Mandates Commission when the Forced Labour Convention was being made and his recollection was that when they thought of exclusions, they were thinking of exclusions in respect of war, but they had not in mind that the exclusion would cover working for private profit. That is precisely the position now—that we are engaged in industrial conscription in private employment out of which a profit can be made. Moreover, as far as Northern Nigeria is concerned, I want to ask the Under-Secretary whether any steps are being taken about the royalties that are being paid to the Nigerian company which has an interest in this matter. It gets at least half the royalties in respect of the exploitation of minerals. Is it going to surrender, in respect of the new wealth got out of Nigeria, its full share of royalties under some taxation legislation? Finally, what steps are being taken to safeguard the local native economy while the men are withdrawn? There are other questions which occur to me in regard to the Northern Nigerian situation. What are the terms and periods of employment? How long are these people to be away from their homes? We have not seen the Regulations and we know nothing about the conditions; all we know is that somebody in Northern Nigeria put it to the Colonial Office that what had happened in Kenya should apply in the Northern Nigerian tin mines, and without saying what safeguards or conditions there should be, permission was given. That sort of thing ought to stop. It has happened not only in Northern Nigeria, but it is now happening in Southern Rhodesia, and the Southern Rhodesian Government use the excuse that as the policy of forced labour is spreading in Africa they see no special reason why it should not be applicable in their own territory.

The third economic problem that I want to mention is the situation in the West Indies. I should like to know more about how the Government are facing the alarming situation that is developing economically in the West Indies. Before long the workers who have been employed on the American bases will be returning to their homes. In some places, as an hon. Friend reminds me, work is finishing now, and there will be a most grave unemployment situation. In certain Colonies there is already a very great problem of surplus population. Consequently, the economic situation will become very bad indeed. At the same time, the cost of living is rising. There are shipping difficulties. We have not mobilised the production of food to anything like a sufficient degree to meet the needs of this population of nearly 3,000,000, and so far as rice is concerned, although the Under-Secretary said that certain things had been done, I doubt if they are adequate to feed the populations of our own territories. I put it that we are face to face with a very grave situation which calls for the gravest attention from the Government at the present moment. It is quite true there has been an Anglo-American Commission, and presumably it has reported. The American Ambassador made a speech the other day about it. As far as I know, we have not had a report here. Presumably, there are steps to be taken in regard to the control of prices, to the rationing of goods, to increasing local production, organising shipping and the rest, but I am very apprehensive, and I would like to koow more of the Government's economic policy in this respect.

Then there is the problem of social distress. We have had for the last two years the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. We were told the other day that no fewer than 83 schemes in a dozen categories had been endorsed though the expenditure indicated by my right hon. Friend is not quite in harmony with other information given to this House a little while back. The figure of £800,000 under the Colonial Department and Welfare Act was mentioned as against £250,000 in the return for 30th June. I am open to correction on that point.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Harold Macmillan): I would like to have these figures correct. Is the hon. Member giving the figure of money voted or that of money spent?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am givin the figures set out in the return.

Mr. Macmillan: I am accused, as I understand it, of having made a false return. The mistake I think the hon. Member is making is that one figure is the cost of schemes approved, and the other figure, which I gave the other day, is that of money actually spent. As the hon. Member will appreciate, there is a time lag between the two.

Mr. Creech Jones: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon if I have made a mistake. I was under the impression that the return to 30th June was of moneys paid, which was a sum of £250,000, whereas in another place I have seen that, under the Act, public schemes amounted to £800,000. I found it difficult to reconcile the two figures. The point I desire to make to my right hon. Friend is that in this House we are very much at a loss in arriving at any real comprehension of the meaning of the figures so far given. When for instance the 83 schemes in the West Indies are broken up into a dozen categories we do not know the relation of these individual schemes to any broad policy of social and economic development. It is on that sort of thing we would like to be informed by a report, so that we could get a more intelligent and comprehensive view of how the Colonial Development and Welfare Act is working.

I appreciate that, fundamentally, all this talk about social development is economic but I put it to the House that the resources of the Colonies are their own. We have acknowledged the paramountcy of their interests, yet on us falls the responsibility of rapidly creating the conditions under which the people can stand on their feet, of associating them with other areas for economic and political needs, and of moving on to their de-colonisation both in status and in stature.

I should have liked to have spoken about Colonial administration—the machine at the Colonial Office, and the general administrative machine in the Colonies. As regards the former, may I suggest to my right hon. Friend that the Colonial Office might open its doors a little more widely to its own people when they visit London from their post overseas? There is room for a little more consultation. Sometimes Departments might call for reports, might get the "low down" from some of the junior officials who have been engaged in Colonial administration. Sometimes the Colonial Office might give them a warmer welcome for their views and ideas, than they have been accustomed to give up to now. The second point I make in regard to Colonial administration is this. I want to see more Africans and others brought into the administration of their own territories, but I would ask that the more imaginative, more go-ahead members of the European administrative staffs should have greater opportunities than are now permitted to them. We do not want a Colonial service made up of men who are continuously playing for safety. It would help sometimes if we could bring in on the secretariats some men who have had experience in the districts, out in the field, and who are facing problems in an imaginative and fresh way. I hope that that side of the administrative work will not be disregarded.

I hope finally that my former request to the Colonial Secretary will be given some attention. If it is the aim of the Government to work out its policy on the lines of past

declarations, I hope we may be informed what these declarations are, and that we may get a White Paper on them. I hope also that a greater interest in Colonial problems will be engendered in this House by the creation of some suitable machinery for considering Colonial policy. The time is long overdue for some joint Parliamentary Committee for this purpose. I hope that in this House, with our great responsibilities, going forward as we are into a new world where increasing demands will be made on us, we may have the facilities, the machinery and the opportunity of dealing with Colonial problems with understanding. Nothing can contribute more to that end than the creation of proper Parliamentary machinery.

Towards the conclusion of the debate, a breeze occurred between Mr. MacMillan, the present Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and our comrade Creech Jones.

Creech Jones pressed to know what was the period of native conscription and if conscription was confined to particular tribesmen.

At another stage, the Under-Secretary said:—

My hon. Friend the Member for Shipley made, not exactly an accusation, but an innuendo that there was a statement going around that in some way or other the Colonial Office had got mixed up with monopolies in West Africa and was increasing the powers of monopoly traders.

Mr. Creech Jones: I should like the Under-Secretary to quote me correctly. I made no such innuendo or suggestion. I merely asked the Colonial Office not to strengthen monopolies in any action they took to deal with imports or exports.

THE EDITOR'S APPEAL

The response to our appeal last month has not equalled what was needed. We asked for £1,500. This sum is less than the actual debt on our new press, on our pamphlet publication, and on "The Word," which is one of the most costly produced papers in the Movement. Letters from comrades express great appreciation of the paper and its contents. Only a few rally to its help. Either we must put the price of the paper up to 3d. per copy, which we do not want to do, or we must command immediate support. IF EVERY READER MADE A SACRIFICE FOR ONE MONTH THE SUM NEEDED WOULD BE RAISED. We would make no more appeals for a year.

This paper is not subsidised. Many people imagine that the Strickland estate sustains our work. This is an error. War conditions have wiped out the Strickland legacy completely and has turned its provisions into a serious handicap and liability. Pamphlet publication carries with it the need for advertising. Whereas we freely announce publications issued by other sections of the Socialist and Pacifist Movements, the advertising of our booklets in various Socialist and Pacifist papers costs money. The rates are high and often inconsiderate. But such advertising is a necessary method of reaching an audience.

A few comrades did respond. Some responded well. But the total response amounted to only a little over £50. The matter rests with our readers. Either there must be a general response this month, or else we must increase the price of the paper and cut down its size, or else we must cease publication entirely. If EACH reader will note that this appeal is both serious and genuine, and so respond immediately, we will carry on. IF NOT, DRASTIC CHANGES WILL BE ANNOUNCED NEXT MONTH. Please respond and end this threat of crisis.

SAVE "THE WORD."

The author of the following letter is a well-known Protestant writer and lecturer, who wishes to remain anonymous:—

Dear Mr. Aldred,—As a Christian reader of your journal I send you herewith Two Guineas in response to your Appeal for £1,500. I give this willingly and am making a sacrifice in order to let you have it.

"The Word" to my mind is necessary in these days of press dishonesty and hypocrisy, and journals such as yours should be encouraged.

I hope that 500 of your readers will follow my example, and that they will give NOW!

"The Word" must be saved for the thinking and sane who read it.

CHRISTIAN READER.

WAR COMMENTARY

The fact that Americans should recently have been engaged in killing Frenchmen living on the other side of the world, with whom they can have had less than no personal quarrel, brings once more into sharp relief the beastliness and utter moral depravity of war. One of the reasons given—that the move was an unavoidable necessity to anticipate similar action by the enemy—is an excuse which both sides have employed ever since the beginning of the struggle; but the further claim that the occupation of French territory in Africa was necessary to prevent an Axis invasion of America strikes one as bold a flight of imagination which even Dr. Goebells might have envied!

If war were the noble thing its advocates claim, statesmen could avoid this rather nauseating hypocrisy. They could simply say to a neutral neighbour, "We are very sorry, but we feel that securing victory for our people is a duty so important that we cannot allow any other consideration to stand in its way. We also feel that the success of our cause will be of the greatest benefit to other nations besides our own. We therefore see no alternative but to occupy your country as a matter of strategic necessity. We hope you will not resist, as we have no desire to injure your people and we shall try to cause them as little inconvenience as circumstances permit." That at anyrate would be honest!

There are people, some of them influential, who have favoured a negotiated peace but have felt that no effective action can be taken until our military fortunes are on the up-grade. The success in North Africa, if it can be sustained for any length of time, should give them a chance to prove their mettle and the soundness of their judgment.

If they do nothing, the battle, beyond administering some check to Axis confidence, may, in the long run, achieve little beyond a useless sacrifice of good men's lives.

If we had not got involved in war with Japan and lost our main sources of supply of rubber and tin; if we had not antagonized the Indian people; if our shipping losses were not so severe; and if Russia had not been largely crippled, the military possibilities of the recapture of partial control of the Mediterranean might be considerable. As things are, even if the Germans should be turned out of Africa completely, the position, notwithstanding the trumpetings of our warmongers, would seem to be one of stalemate. Let us hope that the forces of reason will make the very best use of the opportunity which such a situation might provide.

BEDFORD.

"UNKNOWN WARRIOR"

If a tear fall in Westminster,
Is it more pitiful, or salter
Than the red eyes of a lover in
A grey back street in Berlin?

Is the silence of the unknown
Tomb sunk in the Abbey's stone
Sacred? but not the sheets turned down
Waiting a corpse in some German town?

Was his English flesh whiter than
That of the tall, young Hamburg man?
Or his own heart quicker to flame
Than the Florentine boy without a name?

You meet here, as if this nave
Were the only youthful soldier's grave.
In a German slum, a bed stands
Empty. Kings kiss the guilty hands.

MICHAEL GARDNER.

GLASGOW No. I TRIBUNAL

Our comrade, J. T. Caldwell, of the United Socialist Movement and the Strickland Press, appeared before the Glasgow Tribunal on October 21, 1940, and was granted conditional exemption. The condition was that he should volunteer for part-time A.R.P. On November 4, 1942, Caldwell again appeared before the same Tribunal, to have his case reconsidered, on the ground that he had failed to carry out the condition of his exemption, but had reasonable excuse for his failure.

Sheriff Principal Sir A. Campbell Black presided at both hearings and on each occasion the editor accompanied Caldwell as a witness.

The Tribunal varied its finding to one of unconditional exemption. As on the first occasion, the Tribunal treated the applicant courteously.

At the recent hearing, an afternoon session, 10 cases were reconsidered. The eighth case was that of Caldwell and the ninth that of our comrade, Philip Boyle, who was the first conscientious objector to be court-martialled in Scotland. He received two Court Martial sentences before being exempted. The editor appeared for Boyle also, whose condition was varied to suit his present employment.

One case was very irritating even to the listener. An amazingly vague decision by the Appellate Tribunal was interpreted in a most fantastic fashion by the objector concerned, who had an array of witnesses in Court, and a solicitor to speak for him. The result was not given. The Tribunal treated the applicant with politeness and attention, whatever its decision might have been. We did not feel much sympathy with his argument that he was giving expression to the condition of exemption. However genuine his opposition to war may have been his evidence proved that he was not fulfiling any condition of exemption.

We listened to 7 cases in addition to giving evidence in the cases of Caldwell and Boyle. The Tribunal was courteous and anxiously fair in every case. Whatever prejudice the appearance of conscientious objectors may rouse in the military-minded folk, no bias was expressed in the conduct of Sir A. Campbell Black and his colleagues. The questions were to the point and the atmosphere was judicial and competent without being heavily solemn. The hearing given to each case was good.

On Tuesday, November 17, afternoon session, the editor accompanied Miss Clementina Bertolini before the Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal. This was the first time he had been at a Woman's Tribunal. Sir A. Campbell Black brought out the facts in this case with sympathy and understanding. This was the fifth case heard that afternoon. Miss Bertolini was given unconditional exemption on pacifist grounds. She is a Catholic and was 22 on the Sunday before her Tribunal. In the other cases, two were refused, and two were granted conditional exemption.

COMRADE CALLAGHAN'S APPEAL.

On Thursday, November 19, afternoon session, the editor appeared with Comrade Arthur Callaghan, of the Burnbank Anti-parliamentary Group, before the Appellate Tribunal, Edinburgh. Comrade Callaghan appealed against the decision of the South West Scotland, No. 2 Tribunal, held on September 11 last, which removed his name from the register of conscientious objectors. The decision of the local Tribunal was unanimous. The appeal was successful and Callaghan's name was placed in the register of conscientious objectors, on condition that he found employment as a miner. Callaghan is a miner by occupation and had left the pit owing to unemployment and a pit closing down.

18B DETENTIONS

The 18B Publicity Council, 15 Woburn Square, London, W.C.1, has published a pamphlet by Henry St. George, directing attention to the detention and sufferings of British citizens through the administration of war-time regulations by Ministers of the Crown acting in the name of the People of Great Britain. Our concern is with the facts recorded in this pamphlet and not with its argument. On the one hand it speaks of "iniquities" and "inhuman administration," whereas we would record the facts without undue comment, and leave them to tell coldly their own story. On the other hand it concedes to the Government arguments in support of 18B, such as:—

"THERE IS NO SUGGESTION that the necessary Defence Regulations should be abolished, no one but a fool or a criminal would suggest any weakening of the powers of the lawful administration in defence of the country, . . ."

We must be both criminal and fool for we deny that the Defence Regulations are necessary or lawful. We declare that they ought to be abolished. In our view, all such powers as those conferred by 18B are a menace to the citizen and entirely contrary to the established law of Britain and to the fundamental principles of the constitution. Because a number of lawyers turned by political adventurism into judges say otherwise, that does not settle the constitutional issue for us. Judges have reached such conclusions before and their interested defence of Star Chamber regulations and decisions have been scattered to the winds. 18B victims, or their friends, upholding special legislation of this extraordinary nature, remind us of Trotsky attacking Stalin. Trotsky agrees with secret trials and defends the idea of such conduct, only he objects to Stalin's secret trials. He does not realise that the whole business of secret trials is wrong. But these 18B critics will not condemn the entire defence legislation. Why?

We confess we are at a disadvantage in dealing with the matter because we believe in democracy, full legal, social, political, and economic democracy. We know that some of the victims believe in Fascism and special powers of state suppression. Hence our sympathy is qualified. After all we cannot be expected to maintain free speech and freedom from arrest for folk who wish to use speech and freedom for the purpose of depriving us of our right to both. On the other hand, we have no right to deny the principles for which we stand, and on which social justice rests.

Mr. St. George's pamphlet quotes the vigorous words of Abraham Lincoln, whose great virtue was his unfailing common-sense of utterance and understanding:—

"We know that great political and moral wrongs are done and outrages committed, and we denounce these wrongs and outrages, although we cannot at present do much more."

The pamphlet sets out, in its own peculiar language, two sets of facts and makes a demand with which we agree entirely.

(1) Men, women, and children of British birth have been, are being, or are liable to be imprisoned without trial, without adequate reason, and entirely without protection at law or of any principles of justice.

(2) The harshness of the imprisonment has caused the death of some victims and the permanent injury to health of many.

(3) 18B prisoners ought to be brought to public trial or else released unconditionally.

The pamphlet points out that in May, June, and July, 1940, the Government feared an invasion. Consequently arrests took place in various parts of the country, and many citizens who had fought for Britain in previous wars and even in this war, and had been rewarded for gallant services, were imprisoned for "what they might do," to quote the words of the Home Secretary. In all 1800 British born citizens were detained. Of these, after many weary months of imprisonment, over 1300 have been released, many unconditionally.

The tragedies of 18B detentions listed in this pamphlet include the ofllowing:—

M . . . an ex-service man was serving on the "small ships" about to leave for Dunkirk. He was arrested under "18B." Owing to the insanitary conditions and the fact that 12 men had to use one razor blade, he contracted "Sycosis Barbae." This disease has now left him unfit for work and is too advanced for any successful treatment. He is now "discharged"—which means that he should never have been detained—and has no redress. His life, his health forfeit "on suspicion."

Mrs. C. . . . Upon the detention of her husband, Mrs. C. was assaulted by "patriots" in the vicinity of her home and suffered a serious hemorrhage as a consequence of this attack. Mrs. C. had experienced no major illness in her life before, but recurrent hemorrhages so undermined her health that eventually Tuberculosis infecting both her lungs was diagnosed by her medical attendant. She was urged to undergo sanatorium treatment. Mrs. C. refused to be separated from her four little children, who would obviously have to be put in some form of Home or Institution. This poor woman pleads continually with the Home Office for the release of her husband.

C.M. . . . A volunteer of the Boer War. Also served in the War of '14-'18. Three times wounded in his Country's service. M. was 69 years of age and with the set habits obvious in an older person was quite unable to adapt himself to the rigorous conditions prevailing in prison and internment camp. When seriously ill he was released—and died shortly after.

D. . . . A miner's son, 18 years of age when detained in 1940. A sufferer from Claustrophobia. His confinement in prison so played havoc with his adolescent mind that in spite of every endeavour of his fellow-detainees to restore his mental balance, he became quite insane and is now confined in a mental home on the Isle of Man.

R.R. . . . This ex-service man suffered from severe shell-shock as a result of his war services. He had received continuous medical treatment until detained in June, 1940. This treatment then ceased. His physical condition became such that after release early in 1941, he died, directly as a result of lack of medical attention, leaving a widow and one son.

H. . . . A crippled ex-service man, maimed in the course of war service. His home has been broken up and his wife forced to undergo uncongenial employment to supply him with bare necessities, he being obviously unable to "work" for 3s. a week in detention.

P.T. . . . This old man was a sufferer from cancer of the tongue when detained. Even with the finest and most constant treatment his hold on life was but a precarious one. Irrespective of his physical health, this man was detained with only access to the miserable medical services of detention camp and prison infirmary. He was let out to die.

Mr. W. . . . Another ex-service man, W. never physically strong, was detained and subsequently released unconditionally. W was released early in 1941, but, unable to rehabilitate himself in his old search for work and the means to provide for his family. He died three months after release. His family consisted of three young girls and his wife. . . . Mrs. W. is blind.

G.D. . . . This man was unable for obvious reasons, whilst detained, to afford the protection which all fathers wished to give their families during the nights and days of sudden death which came from the skies at the latter part of 1940. Fearful for his dear ones' safety through "Blitz" attacks on his home town, he induced them to join his parents in Belfast. During one awful raid, a "direct hit" wiped out the whole family.

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. B . . . Mr. B., a builder by trade, had married a German woman. She was arrested in May, 1940, as of "hostile origin." Mr. B., British by birth and descent, was also arrested as having "hostile association."

Mrs. B. was taken to Holloway with her little boy, aged only 15 months, where they were placed in a damp, unheated cell. After a fortnight, the child wes sent to a public institution and was not seen again by either of his parents until nearly a year later when he was returned to his mother in Holloway.

Mrs. B. was pregnant, but was subjected to the same deprivations and hardships as her fellow-detainees. About Christmas, she was removed to the prison hospital, where she was left to fend for herself during her twenty-four hours labour. She gave birth to a girl on January, '41. Three weeks later, mother and child were back in the prison cell under usual prison conditions.

When the little boy was sent back to his mother, the three lived together in the cell until transported to the Isle of Man. Both children were ill and Mrs. B. prostrate with fatigue and anxiety. The boy, originally a strong, healthy child, came back from the Institution stunted and emaciated. The journey to the island proved a severe trial. Weary hours of waiting, hardly any food, no help in carrying their baggage, this poor young mother had a terrible ordeal with her two baby children. During the voyage no food was provided, and Mrs. B., who was breast-feeding her baby, was terribly sea-sick and collapsed. She was even denied fresh air and only permitted to sit in the lavatory.

Upon arrival, Mrs. B., carrying her baby and with the other child clinging to her skirt, was ordered to march to the railway station and to carry her luggage. As this was obviously impossible, she was at last taken to her destination in a "Black Maria" and reached her quarters at Port Erin at 9.15 p.m. They had left Fleetwood after travelling all night by train at 5.30 that morning! At Port Erin, Mrs. B. and her children were given a room without any heating facilities—even hot-water bottles for the children were refused. Naturally they caught cold, and eventually the boy developed whooping cough. The baby caught this complaint—and died on November 15th.

Mr. B., a prisoner himself, asked that he might be allowed to bury his baby daughter in his home town. The request was granted by the Home Office, but only on condition that he bore the entire expense. As detention for over 18 months had deprived him of his livelihood, he had to arrange to sell the last remains of his small property.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons on October 22 regarding the employment of British detainees in the Isle of Man. The questioners were calling attention to the inadequacy of the pay for the work done, and they were unable to get an answer to their questions. Mr. Stokes who has a passion for liberty and merits much praise for his courageous stand on the questions of liberty and conscience, asked definitely if the rates of pay had been adjusted. All he got in reply was a jibe at the idea of liberty or justice. Herbert Morrison said:—

I do not know what my hon. Friend means. He refers to 1s. a day, and then to 1s. a week, and he does not seem to mind much which way it is. It must be remembered that these people are being maintained at the expense of the State. I think the hon. Gentleman wants to elevate these ladies and gentlemen rather too high in the social scale.

Morrison may have meant this comment to stand as a witty reply, but all decent people would consider it unworthy of a Minister of the State enjoying a privileged position of power. These people in the Isle of Man, even if they are maintained at the Government expense, are under preventive detention, are detained without charge or evidence of ill-doing. They have no right to be there, and to joke at their condition is an expression of bad-taste, to say the least of such want of charity.

ROBERT MORLEY

NEWCASTLE C.O. AGAIN SENTENCED

A fine of £5 (or 20 days' imprisonment) was imposed on our comrade, Robert Morley, of Highfield Road, Westerhope, at Newcastle Police Court on Friday, October 30 last, for failing to submit to a medical examination for national service. He was ordered to submit to such examination that day.

Moreley urged that he should be sentenced at once and that the Bench should cut out the formality of sending him to a medical board.

Reading from a written statement he said he was an anti-militarist and believed laws which made war possible anti-social.

Later, Morley was sentenced to 12 months. Report next month.

Thus the Morley family continues its magnificent stand for Socialism, Pacifism, and anti-Militarism.

Comrades who wish to know the full details of the splendid stand made for conscience and pacifism by our Comrades Morley should read our columns for February, August, and December 1941; February and September, 1942.

A CHAMPION OF FREE SPEECH

By D. M. Elliot

(Formerly President of the National Union of Journalists).

[The following article was published in "The Plebs" for October, 1942. It is a review of our "Richard Carlile, Agitator." This book is published at 1s. 6d. and will be sent, post free, for 1s. 9d. Carlile was born on December 9, 1790. He died on February 10, 1843. Next February, therefore, will be the centenary of his death. The B.B.C. has refused to make a broadcast on the subject of his life and work, on the ground that the subject is not of sufficient interest! Carlile's prison essays, under the title of "Jail Journal," will be published by the Strickland Press, this month.—Ed.]

If no persons had resisted error and offered themselves, even as victims, falsehood always would have prevailed, declared Richard Carlile, when answering an indictment for blasphemy brought against him in 1819 for publishing Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason."

That was the keynote of Carlile's career, a burning need of the sense to uphold truth, whatever the cost.

By common consent Carlile is ranked among the great champions of freedom of expression in speech or writing—by some regarded as the greatest of them all, though less well-known than Milton, Wilkes or Paine—and it is a salutary reminder of how dearly bought was such liberty as we enjoy to-day in these matters to read Guy Aldred's account of the life and times of "Richard Carlile, Agitator."

Aldred makes no bones about his admiration for Carlile—"the genius of his age" he calls him—and little wonder, for here was a man who, in the striking words of Eliza Sharples, who shared his life, "did not suffer himself to be moved by ignominy, distress or most cruel suffering, but continued steadfast in the cause of truth, not because it was profitable or delightful, but because it was just."

Aldred's study—this is the third edition, and the book is recognised as one of the authoritative works on Carlile—is at once inspiring and forbidding. It is inspiring by reason of the clear-cut picture it gives of one man's iron determination to fight for what he conceived to be the right; forbidding because of the indelible background of cant and terror it depicts as passing for law and justice.

Carlile was born in 1790 and died in 1843—less than a hundred years ago. In his comparatively short life, he spent nine years and seven months in prison out of sentences of twelve years imposed on him because of his defiance of laws which sought to prevent the spread of knowledge. It was an age in which petty larceny was still punished by execution, when transportation was a common sentence for those who dared to proclaim the working man's right to independence of thought and action. Carlile could not be silenced. "The general distress of 1816," he wrote, "opened my eyes, and I soon saw what was the importance of a Free Press. I wanted to be doing something in a great cause." He never looked back on that resolve.

On the platform and in his publications he attacked one form of hypocrisy after another—the Church, the law, freemasonry, the stamp taxes, all coming under his flail. When prosecuted for publishing what are now regarded as mild expressions of public rights, he really placed his accusers on trial by the brilliance of his defence. To a judge who had made an inept comment he replied bitingly, "Your Lordship's observations argue nothing but the absurdity of legislating on matters of opinion."

There was a lyrical quality about Carlile's courage. "I would rather be free in prison," he said, "than shackled outside." By shackles he meant the mental black-out which those in authority sought to impose on the workers of his day. "I write for the poor," he wrote, "though all in that class do not see it. (How often could that reproach be cast!). I write for the poor, or the rich oppressor would not persecute me."

Persecution was by no means confined to Carlile himself. Of those associated with him in his printing and distributing enterprises, 150 went to jail, including his wife, Jane Carlile, and his younger sister. He and his shopmen were not to be cowed, however, and in 1825 he was granted unconditional release.

Somewhat bombastically perhaps, but with justification, he declared eight years later, "I have accomplished the liberty of the Press in England, and oral discussion is now free. Nothing remains to be reformed but the ignorance and vices of the people, whose ignorance cannot be removed while their bodies are starved and their church remains a theatre of idolatry and superstition."

Unfortunately, the results Carlile looked for have not materialised, partly because the Press freedom he fought for so tenaciously has never been absolute and partly because the ruling classes were quick to learn, when direct oppression failed, that subtler methods were no less effective for keeping authority invested in their hands.

Aldred's book will well repay the reading. Its vitality comes largely from its autobiographical character, the many passages in which Carlile speaks for himself. None, however, is more graphic than the terrible indictment of mankind's indifference by Eliza Sharples, in which, in a passionate outburst over Carlile's death "wanting the necessities of life" after all these years of suffering and trial, she exclaims, "Such being the reward of sincerity, who then shall marvel at its absence?" It is a charge not only against the masses of Carlile's day, but against the workers of every generation who have honoured their martyrs only when it is too late.

ROMFORD PACIFISM.

In these days of war-madness and unbalanced thinking, it is a relief to report the work and activities of the Collier Row Peace Pledge Union. It is just 18 months ago since four of us decided to form a group to study Pacifism and Socialism and to engage in intensive propaganda. It was not long before we made ourselves felt and others wanted to join us. Our group increased in numbers and every member was 100 per cent. Pacifist and Socialist to the backbone.

Membership with us does not simply mean easy-armchair conversations, routine group meetings—but daily active propaganda in the home, on the land, in the shop and in the street. Members are not afraid of being known as Pacifists and Socialists. Quite early we started a Literature Section and in a very few weeks every one was busy selling "Peace News," "The Word," and hundreds of other books and pamphlets. This literature was put into the hands of non-pacifists with great results. Not only did these folks read one pamphlet but, like Oliver Twist, they asked for more. The printed page is the finest form of propaganda—it leads to questions being asked and an opportunity of "putting it over."

We carry the Pacifist and Socialist message to the non-Pacifist and the anti-Socialist and seek to enlighten and educate them. We get many letters into "The Romford Press."

Our latest piece of useful work is the formation of a Group Lending Library. Books have already been given to us but we need many more. Will those who read this report please help me? I want all the Pacifist, anti-War and Socialist books and pamphlets it is possible to get. Can anyone send me the following:—"Conscience and Conscription" by John Graham; "The Queen's Daughters in India" by Andrew and Bushnell; "The Great Crusade" by Josephine Butler; "The Conquest of Violence" by Bart de ligt.

We also have a Group Reference Library for which I require any literature or records of the C.O. Movement 1914-42; Guy Aldred's early pamphlets and periodicals; "At Grips With War," etc., and the following issues of "The Word" to complete my files: Vol. 1, No. 1, 4, 8; Vol. 2, No. 7, 8, 9; Vol. 3, No. 1; also "Regeneracion" Leaflets, 1936; "News from Spain," 1937; and "The Barcelona Bulletin."

Please send your gifts to the Group Secretary, GEO, E. WATLING, 3 LARCHWOOD CLOSE, COLLIER ROW, ROMFORD, ESSEX.

RICHARD CARLILE'S FUNERAL.

FUNERAL OF THE LATE RICHARD CARLILE.—The remains of this notorious individual were deposited at the Kensal-green Cemetery yesterday. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon a vast number of persons were assembled in Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, to witness the departure of the funeral *cortège*. At 3 o'clock a hearse and five mourning coaches drove up to the house where the deceased was lying. The funeral procession moved on, and during its progress attracted considerable attention. On arriving at the grave a considerable delay occurred from the clergyman having had to read the burial service over several bodies before the arrival of the deceased. When the officiating divine, the Rev. Josiah Twigger, arrived at the grave, accompanied by the clerk, one of the deceased son's addressed the clergyman as follows:—"Sir, we want no service over the body of our late father; he passed his life in opposition to all priestcraft, and we protest against the service being read." The reverend divine replied—"Sir, I must do my duty." Another son of the deceased here stepped forward and said—"We have purchased this ground as the resting place of our deceased parent, and I object, with my brothers, to the reading of the funeral service." (Here loud cries of "Hear, hear" were given by the mob assembled round the grave.) The clergyman continued—"I must and will do my duty, and at your peril abide the consequences that may occur from any opposition to the usual observance on such occasions." Another son—"Then, Sir, we will not hear it." Here the mob cried out, "Yes, yes! leave the grave: let all the friends of Mr. Carlile go away." At this moment the party assembled quitted the grave, the mourners retired into the coaches, and the clergyman proceeded in the most impressive manner to read the service, during which he was frequently interrupted by ribald jests from a few stragglers who had kept at a short distance from the spot. It is due to the sons of the deceased to state, that they gave their opposition in the most respectful tone possible, but their example was not imitated by many of the followers of the deceased. After the clergyman had retired, a rush was made to the grave, and a son of the deceased addressed the crowd as follows:—"I beg to state that I, with my family and friends, were opposed to the performance of this service; we did not require it; and have given every opposition in our power to its being done. I thank you all, in the name of my late father, for your attendance here on this occasion." Having said thus much, he and the followers of the funeral departed.

The above account of Richard Carlile's funeral is reproduced, same type, same style, and words per line, from "The Times," London, for Thursday, February 28, 1843.

EDITOR'S BIRTHDAY CONGRATULATIONS.

We have received many letters from all over Britain congratulating us—we believe that that is the correct phrase—on reaching our fifty-sixth birthday. Some of these letters recall incidents in the Movement and will apear in "Our Letter Box" next month. The following letter from our comrade the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, written from The Rectory, Ballachulish, Argyll, merits reproduction for its humour:—

November 8, 1942.

My Dear Guy,—Congratulations or condolences on your fifty-sixth birthday. Here's something for your Birthday Book:

Two guys the same idea got—
To put the Commons on the spot:
Fawkes tried with his Gunpowder plot;
Aldred with High Explosive Thought.

The Orange and Protestant Champion came
On the fifth of November to Tor Bay;
The Logical Protestant, Guy by name,
Was born on the anniversary day.
Is this not, in fine,
A proof of Design
Refuting what atheist Guy may say?

You have had to deal seriously with weaker apologetics in your time! All the best for the next fifty-six years!

Yours,

MALCOLM MacCOLL.

We have several sermons delivered by our comrade MacColl applying the thought of the prophets of Israel to the world to-day. At an early date we hope to publish some of these excellent indictments of our social system, with its inequalities, crime, and glory of murder, called war, and miscalled patriotism.

THE NEW POETRY

Words without thought, I heard it said,
Can put sweet music in the head,
Colour, and form, and make eyes see
More than can common poetry.

Try each thing once, I always say,
And see what's gold and what is clay,
But rather than risk going nuts,
I'll stick to poetry that has guts.

JOE CORRIE.

THE BREAK-UP OF AN EMPIRE

A Review of the War Situation

By C. H. NORMAN

[Concluded from page 47.]

It is very difficult to understand the general attitude towards Russia as evinced by the Labour movement in England after its fierce denunciations of Communism and all its works. Without belittling the efforts of any individual Russian or German, let us consider some matters in estimating the resources of these powerful states. Russia has a territory covering eight million square miles with a population put at about 150,000,000. Russia, for many years, has been boasting of the strength of the Red Army and the Air Force, especially at the annual parades in the October celebrations. Russia, like Germany, had been preparing for war actively since 1934. Russia knew that the policy pursued from the outbreak of war in 1939 had earned the distrust of Germany, so that Russia had every reason for strengthening her forces in every respect, while the Germans were engaged with powerful enemies. Incidentally, one must say plainly that the Russo-German Pact of 1939 was the major immediate cause of the war, as it enabled Germany to feel free to reject the Anglo-French ultimata in September, 1939, on the subject of Poland. Had Russia even remained with a free hand, without indicating what line would be taken, it is probable that German policy on the Polish question would have been different from what it was. If the signature of the Russo-German Pact were intended by Russia to prevent a European war it was an incomprehensible error of judgment. If it were hoped that it would prevent a Russo-German war in any event, the policy afterwards followed by Russia in Finland, in Poland, and in the Baltic States was completely misconceived, as that policy could only be understood on the assumption that what the Russo-German Pact was designed to avert would become inevitable, as the occupation of Finnish territory, while protective of Russia, on strategical grounds was equally threatening to both Germany and Sweden on the same principles. That is the true explanation of the policy of Sweden, whose territory Finland originally was, in the conflicts between Russia and Finland and Russia and Germany. Again, it must be emphasised that the policy of Sweden in 1939-1940 was the main matter of substance which prevented Britain and France going to war with Russia in aid of Finland. Just reflect what the position of Britain would have been by now had that calamity occurred. The same people are to-day in office as those who tried to bring about that catastrophe

The persistence of Great Britain in the food blockade of Europe is aggravating the already horrible conditions natural to ordinary warfare. The Allied blockade of France is seriously affecting the health of French children according to a report submitted by the National Committee of Child Specialists to the Academy of Medicine in Paris ("Manchester Evening News", 20th May, 1942). The air attacks on Paris, Lubeck, Rostock and Cologne indicate that the British Government has abandoned even the pretence of limiting air attack to military objectives—which was always a piece of British hyprocrisy under the conditions called for by night bombing instituted by England in June, 1940. The relatives of the slaughtered inhabitants of Bath, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich and Canterbury have little to thank Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and the heads of the British Air Force for in this policy, as all these towns were bombed indiscriminately in reprisal for the indiscriminate bombing of Lubeck and Rostock. It is rather strange if the excuse for this policy be to relieve pressure on Russia, that the Russian Air Force, which, we have been often told, has complete command of the air in Russia, did not itself bomb Lubeck and Rostock! Is the British Government becoming more savage in its conduct of the war in the air than the Russian Government?

The gross inaccuracies in all Government statements about the losses of the other side render it very difficult to judge what the true strength of the contending nations is. The Americans are becoming as reckless as anyone in their statements of Japanese naval losses. The only test one can apply is the geographical and strategical test. If the Germans did so badly in Russia during the winter campaign, how then is it that their geographical situation was what it was in June, 1942? If the British Navy has had complete command of the Mediterranean during the war, as Mr Churchill has so often assured a credulous public, how is it that General Rommel has been able to maintain such a large army in the Libyan deserts? If the British Air Force has complete command of the air, how is it that towns were bombed in April and May, 1942, with comparative impunity and with heavy loss of life, by small German air forces.

One quotation may be given for the purpose of testing the reliability of the statements of the British Government about war losses. The policy of not publishing sea losses was supposed to have been instituted by the British Government in 1941 for the first time. On the 7th March, 1942, Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, spoke thus at Fulham, according to "Reynolds News", 3rd March, 1942: "After Dunkirk we had not got half a dozen corvettes, eleven destroyers had been sunk in three weeks and 73 more were in dock for long term repairs." No such statement was made by the Admiralty at the time (1940) even though the pretence was being maintained to the public that full information was being given of the losses as and when they occurred.

However, there are some consolations for one class in this somewhat gloomy picture. Though Russia and China are apparently being slowly defeated so that soon the Axis Powers will be in command of most of Asia and Europe, while their opponents hold America and the African continent, with Australia in the balance, the shareholding class has some satisfaction in knowing that the spirit of internationalism is not quite dead, as the Press Department of Lever Brothers and Unilever Ltd. on the 11th December, 1941, issued this statement "The German Commissioner for the Dutch Company has announced that Preference Dividends for 1940 in Lever Brothers and Unilever N.V.'s will-be paid", thus relieving the English Company of its liability. The "Daily Telegraph" and "Daily Mail" announced in June, 1942, that "British holders of debentures issued before the war by the Czech armaments concern, the Skoda Works, are still able to draw interest on their holdings though the works are in German hands." "Long live international finance" would seem to-day a more vital watchword, judging by these instances, than "Long live International Socialism." Some people were bold enough to declare that the International Socialist movement would never support a war as they did in 1914-1918. The writer always took the opposite view, thinking that they would be more easily tricked the next time than in 1914-1918. Mr. Churchill has said time and again that the war which began in 1939 was a continuation of the war which ended temporarily in 1919. He is quite right. How, therefore, the Communists and Socialists can justify a worse ratting from their principles than took place even in 1914 it is impossible to comprehend. And the self-justificatory nonsense they write only makes one more convinced of the sad fact, which experience has taught me in 30 years, that Parliamentary-Trade-Union-Socialists and Communists will rat on their principles at the very moment when they should stand to them, namely on the outbreak of war, more easily than the holders of the opposite philosophy, who remember the rights of property before everything. The outlook is dark for the ordinary people as the ruinous policy of destruction from the air and the insane Russian idea of the "scorched earth" policy must combine to prevent the restoration of anything like decent conditions of life for decades to come throughout Europe and the world. Such are the consequences of the madness of statesmen and military leaders and the supineness of popular leaders.

SYLVIA TARTAGLIA

The morning session of the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal, on Thursday, November 19, was a Woman's Court. We regret we did not attend until the afternoon session because of the case of Sylvia Tartaglia, of 26 Grove Street, Edinburgh. The local Edinburgh Tribunal had removed her name from the register of C.O.s and the Appellate upheld this decision. In our view, wrongly.

Miss Tartaglia put her case forcibly. The fact may have prejudiced its consideration. She said:—

War is futile. This war has killed my father and my grandfather. There will be another one in 25 years. I am determined to do absolutely nothing to help this war.

Ignoring the tragedy the war had meant for her, Lord Elphinstone exclaimed:—

Do you mean to say you are prepared to enjoy the privileges of living in this country and yet do nothing to help it?

Miss Tartaglia made the spirited retort:—

I would not say that the internment of my father his death, and my grandfather's death is a privilege worth fighting for.

At the afternoon (Men's) session, Lord Elphinstone behaved with great fairness. But we think that his decision and his questionings in the Tartaglia case were harsh and unjust.

IS MONETARY REFORM NECESSARY?

Not in the way that will appeal to the Socialist, but none the less from a direct sense of public usefulness such as expresses the approach of the scientific mind, Sir Allcott Verdon-Roe, O.B.E., F.R.Ae.S., M.I.Ae.E., has spent his life trying to introduce new ideas and inventions. In due course, a Socialist society will find itself the richer for his pioneering activity.

The somewhat static powers that be of Capitalist society have regarded his far-seeing practical suggestions as revolutionary impossibilities and have declared them to be impractical, with much smug self-assurance and complacency. In many instances time has shown how mistaken this pompous bureaucratic deadness was, and how vitally important his ideas were, and are, to the people. Unfortunately, when accepted, these ideas and inventions, intended to serve mankind, are used for destructive purposes.

On January 24, 1906, a well-known capitalist paper added an editorial footnote to a letter to the then Mr. A. Verdon-Roe, saying:—

"It is not to be supposed that we in any way believe in the undertaking of the writer, as we consider all attempts at artificial aviation are not only dangerous to human life but are foreboding to failure."

The present war is a sad reply to this comment.

In May, 1909, Mr. A. Verdon-Roe was told by Mr. Haldane's Secretary, in front of Mr. Haldane (later Lord Haldane) that as they were trustees to the public purse, they regretted they could not offer aviation pioneers any encouragement, as they did not see any possibility of using aeroplanes for war purposes.

It is an indictment of the system that aviation should be considered from such an evil viewpoint, and that the question of what harm

could be done, not what good could be done, should decide its utility. One day aviation will benefit mankind only, and then Sir A. Verdon-Roe's labours and inventive powers will be deemed blessings. But not under the present capitalist-militarist system.

Because of the ridiculous opposition to his aircraft proposals, on the ground of impossibility, Sir A. Verdon-Roe feels that some of the opposition to his currency proposals may be no less antiquated and conditioned by mean and false interests. He feels that his proposals deserve serious consideration and that even Socialists might consider whether a medium of exchange is necessary in a new social order, and so analyse his proposals.

The following letter was published in "The Independent" for August 18, 1934:—

Sir,—In a recent issue you published the following:

"Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe is too delicious. 'Happily,' he tells the Editor of the Morning Post, 'there are now available a number of schemes and proposals for improving the monetary system,' and he suggests that the Cabinet must no longer side-track its responsibilities, but carefully examine the most promising plans available, confer with the authors and put the best features of the schemes into effect as soon as possible.'

"Sir Alliott should go to Washington, for Mr. Roosevelt in the same happy way has done exactly as Sir Alliott proposes."

It is to be hoped that the most of your readers realised that the above was a vacuous criticism. To say that Mr. Roosevelt has done exactly what I propose is a negation of facts. Unfortunately, on the contrary, he has been trying the crudest of methods. Had Mr. Roosevelt adopted the best features from available plans, the American people would be enjoying exceptional prosperity in all those activities under human control, with practically no unemployed.

There is a wonderful opportunity awaiting Britain to show the world a way out of its chief troubles by adopting a sound monetary system. But our Government will do nothing; their recent debate on monetary policy—which had been called for in a letter to "The Times" on April 4th, of which the writer was one of the signatories—was a shocking exhibition of ignorance and smug complacency; for Mr. Chamberlain said: "The Government did not claim to be responsible for the whole of the trade expansion that had taken place, but what they did claim was that they had created the conditions which had made that expansion possible." (Ministerial cheers.) "Our banking system had stood the tremendous strain and stress of the last few years better than any other banking system in the world; our public finances showed greater improvement than those of any other country in the world. What then, was the justification of embarking on some fresh inquiry?" (Ministerial cheers.)

Do Mr. Chamberlain and those who cheered realise that we have more unemployed now than we had during the worst pre-war depression; that suicides are an indication of a nation's peace of mind, and these have risen from 1,000 in 1917 to 9,000 yearly, many times greater than any pre-war year; that we are only producing a small fraction of what we are capable of, and we cannot produce or buy this small fraction without getting further and further into debt, leading to a crash (or war) unless we can get rid of this increasing indebtedness; that bankruptcies have increased from a few hundreds to thousands yearly; that the National debt was £7,400,000,000 in 1919, since that we have spent some £8,000,000,000 in interest7 and redemption, and that it is now £600,000,000 greater; that the majority of those who find work for millions of people, without this employment the nation would soon collapse, are in the hands of a small section of the community—the banks—who merely employ a comparatively few clerks; that the welfare of a nation depends on the prosperity of its industries; that it is possible to clear approved enterprises of their debts by means of a practically costless new paper currency issues, and in addition to make these industries financially sound without weakening the purchasing power of the £ stering; that under a sound monetary system the profits of industry would be so large that a very small tax on profits distributed would not only find all the money necessary for taxation but for national expenditure as well, so the need for a government loan should never arise; that a government loan is equivalent to a snake trying to live on its own tail; that it is not a difficult task to remove the financial stranglehold which is causing unemployment, misery, strife, untold suffering and wars; that this can never be done until the Government exercises its prerogative and prints the correct amount of tangible currency and judiciously puts it into circulation, according to proposals that have been prepared?

Had those who have been finding work for millions—and lost thereby—said: "We can see we shall lose our money by struggling on; we will buy Government stock instead," where would the nation and banks be?

While the banks have been labouring under "the tremendous strain and stress of the last few years," Mr. Montagu Norman's salary has been raised, the hard pressed banking community have spent millions of pounds on buying costly sites and building palatial premises, while carrying over colossal reserves. Meanwhile thousands of their clients—on whom they have foreclosed—have committed suicide, being too proud to beg, having no dole or pension to fall back upon, aalthough they have contributed towards these.

And yet our Government see no justification for an inquiry into the monetary system. Where do they think they are heading?

Yours, etc.,

A. VERDON-ROE.

The writer thinks that the present condition of the world, the wholesale destruction of war, the chaos which must be the aftermath; show where the financial rulers of the world were heading.

The editor commented on this letter in the usual footnote:—

(Sir Alliott leaves us unrepentant. He says that Mr. Roosevelt's methods are wrong and that his own are right. We are happy to know that our standard of living, our employment and our Credit are all far better than those of the unfortunate countries that have listened to their currency experimenters.—Ed.).

We would like our Socialist comrades to state their view of these proposals, and to discuss whether they expect to use a social credit note, a labour note, or no means of exchange under the Socialist Commonwealth. Thorough discussion of this question is invited.

PASTORAL SYMPHONY

BY LADY DUNN

Just as the character of writers can usually be discovered from their books — so the character of a great musician and composer is felt in his music.

Let us then consider Beethoven—as shown us in his great Pastoral Symphony.

The "Pastoral" could equally happily have been called the "Country" symphony—for it describes a long walk taken through the countryside around Vienna—and Beethoven's reactions during that walk.

Beethoven wrote on the top of the score—of the first movement "Cheerful thoughts on arriving in the country."

He was not always cheerful—and he had much to make him otherwise—but evidently even to arrive in the country raised his spirits and we shall now start off with him, in spirit only of course for Beethoven usually walked alone—the chattering of companions proving too disturbing to his thoughts.

The **first** movement **of** the symphony is cheerful and continuous. When one sets out for a given beauty spot—there are usually several miles of rather common-place countryside to cover before reaching it.

"No one could describe the first movement of the symphony as "common-place" but it is of simple charm—the air is fresh—one feels cheerful and eager-inclined to take off one's hat and keep step as it were with the spring wind blowing over the rather flat countryside —not to dwadle, but rather to work off one's first walking enthusiasm."

And then comes the second or slow movement.

And **here** we arrive at a beauty spot—a wood—a cluster of trees—trees bedecked with the first beauty of pale green leaves—a little stream crystal clear with tiny trout playing amongst the rocks—a bank covered with moss under birch trees—inviting one to rest as the sun trickles through the branches.

With a sigh of happiness Beethoven sinks to the bank — stretches himself, and finally lying flat on his back with his arms over his head relaxes—but, not for long, for soon to his sensitive ears comes a "song."

It comes to our ears too—**We** call it the "rippling of water" and leave it at that—but to **Beethoven**—it is something much more and soon the beautiful second movement of the great symphony is born in the lovely music called "Beside the Brook."

Over and over again the song of the little brook repeats itself in this movement—it is almost as if Beethoven himself after writing it said, "It is very **beautiful**—we will have it again!" and so it goes on and on—to his, and our great satisfaction.

Lying back once more he remains so still—so full of thought that a tiny quail running out nearly stumbles over that quiet figure and disappears with a startled cry—a nightingale from a low thicket breaks into song—and a cuckoo flying overhead gives the cry which is perhaps the sweetest of all spring songs.

Beethoven smiles—takes out his notebook—and those three birds become **Immortal**! for wherever this great symphony is heard there too will be heard the song of these birds—in dull war-stained concert halls in darkest winter months—on gramophone records played under goodness knows what conditions—"close your eyes, relax, and forget! for here we have **spring and fresh air**—the song of the brook and birds prove it."

Then the very human side of the great master appears—for Beethoven after his long walk and rest is hungry.

He finds his way to a nearby village inn—and the third movement of the symphony is given over to what happens there.

Seated at a little table after ordering his favourite dinner (a fish and bottle of sweet wine) Beethoven takes out his old pipe and looks round.

He finds himself surrounded by the Austrian counterpart of "jitterbugs"—when asked "What is a jitterbug?" the answer should be course be "Someone who, when they hear music, cannot sit still!"

Jitterbugs are not common—only in the United States—they abounded in Austria during Beethoven's lifetime.

Seeing a stranger—or even perhaps recognising Beethoven — for a time these young people also dining at the inn kept their high spirits in bounds—then the effects of the great tankards of cider which they had drunk with their dinner plus the playing of their own rude musical instruments (under the table softly to begin with) proved too much—and very soon they were all dancing merrily.

One might have thought—that this "noise," this "**common** music" would have filled the great Beethoven with disgust—that he would have clapped his hat on his head—pressed it down and strode away perhaps even without paying his bill!

To the confounding of all "musical snobs," nothing of the sort happened.

Beethoven enjoyed the dancing—he **enjoyed the music**—one feels he would have been pleased if some pretty girl had summed up sufficient courage to have invited him to dance.

No one did—but out came his note book again—and that merry dancing and music with its syncopated rhythm—its wierd little instruments—are all put in the third movement of the "Pastoral Symphony."

And **then!**

After the simplicity of the first movement—the loveliness of the second—the frivolity of the third—comes **magnificent grandeur.**

The effect of a good dinner—which Mozart always found so helpful to inspiration—brings from Beethoven one of the greatest pieces of descriptive music ever written—for what is there in nature to match the awe inspiring grandeur of a thunderstorm?

And so, breaking in on the little peasants' "Merrymaking" comes the distant rumble of thunder—the pattering of heavy raindrops—these mixed with the scurrying feet of people hurriedly taking in the small tables and run-

ning for shelter—and none too soon! for a great storm breaks in wild fierceness—flash after flash of lightning—and claps of thunder in increasing violence—until with body and soul **drenched**—the one with rain—the other with music—an exultation seldom reached takes hold of one—even as the storm having reached its height recedes in the distance—blowing up again for one final crash as the blue sky begins to reappear.

Instinctively and with Beethoven — one stands up and **rejoices.**

The walk home through the same countryside is accomplished to a "Hymn of Thanksgiving" which welling up in Beethoven's great heart overflows into our own.

This is the story of the "**Pastoral Symphony.**"

WAR: "THREE VIEW POINTS"

NON-PACIFIST.

The Christian . . . cannot regard any war as a "Christian war" or as a "holy war," for no war can be holy, though the object with which a particular nation undertakes it may be just. There is only one holy war—that against sin. . . . *No Christian can fight, as those serving with modern fighting forces are obliged to fight, save (as it seems to me) with extreme reluctance, sustained by a strong sense of duty, and the personal conviction that, in all the circumstances, no other course is morally possible for him.* And when a Christian says he cannot fight, because his conscience will not allow him to kill his brother; then in my opinion such a man's decision should be accepted, and he should be able to count on the support and sympathetic understanding of fellow-Christians who take another view. . . .

The Church . . . must not hesitate, if occasion arises, to condemn the bombing of civilian populations quite outside the military zone by the military forces of its own nation. It should set itself against the propaganda of lies and hatred. It should oppose any war of extermination or enslavement, and any measures directly aimed at destroying the morale of a population. . . .

The Churches . . . should counteract and subdue vindictiveness, hatred and lust of power and the desire for retaliation. Their supreme loyalty will be to Christ. The greatest service which the Church can render is to remain steadfast and loyal to its Lord and to test all claims of national interest rigorously by His Gospel. It is not the Church's function to say ditto to the state.

—The Bishop of Chichester: *Christianity and World Order*, p. 82/7 (Penguin).

MILITARIST.

It must be clearly realised that the decisive sphere of Total War is the mental sphere. *A Nation whose mind is not made up to fight is already half defeated.* . . . Total war . . . is warfare in which every possible means is utilised to produce the earliest possible achievement of the sole object of war: Victory. . . . *Moral and ethical questions have no validity in Total War except in so far as their maintenance or destruction contributes towards ultimate Victory. Expediency, not morality, is the sole criterion of human conduct in Total War.*

—Dennis Wheatley: *Total War*, p. 17/18 (Hutchinson).

PACIFIST.

Once embarked on war (with its necessities of conscription and propaganda) you *must* be dishonest, you must override the rights of neutrals, and the rights of conscience; you must tell lies about your opponent's doings, while you whitewash your own; you must make unclean treaties to reconcile divergent interests and win fresh alliances; committed to the arbitrament of physical force, over a dispute which you loudly proclaim to be a moral one, you must—if you would contend *successfully*—be ready to do all kinds of moral wrong. It seems to me absolutely hypocritical to say that you can hope to win a war without throwing to the winds the bulk of the moral laws which man has made and ascribed to God.

Therefore, I don't see how God can be the God of battles . . . or how we can hope to improve our position by asking Him to take a hand in it. It is an ugly, dirty, dishonest business. You may . . . embark on war for a just cause; but you cannot wage war justly, or make a just peace. . . .

In the middle ages . . . the Pope used on occasion to say "you must" or "you mustn't" to the Temporal rulers of Christendom, choosing their wars for them and, when they disobeyed, visiting them with spiritual punishment. Now he no longer does so. That seems to me symptomatic of the gradual substitution of Nation-worships for a form of Christianity which (whatever might be its defects) did top the world, and command a wide allegiance. But the position, as I now see it, is that the bulk of people who call themselves Christians do really place Country first and Christianity second, making patriotism their God. And by patriotism I mean, "My Country, right or wrong." . . .

Christ, it seems to me, is dying *out* of Institutional religion—in which He feels Himself no longer to be true. But in hearts outside Institutional religion—which can give the cup of cold water He needs—He will again "come true."

—Laurence Housman (writing to Dick Sheppard): *What Can We Believe?* pp.71/2, 119 (Religious Book Club).

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

On December 21, our colleague, the Duke of Bedford celebrates his 54th birthday. Were he an ordinary member of the aristocracy, the society papers would be full of "small-talk" concerning his social and political interests. But he is opposed to war and a man of radical and liberal thought. He associates with Anarchists, Socialists, and Freethinkers, without losing his own Christian faith, and without seeking to curb the minds and thoughts of others. His fearless speeches in the House of Lords, now so much despised, belong to history and will live, when the contemporary clap-trap of his critics is forgotten, or recalled as the generalised error of the tragic past. He celebrates his birthday by adding to his reputation as the outstanding pacifist pamphleteer of our time with his new pamphlet, "If I Were Prime Minister."

Titles are of moment only in class society and even then they can grow small in value. But the Duke possesses the virtues of courage, simplicity, and integrity: and he believes in the power of the word over the sword. This makes him a peer among peers, and probably against peers.

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A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held in the

Holborn Hall,

on

SUNDAY, December 6th, 1942, 3 p.m.

to protest against the continued detention of British men and women under Defence Regulation 18B without accusation or trial.

A Resolution will be put to the meeting urging the Government to amend 18B and bring these people to free and public **TRIAL** or grant them IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

FALSEHOOD IN WAR TIME

A STUDY IN FIGURES

By ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE.

It is a great pity that Truth should become the first casualty in war-time, and that the policy of lying should be accepted by the Nations as the first essential principle for war propaganda purposes. Yet, it is natural that this should be so, as wars are founded on Lies. War-mongers can only successfully prosecute their propaganda so long as they can rely upon the People swallowing their Lies, for War and Truth are as far apart from each other as Darkness is from Light.

In the present war the People have much opportunity of uncovering falsehood, for the war Liars have overstepped themselves over and over again. It would seem, however, that the People have become so accustomed to the war Lie, that no longer do they care.

The case of the German-Russian war brings to light to what length Lies can be stretched. A pity it surely is that our Russian Ally should be so mendacious in its war propaganda. For a careful study of Russian war propaganda since Hitler invaded Russia in June, 1941, aptly proves that we have in Russia a Lying Ally.

In an Editorial on 7th November, 1941, the Glasgow *Evening Citizen* wrote at length on the "reliability" of the Russian communiques. It was pointed out that the Russians have never "concealed the truth," that they have never "put a gloss on reverses or imagined victories." And so credulous had the Editor of the *Citizen* become at that time that he was led to add, "We have come to believe the Russians" and that "Stalin's view of the war will not be met with scepticism and downright unbelief."

From subsequent editorials in the same journal the Editor has revealed that he was wrong. As it is, in the very issue of the *Citizen* where the Editor lauds Russia for its "reliability," a U.S.A. Senator is reported as stating that Stalin's word is not to be trusted!

The *Citizen* again for 20th June, 1942, declares "The Germans are such liars," but again subsequently the same journal has had to admit that the Germans were *not* liars on the very points to which the *Citizen* directed the attention of its readers that the Germans were "such liars."

Let us now have a sample of Soviet Lying!

On June 23 last there appeared in many of our dailies the "Official Soviet Figures" of the German losses for a year, from June 1941, to June 1942. Stalin claimed that the Germans had lost 10,000,000 men killed, wounded and prisoners. The figure given by Stalin of German dead was 3,500,000. The figures of the loss of material were also given. However, the *Citizen* by June 1942, seemed to have changed its opinion about Russian "reliability" and about Stalin being a Truth-teller so very much, that the *Citizen* refused to publish Stalin's figures of the German losses, namely, 10,000,000, as claimed by Comrade Stalin. Other journals also, including the *Glasgow Herald*, *The Scotsman*, and such "reliable" dailies, did not publish Stalin's "official" figures. The claim of Stalin was so suspect that it was boycotted by scores of dailies, although the figures did appear in many newspapers, such as the *Daily Express* and like "sensational" dope-suppliers.

In the same list Stalin stated that the Russian losses in the Russo-German war since June 1941 were 4,500,000 killed, wounded and prisoners. But the queer thing about that 4,500,000 figure is that it was the same figure given by Stalin in November 1941 of Germany's losses in the same war from June, 1941, to November 1941 (Authority, *Glasgow Herald*, 7/11/41).

Stalin, it would seem, in arranging to spread the Lie that Germany had lost 10,000,000 men in a year's war with Russia (a Lie that the *Citizen*

would not accept!) seems to have gone back to November for a figure for his own losses: he taking the figure which previously he had laid against Germany for German losses from June to November 1941!

The good British patriot must always understand that Germany's losses are always *three times more than Russia's losses.* It matters not whether the Russians are advancing or retreating (they are mostly accustomed to the latter!), the German losses are always highest. The true British patriot must always conclude that Stalin speaks the Truth: that Stalin's word is "reliable," when the Official Soviet Communique comes out with the information of a three-to-one loss against Germany every time.

Now, let us hearken to Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill contradicts comrade Stalin, for on May 10 the Premier stated he believed that the Germans had lost up to that time (June 1941 to May 1942) 2,000,000 men. Of course, Mr. Churchill could not prove his figure. For Mr. Churchill knows no more about it than does Mr. Aldred. All that Mr. Churchill or Comrade Stalin can know of German losses is the figure of *prisoners,* and that is all that Hitler can know of Russian or British losses. The *Glasgow Herald* for 22nd June states "So far Hitler has lost 2,000,000 men in Russia." But at that time Stalin gave the *Glasgow Herald* the "Official Soviet Figures," showing that the Germans had lost 10,000,000 men, 3,500,000 of them being dead. But the *Glasgow Herald,* as we have stated, declined to insert that Stalin claim which appeared in other journals on June 23 and 24.

Now, Stalin has claimed that 3,500,000 Germans were *killed* in twelve months in Russia. Mr. Churchill states the figure of German losses for approximately the same period was 2,000,000. Let us say that these 2,000,000 were *killed.* We now come to Hitler, and *he* should know what his own losses are.

In the *Glasgow Herald* (3/7/42) and the *Citizen* (2/7/42) there appears a German official statement on German losses in Russia.

From June 22 to June 21, 1941-42, the Germans say that their killed numbered 271,000. The number missing (prisoners and not found) is given as 65,730.

Thus Stalin says 3,500, German dead: Churchill says 2,000,000 German dead, and Hitler says 271,000 German dead.

It is perfectly evident that Stalin deliberately lies on the subject: that Churchill is merely guessing and giving vent to wishful thinking, and that Hitler *may* be telling the truth. As it is, what we have already said surely clearly reveals that Russia is Our Lying Ally.

Surely commonsense should convince anyone that the Army that is mostly always retreating or being driven back will suffer more heavily than the Army that is driving an enemy back. When an Army is retreating it is running away. The Army that is chasing those that run away has every advantage, especially in modern warfare where planes are used to bomb the retreating enemy. We know from experience in France and at Dunkirk what happened to the British and French Armies as *they retreated.* We have been told all about it: how Germany's dive-bombers slaughtered the men wholesale.

It is the same in Russia!

To say that the Russians in their continual retreat from June 1941, till winter came to effect a halt on the Germans, and afterwards when the Germans again took the offensive in Russia, up to June 1942, accounted for 10,000,000 Germans, is surely the height of absurdity! Surely mendacity could not reach higher!

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CHRISTIANITY, MILITARISM, and ESPIONAGE

CONCERNING 18B—AND A STORY FROM 1918

The recent discussions on 18B, the rabid "Second Front" propaganda of the cowardly and despicable stay-at-home hireling militarists of the Communist Party, direct attention to the dangerous nature of war-time clamour. Lady Astor uttered the simple truth as to the part played by Stalin in the war and immediately is denounced at "inspired" Communist Party gatherings of workers as the author of **"irresponsible, mischievous, dangerous and subversive"** statements. The Beaverbrook press feature these worthless and unprincipled denunciations to seal the alliance between Lord Beaverbrook and William Gallacher. What a world! This pretence of hysteria is the comedy which hides from understanding the tragedy of our times.

The recent debate on the 18B Regulation in the House of Commons shows how impossible it is for people to think clearly on current wrong. Commander Bower is right unquestionably in his expressed view that a large number of perfectly innocent, inoffensive, and loyal citizens are being detained illegally to cover up the dereliction of possibly six persons who may be a menace. Our comrade, R. R. Stokes, of the Labour Party Peace Aims Group, is right when he characterises as outrageous the cowardly animosity displayed against the unfortunate detaines. Maxton made a persuasive speech, asking Herbert Morrison to "liberate every person possible." But no one seems to think that the principle of 18B is thoroughly and completely wrong. Commander Sir Archibald Southby made an excellent speech, quoting effectively Blackstone, and showing how the common people had been tricked in the alleged amendment of the original declaration. The fraud exposed by Sir Archibald Southby literally takes ones breath away on reflection. We can all recall the storm in the House of Commons. The original discussion was summarised in these columns at the time. M.P.s protested. The national press pretended to protest. The regulations were amended. We were told that the Law Officers of the Crown had embodied the principles of the amendments. Yet, later, the Highest Court in the land declared that no actual amendment had been made. In this debate, Herbert Morrison, who was opposed to the original regulations, soberly advised the House that no amendment was intended. He said this rejoicingly and aggressively. But the House accepted this attitude, which means that, at the beginning of these regulations and their discussion, the parliamentary opposition and the newspaper noisiness was undiluted mockery and humbug. No one said 18B was wrong and unnecessary. But we tell our readers in the country, in both Houses of Parliament, and on the Government Benches, that 18B is unnecessary precisely because it is wrong and violates a fundamental principle of justice and human liberty. War is bad enough without the added fundamental negation of an inherent right of human liberty constitutionally registered only by the heroism and struggle of the best and bravest of our ancestors. We are jealous of their struggle and their legacy.

Many of our 18B internees have been Fascists and some adhere to the ideas of Fascism. This fact makes many critics wonder at our opposition to the internments. We are advised that there are limits to toleration. One Freethinker refers us to the Utilitarian doctrine of the Victorian Rationalists. We are not in love with Utilitarianism and prefer the radical libertarianism of Richard Carlile. We believe that liberty can take care of itself and that democracy does not need to pay Fascism the tribute of imitation. Fascism is an evil thing and ought to be renounced. Its ways are no less evil when camouflaged as decrees of democracy afraid of destruction. Under cover of such decrees Fascism creeps into the decencies of the Commonwealth and destroys its virtue. Then principle surrenders to power.

Our opposition to 18B is based on the fact that we believe that **the liberty of the citizen is a legal right to be maintained and defended in times of orisis and clamour,** and not a fancy exhibition of alleged freedom to be pronounced and toyed with in periods of comparative calm, when the Executive of the day has no intention of challenging the citizen's right. We believe that umbrellas — and constitutional rights are citizens' umbrellas—are for use on rainy days and not on clear ones. The importance of this truth can be illustrated by a reference to the United States in the year 1918. Time and place permit us to discuss the facts, and so to illustrate our contention, without rousing prejudice.

The year 1918 opened by a declaration of the Kaiser, that the preservation of Christianity was the issue at stake in the great conflict, and that he was on the side of Christianity. He elevated God to the high command of the German army and avowed that **"God's hand is seen to prevail."** Woodrow Wilson, in the name of the United States, speaking officially and Lloyd George, in the name of England, replied to the Kaiser by announcing that the English-speaking democracies were trusting in heaven. In the United States, the bond salesmen and managers of the Liberty Loans prepared statements for the press saying, like their enemy the Kaiser, that Christianity was at stake. Governor Lowden, of Illinois, announced at a meeting of ministers that the war was **"a conflict between the spiritual resources of the world and the national resources of the world."** The United States represented the spiritual resources. Wall Street stood for Jesus of Nazareth. The Kaiser represented the material resources. His was the cause of Woden. And so it was proposed to make **Onward, Christian Soldiers** the battle hymn of the United States' Army, on the ground that the American forces were **"the reserve forces of the Almighty."** The press throughout the great republic pictured United States' soldiers singing and playing **Onward, Christian soldiers** throughout all the streets of the cities of Europe, in the belief that **"it will proclaim everywhere that America has a divine objective."**

Henry Watterson of the "Louisville Courier-Journal", declared that **"the Kaiser never appeals to Christ."** So far as words went, this simply was not true. George Washington did **not** appeal to Christ. Abraham Lincoln did **not** appeal to Christ. Neither Washington nor Lincoln believed in militarism. Each took to the sword with loathing and both assumed power with diffidence and a stern determination to surrender it back to the people. They were each superior, in personal dignity and worth, to the Kaiser. And they did not employ the term "Christ" as a charm or a name of jargon to be played with for military purposes. The Kaiser did. He beat Woodrow Wilson at the game of appearing pious. Thus the American journalist was talking nonsense in the name of patriotism: nonsense and falsehood.

The American Expeditionary Forces were getting into action in 1918. United States conversation tended everywhere to be war-talk. Philosophy and intelligence were at a discount. Henry Watterson had to make headlines somehow. It never occurred to him to splash the Truth across his pages. He might have said that a War Lord could not express the spirit and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. He might have denounced the Kaiser's appeal to Christ as moral blasphemy. This would have been to think. It was beyond him. He preferred the lie: the Kaiser never appealed to Christ!

Woodrow Wilson pleased the Christian Ministers throughout the United States by distributing small editions of the gospel to the American Expeditionary Forces. On each fly leaf he had caused a piety paragraph to be

reproduced. According to Henry Watterson this was appealing to Christ. But the Kaiser slept with a New Testament on the lightstand by his bed. He told the first gathering of German chaplains to the front: **"We must make Christ the ideal of our practical life."** At Christmastide, 1917, Elsie, the fair daughter of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, later to become President of the German Republic and the inaugurator of Hitler's regime, sent to the soldiers fighting under her father, a hymn which read as follows:—

"Christ Jesus gave his life for me;
From every debt I now am free.
He has procured the Father's favor,
He has become my gracious Savior.

"He to the bayonet thrust gives vigor,
The joy to aim, to pull the trigger.
My aid is Jesus, that I know—
On to the foe, on to the foe!"

The New York "Sun" quoted the first two lines of the second stanza, and lamented Elsie's state of mind. The "Sun" added that the words showed **"the extent of the revolution which must take place in German sentiment before any discussion can be possible between Germans and Americans."**

The lines are crude and the sentiment an outrage. But the "Sun's" comment was humbug. United States Clergymen made Jesus a man of war from the first day that the United States entered the war. That was said to be patriotism. So was Elsie von Hindenburg's atrocious hymnology in German.

A Los Angeles divine asserts that Jesus was the man who **"put fist into pacifist.** A pious pun, but hardly a Christian sentiment.

"The Christian Register" was, and is, one of the most reactionary papers published in the United States. The pious editor referred to Jesus as the **"Christ of Anger and action — a Christ who will fight and kill."** He exclaimed, in ecstasy:—

"How glorious is that LASHING FURY of Jesus Christ, who would take bayonet and hand grenade and bomb and rifle, and do the work of deadliness."

To please this editor, and his readers, the United States' Government, with President Wilson's approval shipped 400,000 Testaments, purchased from the Bible Society, to American soldiers in Europe. The Government sent the Testament to American Citizens in arms abroad, and the United States Courts sent citizens at home to jail for quoting and believing in the Testament. Which brings us, at last, to the crux of the story.

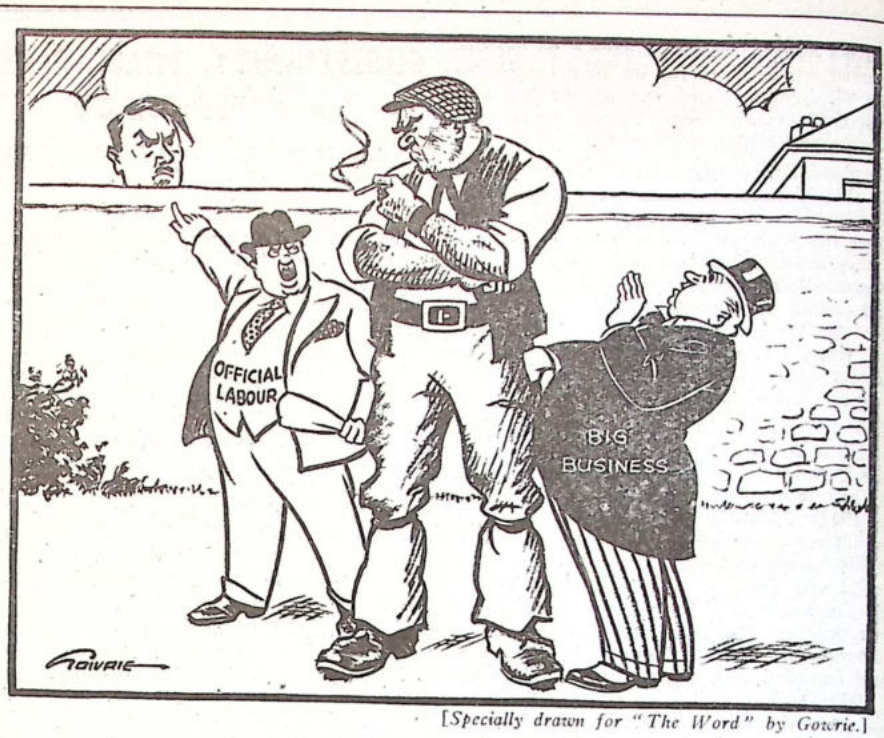
In Los Angeles, the Rev. Floyd Hardin, the Rev. Robert Whitaker, and a Quaker theological student, named Harold Storey, were sentenced each to six months in the county jail and $1,200 fine. Storey had said, with justice, that it was **"difficult for many Christians to conceive of the Carpenter of Nazareth thrusting a bayonet into the breast of a brother."**

The prosecuting attorney, demanding Storey's conviction, fiercely quoted as true Christian teaching **"But these mine enemies, bring hither and slay them before me."**

Whitaker and Hardin shared Storey's sentiments. A stupid Court, in all the glory of its legal pomp, decided that they were degrading Christianity by using it as a cloak for disloyalty!

In "The Truth Seeker", New York, the National Freethinker weekly, for April 13, 1918, Dr Bowden, Associate Editor of that journal with George E. MacDonald, took issue with Governor Lowden's doctrine that the God of the Kaiser and the God of Joshua were different and opposed deities. Under the heading, **"THE CLERGY ARRAIGNED"**, Professor Bowden wrote:—

"We have carefully compared the reputed offenses of the German emperor with the hideous doings of God as related in the Bible, and there seems to be but one conclusion to draw from the comparison, and it is this: The former received his inspiration from a careful study of the performance of the latter. Indeed, it is well known that the Prussian generals who published books explanatory of the German idea of war, based their notions directly upon the lessons they had learned from a very painstaking study of the Holy Scriptures. And it is also well to note that not one of these German works has been answered from the biblican standpoint which forms the groundwork for their authority."



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by Goivrie.]

Look! There's your enemy.

Thereupon, the New York postmaster, the Hon. Mr. Patten, dropped "The Truth Seeker" a note saying that the Solicitor of the postoffice Department, the Hon. W. H. Lamar of Washington, had pronounced "The Truth Seeker" of April, 1918, **unmailable under the Espionage Act!**

Under the Espionage Act! Six weeks of enquiry passed. Editor George E. MacDonald wrote the Hon. Solicitor. The latter answered all correspondence promptly and politely. But he refused to say wherein "The Truth Seeker" had offended.

At last, a happy letter caused Mr. Lamar to relent and to explain.

Mr. MacDonald pointed out that it grieved him to be accused of disloyalty without having it explained to him wherein he had offended, since he had never intended disloyalty. He was a member of a Liberty Loan Committee in his own town and could account personally for sales amounting to $6,000. On the date that his paper was suppressed, he was doing work for the American Red Cross. His ancestral blood had soaked American soil from Bunker Hill to Bull Run. His two sons were serving overseas and so the Service Flag decorated the windows of his home. Was he the kind of a citizen to have his his loyalty inpeached in this insidious and anonymous denunciation by some unknown scribe whose American history dated from the arrival of the emigrant ship from which he came ashore at Ellis Island.

The Hon. Solicitor replied that in view of what MacDonald had said, there would be no proceedings, and while it was not the general practice of his office to indicate to publishers particular matter appearing in an issue of a publication regarded as non-mailable by the Department under the Espionage Act, he would advise MacDonald that **the paragraph from the Professor's article formed the basis of the ruling of the Department!**

So that was it. A citizen was guilty of espionage—that is to say, he was a spy of the enemy, or gave him aid and comfort — who argued that the Kaiser derived his inspiration and example from the intense nationalism of the Old Testament and the Old Testament conception of God.

Which explains why we do not believe in supreme power of decision of arbitrary arrest being placed in the hands of the Executive.

LEIGH FISHER SENTENCED

On Thursday, November 5, our Comrade Leigh Fisher, of Burnbank, was committed to Edinburgh Prison by the decision of the High Court of Justiciary. His appeal against his conviction at the Hamilton Sheriff Court, on July 23 last, when he was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for refusing medical examination was dismissed.

Fisher took his stand as a political and moral objector and stressed his Socialism. He was removed from the C.O. register by the S.W. Scotland No. 2 Tribunal. The Appellate upheld this decision. He was sentenced in November, 1941, to 30 days for refusing medical examination. He was prosecuted in January and took his first stated case on May 27, 1942. The details of his appeals will be discussed fully later. Fisher conducted them in person. His case is being raised in parliament and we prefer to postpone discussion.

Reports of his Tribunals and first conviction appeared in these columns for August and December, 1941.

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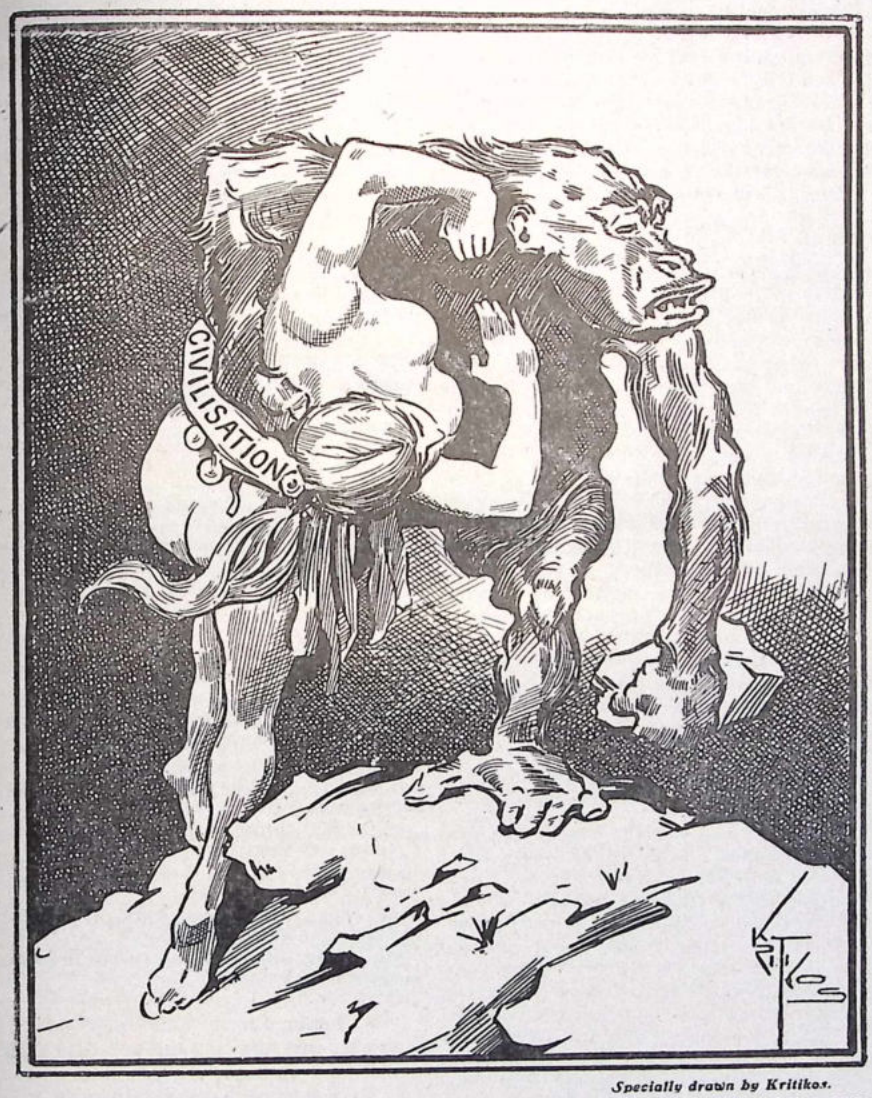

Specially drawn by Kritikos.
Reproduced from "The Spur," September, 1917

THE BRUTE AND CIVILISATION

We incline to the opinion that when Fremiet designed the wonderful little statue of "The Gorilla and the Woman," he had a prophetic vision of the ravaging of civilisation by the ruthless tyrants who are directly responsible for the present situation.

LABOUR AND WAR

A Protest Against Inhuman Slaughter Made in a House of Commons Speech.

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

The following speech was made by our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, during the debate on the King's Speech.—Ed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, December 2, 1942.

Mr. Rhys Davies (Westhoughton): I have listened to most of this Debate and confess that I am considerably heartened by the tone of some of the speeches. This is the first occasion since this war began when I have heard it even suggested that we are not far away from peace in Europe. It would give me great joy and delight if that suggestion could be substantiated. Once again I hope the House will bear with me, because I take a minority view on most of these international problems. Incidentally, this could not be a Parliament at all unless it were ready to listen to minority opinions. Thirty Members of the House and myself have tabled an Amendment to the Address in reply to the Gracious Speech. The four main points we wanted to deal with were briefly these: First, the amplification and clarification of the Atlantic Charter—a matter which has been referred to already by other speakers. The problem of making progress in democratic government in the Colonies. Then, we demand that something should be said about independence for India. Finally, we come to the main point which I want to deal with, to-day, taking up the challenge that I have found in some of the speeches in this Debate regarding what is to happen internationally at the close of the war.

I hope I may be forgiven, as one who does not know very much about foreign affairs, except what I have learned by travel. I have met a great number of statesmen on my journeys abroad. I would like to make one observation on that score. I trust that no Member in this Huse will envisage a world in which Great Britain, America, Russia and China will be on one side in a comity together, inciting into existence another group of hostile Powers on the other, and so divide the world into two great camps when the conflict is over. I have been very pleased from time to time with some of the speeches of our Foreign Secretary, in which he has made it clear that his mind does not travel that way. I would like to emphasise it. There is no hope for peace in Europe after the war unless Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia can all work together. I know it is unpopular to say that now, but the day will come when it will not be so. In the speech that he delivered some time ago the right hon. Gentleman made the point, if I remember rightly, that if you bankrupt one great nation in Europe, you might bring other great nations down to bankruptcy in the process. I have not liked some of the contrary sentiments expressed in the Debate to-day, on that score.

Let me turn to some observations which have been made suggesting that we should not bother about post-war problems at all until the war is won. That suggestion has been made fairly often of late. Let us remind ourselves that General Smuts, broadcasting recently to the Dutch in their own language when he was in this country, made a very firm declaration that the United Nations should say something more than is contained in the Atlantic Charter. Our own Ambassador in Madrid, the right hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir S. Hoare) delivered a speech in his constituency some time ago when he was over here, demanding exactly what I have been trying to demand, namely, a clearer statement of peace aims. When Mr. Wendell Wilkie comes to speak on the Atlantic Charter he is very frank to our Government. I know America fairly well, and I would not be surprised when peace is made that Mr. Wendell Wilkie may then be the President of the United States of America. That is possible, and, therefore, there is no sense in not listening to Mr. Wendell Wilkie. He is very blunt on this subject: he calls for much more than is contained in the Atlantic Charter. What does the Atlantic Charter presume? It presumes that Great Britain, America, Russia and China will be powerful enough to disarm Italy, Japan and Germany and keep them in subjection for good.

Mr. Muff (Hull, East): Hear, hear.

Mr. Davies: The hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear." Let me combat that sentiment.

God forbid that anything untoward should happen to our country, but if it should, does the hon. Member think that anybody could keep the British in subjection? Does he think we can keep the Germans in permanent subjection?

Mr. Muff: Yes.

Mr. Davies: Then I must be much more British than the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. Muff: I am not one of the *Herrenvolk*.

Mr. Davies: I challenge that philosophy.

You cannot keep the Germans, the French or the Italians down for good. As a matter of fact, the attempt has been made for centuries to keep 4,500,000 Irishmen down, and you have failed to do that. I am sure nobody could keep the Welsh down for long. Hon. Members must therefore bear in mind that you can never keep any nation down against its will, and it is all nonsense to say that the United Nations to which we belong shall some day subject the whole world with which we disagree, and keep them in subjection for all time.

I hope hon. Gentlemen will forgive me but I have lived too long to be influenced by propaganda from either side. I have sat on too many commissions and signed my name to Reports too often to be much affected by the Beveridge Report, the Scott Report or the Uthwatt Report either.

Let me bring hon. Gentlemen up against one fact of the new world they are talking about. What of the new world we have already started? How many Members of this House are satisfied with letters from discharged soldiers who have been refused any pension. What about starting the new world there? No, if we want to build a new Jerusalem we have got to do something other than issuing Reports, and in consequence I shall be very interested to see what is to happen to these Reports, especially the Beveridge Report, in due course.

Hon. Gentlemen have been talking glibly about winning this war and the effect on this country of the victory. Let me bring their attention to Lancashire. There are other hon. Gentlemen here who know more about that county than I do, but I have represented a Lancashire constituency almost longer than anybody here. I ask the House to look at the effects of the last war on this country. Even when we win a war, the conflict damages trade, commerce, and our financial relationships with other countries. These are a few figures about what happened to the largest single export commodity in our country. In 1913, before the last war, the number of textile operatives employed in Lancashire was 711,000. We won the last war, we beat Germany, but the Lancashire textile industry suffered, not because we won the war, but because of the war, so that the 711,000 operatives were reduced, before the beginning of this war, to 390,000. That is what war does to our nation. An hon. Gentleman shakes his head. Let me add another point. This country to which we belong is the last in the world that can afford to go to war. Every time we go to fight, other nations to which we have been supplying commodities learn to manufacture those goods themselves. I understand that the United States of America are now supplying the goods which in the past we have sent from Lancashire to the South American Republics.

I do not wish to detain the House too long. I feel rather deeply about this problem of war. I am opposed to war. [An Hon. Member: "So are we all."] I hope you are, but the way to oppose war is to try to prevent it, and when you are at war to endeavour to get out of it as soon as you can. [*Interruption.*] It might be a very simple philosophy of mine, but I think Gandhi is a greater benefactor of mankind than the most efficient general of the day. I hope I may not be thought impertinent if I say too that St. Francis of Assisi did more to elevate mankind than any admiral in history.

So far as I know, there have been about 3,000 wars since Christ was born: there were 18 wars between the last great war and this: and war has never, as an instrument of policy, settled any problem satisfactorily to mankind. Indeed, wars create more problems by far than they set out to solve. Our chief aim at the outbreak of the last war was to destroy German militarism. We never aimed at the destruction of the Turkish or the Hapsburg Empire or to give more power to the Serbs, or, indeed, to create a national home for the Jews. The one aim we started out for, namely, the destruction of German militarism, we never achieved at all. Then only a few of the 14 Points of the late Mr. Wilson were put into operation. In short, I want humanity to win this time. I do not know why the hon. Gentleman should be offended at what I say. I hope my other hon. Friends will not mind what I am saying.

I have been in this Labour Party from its very beginning. I was there to start it. This party was formed for two main reasons. One was to try to abolish poverty, and I am proud that it has achieved so much in the abolition of poverty. Any hon. Gentleman who wants to know what has been achieved to the glory of Parliament, and especially of this Labour Party, might look at the census of the London County Council of the homeless on the Embankment and under the arches of this great city; and he will find that the social services we have established have made a vast difference to human well-being. This party has no meaning as a party, however, unless it has an international attitude towards things: unless it has something to say that will prevent wars. I object to the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, the Roosevelts and the militarists everywhere, men of 40 and 50 and over calling upon boys of 18 and 20 to do their foul work for them. I protest in the name of the common man against war as a means of trying to settle international problems.

> "The song of hate is a song of hell;
> And some there be who sing it well."

That is what one of your own poets says, and I say "Amen" to that. As I say, I feel strongly on these things; and I hope the House will pardon my feelings. I have, as already stated, travelled a great deal of this world. Wherever I have gone I have found men and women just the same everywhere. Only a few take nations to war. I am not so sure, however, that the great statesmen now in power—Roosevelt, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and our own Prime Minister—will be in power when the peace comes. I care not, however, what anybody thinks of what I say about war. I was elected to Parliament 21 years ago because I opposed the last war, and I am not going to sell my principles for the applause of the crowd in a passing phase like this conflict. This war will come to an end like every other war, and, in spite of the glowing promises which are now made, I venture to predict that this war, like the rest, will make the poor poorer and the rich richer—that it will make the rich richer at the expense of the poverty of the poor. Finally, I detest war and protest once again, if I may, in the name of the common man throughout the world against the damage done to the soul of mankind by this insane slaughter.

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GERALD HENDERSON

Dear Sir,—In your October issue you were good enough to include a letter from me drawing attention to two severe cases of "cat and mouse" treatment of conscientious objectors. Gerald Henderson of West Hartlepool, a religious objector, had been court-martialled five times, his fifth sentence being one of 15 months' imprisonment. I am glad to say that Gerald Henderson has now made his sixth appearance before a conscientious objectors tribunal and has at last been held to have a genuine conscientious objection to military service.

The success of Gerald Henderson lends added point to the claims of the other man, Stanley Hilton of Rochdale, also a religious objector. Although he has been court-martialled only three times, Stanley Hilton has already served sentences of one year's imprisonment and two years' detention (commuted to seven months') and is now serving a term of two years' imprisonment.

Is it not time to call a halt? The discharge of this man from prison and from the Army would be wise administration, for it must be clear by now that he will never make a soldier and that while in prison he is a complete loss to the community.

Sincerely yours,

FENNER BROCKWAY.

London, November 25, 1942.

The case of Gerald Henderson makes interesting reading and was referred to in these columns for November, 1942. Henderson is aged 25. His record of persecution is as follows:—

REGISTERED AS C.O., December 18, 1939.

LOCAL TRIBUNAL, NEWCASTLE, January 18, 1940. Struck off the C.O. Register.

LONDON APPELLATE upheld Local Tribunal finding, June 12, 1940. Accepted Medical examination. Posted to Royal Engineers, Halifax.

CALLED UP, February 27, 1941. Arrested, April 1. Given 7 days C.B. for ignoring calling-up notice. This was clearly an illegal sentence, contrary to the Acts, since the refusal arose from a conscientious objection.

1st COURT MARTIAL, April 15. Sentenced 28 days detention, Hull Military Prison. The sentence ought to have been civil imprisonment.

2nd (FIELD GENERAL) COURT MARTIAL, June 2. 4 months' civil imprisonment.

APPEALED MANCHESTER TRIBUNAL, June 23. Refused.

3rd (F.G.) COURT MARTIAL, September 7. 6 months' civil imprisonment.

APPEALED MANCHESTER TRIBUNAL, October 16. Refused. Fourth Tribunal. 2nd Tribunal after imprisonment.

4th (F.G.) COURT MARTIAL, February 5, 1942. 7 months civil imprisonment.

APPEALED LONDON APPELLATE TRIBUNAL, April 1. Refused.

5th (F.G.) COURT MARTIAL, 15 months' civil imprisonment, Armley Gaol, Leeds.

The success referred to by Fenner Brockway was conditional registration.

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A PATH TO WALK ON

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The appropriate message for the New Year is one of hope and encouragement, and apart from the Christian message, the only real message of hope and encouragement for this stricken world is that which points the way to an early peace.

A stage in the war has been reached when the opposing forces are so evenly matched that an early peace achieved by a decisive military victory for the Allies is in the highest degree unlikely. Even after years of further slaughter and sacrifice there is a considerable probability that the position will be no more favourtble than that of stalemate, while even war experts have admitted that unless the situation with regard to shipping losses improves greatly there is no absolute certainty that it will be possible to avoid defeat.

This prospect should compel every person of intelligence and goodwill to ask himself if there is no better alternative to years of continued war. The alternative, if it exists as a practical way of escape, will obviously have to satisfy the major demands of groups of people with widely different interests, and, since these interests **are** so very different, it cannot possibly give to every group all that it desires. Axis and Democratic governments; occupied and conquered countries; militarists, pacifists and Jews, will rightly expect to receive something of very definite value; but, for the sake of a greater gain, they must also be prepared to surrender part of what they would have considered a feature of an absolutely ideal settlement.

There are, of course, some persons whose demands cannot be met, even in part—I refer to the financiers who would prolong the war until the shackles of the money-lender have again been rivetted on Europe and to the men and women in well-paid war jobs who do not **want** the war to end because they are earning comfortable incomes or enjoy a new-found sense of importance which flatters their self-conceit. Some of these persons know the sordid selfishness of their aims and do not try to hide it. Others do try to hide it, anyhow from themselves, by imagining that they are being patriotic or are helping in a great crusade against Axis tyranny.

It is difficult to argue with those who, for the sake of power or personal comfort, are indifferent to the death and wounds of their fellow-countrymen and to the sorrow of the bereaved. Perhaps the only thing that I can do is to ask them the simple question how they think they will feel when they look back on life after old age has robbed them even of the joy of domination over the lives of men? I might also ask them how they will feel when they have to meet the God in whom many of them do not believe but who, for all their unbelief, exists? I am not an old-fashioned Fundamentalist to try and frighten people with threats of hell-fire. Rather would I remind them of one of Studdert Kennedy's poems in which he describes the experience of a man to whom there comes a vision of his judgment. Instead of books, recording angels and a great white throne, this man meets only Christ. Christ's glance penetrates to the inmost recesses of his being, showing him, among other things, all the meanness of his past life. Then He asks him the one short question "Well?"

What is the path which might lead to an early and lasting peace, reconciling, as far as may be, those who at present seem irreconcilable, and asking of none more than is reasonable, bearing in mind their characters and their present aims and outlook? Briefly, it is what may be termed "wise diplomacy."

Wise diplomacy would intimate our willingness to conclude peace on terms fair to all countries, including Axis countries allowing all a share of the world's economic resources proportionate to the needs and numbers of their people together with protection against military and economic aggression and freedom to adopt whatever political régime they desired. Only one fundamental condition would be laid down — that each nation must be prepared to treat its neighbours as it desired to be treated itself.

Would there be anything original about such a suggested basis for peace? Yes, two things. It would be the first time in history that a sincere and perfectly definite proposal had been made for an arrangement whereby all nations would receive a share in the world's economic resources proportionate to their needs and numbers. It would also be the first time that a frank suggestion had been made that each nation should really treat every other nation as it would like to be treated itself, and it would be the first time that there had been a plain intimation of willingness to do this on the part of the country, or countries, making the proposals.

The next question with which wise diplomacy would have to concern itself would be that of securing honest performance of undertakings. This might seem difficult in a world filled with war-hatred and mistrust, but it need not prove so difficult as might be imagined. No matter how much, or how rightly, we may distrust another nation, it is not beyond the power of human intelligence to devise guarantees, conditions, or rights of inspection adequate to secure safety for ourselves and our friends. One thing only would be necessary. If the conditions and rights of inspection which we asked for were very drastic, we would have to show perfect readiness to allow equally drastic safeguards for the benefit of the other side. We must not expect the latter to put themselves at a disadvantage which we would never tolerate for ourselves.

Put bluntly and in homely language, wise diplomacy would say to our present enemies "You can have peace to-morrow on the same general terms as we desire for ourselves and for our Allies—peace with honour, justice and perfect safety. You can have a share in the world's resources proportionate to the needs and numbers of your peoples. Our only condition is that you allow to other nations the same rights and liberties as you ask for yourselves and that, on condition that we grant you equally drastic safeguards, you on your part provide us with the safeguards as to honest performance of your undertakings which we feel compelled to ask. We would further add that you can continue to enjoy peace, justice and friendly relations with us as long as you go on treating other nations as you desire to be treated yourselves. Directly, however, you cease to do this, you will have more war."

What would be the special advantages of this kind of approach to the war problem?

We should for the first time mobilise fully, in our own interests and in the interests of an early peace, the tremendous potential asset of the war-weariness of the Axis peoples. Of the existence of this war-weariness there is ample evidence from non-propaganda sources, just as there is equally ample evidence that at present it is useless to us, because the Axis peoples, like ourselves, have no intention of submitting to defeat and the occupation of their countries by the enemy. Remove from them, however, all fear of such a fate; offer them peace with honour and proper safeguards for our own performance of our undertakings; offer them what they have never yet had—a fair share of the world's resources and freedom from the threat of hostile military alliances and economic warfare; and we should have removed the only real incentive they possess to continue fighting to the bitter end and their rulers' main asset for inducing them to do so.

By this offer we should also place ourselves for the first time in a position of tremendous strength to manoeuvre Axis dictators or governments into a position of great and increasing unpopularity with their own people should they try to behave unreasonably.

There would, incidentally, be no real difficulty in getting information of what we were doing across to the Axis peoples. The ban against listening-in to foreign broadcasts is often ignored and leaflets culd be dropped by aeroplane, not only in Axis countries, but also in all the occupied and neutral countries where Axis troops or civilians are present.

If an Axis dictator were to declare to his people "We cannot trust this offer", our reply to the people would be, "We have not only offered you peace on the fairest possible terms, but we have also expressed our willingness to allow you safeguards as thorough as we ourselves require. What ground, then, exists for this complaint that you cannot trust our offer? We do not ask you to trust our word but to state the conditions which would be acceptable to you as a basis for the mutual performance of actions."

If the dictator refused to restore freedom to some smaller nation, we would say to his people, "Look at your leader! We offer you peace with honour and a fair share of the world's economic resources, and yet he insists upon keeping you at war, simply because he will not grant to other countries what he demands as justice for his own."

If the dictator broke a pledge without reasonable excuse, we would say to his people "You could have continued to enjoy peace and fair treatment merely on condition that reasonable undertakings did not cease to be observed and that other nations were treated as you wished to be treated yourselves. Now, however, your leader appears to insist on plunging you into war once more. Well, we repeat that you can always have peace by observing the fair conditions laid down, but if fair treatment does not satisfy you, we fear that there is no more to be said and hostilities must begin again!"

The other great advantage of a wise diplomatic approach of the kind suggested is that it would remove altogether the difficulty of "trusting" enemy governments, because our relations with them would be based not on trust but on actions. As long as they fulfilled certain specified conditions, there would be peace; directly they ceased to fulfil those conditions, there would be war. After all, it does not so very greatly matter if the head of another nation is a rogue, provided that he can be induced or compelled to refrain from behaving like one!

People who are great believers in the "fight to a finish" policy might be disposed to regard as somewhat unsatisfactory an arrangement which left enemy leaders, whom they considered untrustworthy, still in power, and they might think that it would involve the undesirable burden of the continued maintenance of large armed forces as a protection against possible treachery. They might be thinking in terms of a complete Allied victory after which our soldiers would come back and those who wished to be demobilized would return to their homes and civilian occupations —an arrangement undoubtedly keenly desired by a very large percentage of the members of the Forces. This, however, it must be pointed out, is by no means the plan of the present Government, in the event of victory. They intend that the Allied Nations shall garrison the Axis countries for a generation or two, in order to prevent them from re-arming; while

the children of the Axis peoples are to receive an education in our ideas of democracy. This will mean that we shall still have to maintain a gigantic standing army with all the necessary equipment in order that we may be in a position to help in the occupation of countries with hundreds of millions of inhabitants. Soldiers who had returned home after several years of fighting in African deserts, might, after a few weeks' leave, find themselves shipped off for many more years' foreign service in Germany, Bulgaria or Japan; while thousands of schoolmasters, presumably also conscript, would be sent away to the same countries to teach ideals of democracy which, owing to the totalitarian organization made necessary by the "garrison" policy adopted by the Allies, would have largely ceased to exist in their native land! It is therefore obvious that an alternative plan which would not necessitate the exile of so many of our people, should receive serious consideration, especially as there is a first-rate chance that the bitter memories of the war, in combination with the just policy—economic and political—of wise diplomacy, would render possible a general agreement for the progressive reduction of armaments, with, of course, all necessary safeguards.

(To be concluded.)

JARWHARLAL NEHRU AND SOVIET RUSSIA

By KAIKHORSU SHAPURJI SORABJI

A rather depressing feature about the Nationalist Movement in India is the extent to which an undiscriminating and uncritical admiration for Soviet Russia and all its doings has been, by what subtle and occult propagandist means one does not know, injected into the minds of many, especially the younger Indian Nationalists. To such an extent has this ideological infection proceeded that even a man of such outstanding ability, integrity of character and intellectual power as Jawarhalal Nehru has succumbed to it, even to the extent of hailing as brilliant and remarkable achievements things that are literally insignificant compared with what such genuinely democratic and progressively enlightened countries with not a minute fraction of Russia's astronominal resources among the whole lot of them—such as Finland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway have achieved in the way of social amelioration. These countries possess standards of living and amenities that are beyond the wildest dreams of the work-slaves of the Proletarian Paradise. How is it that we hear nothing of the achievements of these lands from the doctrinaires? Is it perchance, because their splendid achievements have been attained without the Dictatorship of Any body or Anything over Anyone and without those liquidations and concentration camps that appear to be the indispensible passport to the approval of the "advanced" ones? I carefully avoid that fashionable question-begging word "progress" for progress may mean just as much an advance towards the worse as the better. It is progress—in decomposition—when an apple from being merely bad, becomes deliquescent.

Let us consider the case of Nehru because, apart from the great figure of Gandhiji—who in this matter as in others sees so much further and clearer than he—he is unquestionably the outstanding figure in the Indian Nationalist movement to-day. How is it possible for Nehru to overlook and ignore, as he appears to do, the fact that Stalinist Russia is a Totalitarian State of a ruthlessness and severity that makes Mussolinian Fascist Italy rather like a kindergarten by comparison, and Hitler's Stalinist Germany (I use the epithet advisedly!) at best (or worst) a not too good second? How is it possible for Nehru while condemning the imperialist aggressions of Germany and Italy to say not a word about the just as ruthless aggressions of Stalinist Russia—which in this matter is in every way the spiritual heir of Czarist Russia—in Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Georgia, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan? Why is the invasion and ruthless suppression of self-governing and independent States, and the forcible imposition upon them of an alien system and ideology only to be called "aggression" when Germany does it and not when Stalinist Russia does it? How can Nehru fail to see—as he seems to fail—that the arguments, security of frontier, strategic positions, etc., etc. wherewith these acts of cruelty aggression are excused or glossed over by the propagandists are exactly the same utterly immoral imperialistic power—political arguments that he denounces continually in the case of India and Malaya? How can Nehru lend his enormous prestige to any endorsement and approval of a political system that suppresses all and every opposition of thought, idea or expression, political, literary or even artistic (vide the case of the composer Shostakovitch not long since) with the utmost ruthlessness and rigour, "liquidates," i.e. starves to death peasant small-holders by the million, in pursuit of a monstrous piece of tyrannical bureaucratic "planning" (see the facts and figures given by Souvarine in this matter) that had an O.G.P.U. and concentration camps long before Germany and on a scale which perhaps even the latter has not yet attained? What sort of organic relationship has this monstrous totalitarian tyranny with the oldest democratic and freely representative system in the world, the village Panchayat of India, the very root and origin of all representative institutions? How much wiser and more humanely human is Gandhi who will have no truck whatsoever with any Western Totalitarianism but insists that India with her millenial traditions of organised and civilised life — of which, as Professor Gordon Childe tells us, she was the very cradle—must build upon her own past in accordance with her own traditions that are ageless and incomparable, and which make it as utterly unnecessary as it is unwise for her to go whoring after strange Western ideological gods who have nothing to give her of value that she cannot find in her own way of life and in her own traditions.

And our Soviet-propaganda bull-dosed dupes fail to see that the open alliance with Russia makes mincemeat of the Freedom and Democracy propaganda just as much as the previous Russo-German Pact did of the earlier propaganda of those two vis-a-vis each other; I have a shrewd suspicion that Gandhi feels this too, hence some public remarks of his anent Britain's cause quoted in "The Times" some while since.

Again, as Wilfred Wellock and Middleton Murry have so well pointed out, Gandhi is **not** all out against the machine as such, as he is so often ignorantly and wrongly represented as being, but he IS all out against the ruthless subordination and sacrifice of the **country** to the **town,** the crippling and impoverishment of the peasant and the countryside that inevitably result from reckless industrialisation, the dire results of which leap to the eye in every highly industrialised Western land, and against which Gandhi with age-old wisdom is out to protect India. The cosmic evils of soil erosion that are exercising some of the best minds in England and America to-day spring directly out of the mechanistic subordination of the country to the industrialised town. This is potentially the most hedious and frightful of evils, besides which all others pale into insignificance, as anyone who studies such an appalling document as "The Rape of the Earth" can realise for himself, Nehru almost inevitably fails to see; he is too much the doctrinaire intellectual, the political theorist a la Bloomsbury, too far divorced from the soil, too modernly Western by seven eighths to perceive and appreciate the paramount importance to the community of the countryman and the soil and the immeasurably vital necessity of doing everything possible to protect and foster it and him, particularly from the dangers of unchecked industrialisation.

Finally Nehru, I think, like so many Leftish thinkers shows no glimmering of a perception of financial and monetary realities, that is to say, he does not or cannot, see that adherence to a primitive barbarous and essentially corrupt monetary and Banking system is right at the root of most of the world's ills, India's hardly—if at all—less than England's; he shews no signs of being cognisant with the work of the great monetary reformers, Kitson, Soddy, Gesell, Douglas (above all) thus indicating that like so many of his way of political thinking progress and advance in the study and investigation of this paramountly cardinal matter has **left** home and them far behind, for it makes most of their platform cliches and catchwords equally with those of the Right not only "as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal" but completely irrelevant into the bargain. To close, by way in musical parlance of a **coda,** I may perhaps not impertinently add, that the perception of realities in the matter of finance and banking is fairly widespread among my own community; a relative of mine who is a person of considerable importance in one of the biggest Banks in India has remarked to me when we were discussing this matter that the financial and Banking system were the biggest frauds and swindles that had ever been put over a silly world, that he was thoroughly ashamed and humiliated in his own eyes at being associated with it but . . . that he had his living to earn and a family to keep!

ROMFORD PACIFISM

Comrade George E. Watling, Secretary of the Collier Row P.P.U. Group, is a foundation member of the P.P.U. He is also a member of the United Socialist Movement. Comrade Watling has been opposed to war since he was 14 years of age and he is now 51. He resisted the last war and was court-martialled at Hurdcolt, Salisbury Plain, on November 8, 1916. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, which he served at Wormwood Scrubbs. On his discharge from prison, he was offered, and accepted, alternative service in food distribution.

At the time that conscription was introduced, Watling was in o reserved occupation and was discharged only because he insisted on taking his stand as a conscientious objector. His employer wrote to him:—

I tremble to think what will be said of young men so young as yourself, who, without any ties, fail to respond to their country's call.

Yet the employer did not mean him to respond. He only wanted him not to register as a C.O.!

Comrade Watling has written many essays in defence of Socialism and Pacifism and has published also the following works: "The Real Power Behind The War" (1914); "The Confessional Exposed"; "Papal Medals and Frescoes."

In Romford, to-day, he is an active member of the group that maintains an untiring Socialist and Pacifist propaganda.

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DEFINITE PEACE AIMS NOW

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT

(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government).

[The following article by our comrade Jowett is reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, December 4, 1942.—Ed.]

"I know nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long, or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead", said Prime Minister Churchill in his broadcast speech last Sunday. He visualised the war from now on in two stages. Of the beginning of the first stage he said this:—

"The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us, and we must brace ourselves to cope with the trials and problems of what must be a stern and terrible year."

Mr. Churchill visualised two further stages of the war; the first, the defeat of Germany and Italy in Europe; and the second, the defeat of Japan in the Far East.

For the first of these stages complete clearance of German and Italian forces from Africa to enable the North African coast to be the spring-board for a great Allied land offensive in Europe is the FIRST TASK.

For the second stage, clearance of Japanese forces from all the key positions Japan now holds in the Far East including the Philippines, Malay, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.

There is, of course, nothing in this forecast of future military operations to justify even "the hope that the war will not be long, or that bitter and bloody years do not lie before us", as the Prime Minister said, and in his war strategy he quite obviously **counts only military operations of real importance.**

This he clearly showed by his dismissal of the insistent call for a statement concerning the sort of peace it is intended that peoples of enemy Governments and all other peoples concerned will have imposed upon them by Allied victory over the Axis powers. It would

"weaken the disciplined unity and order of our array", he said, "if we fell to quarrelling about what we should do with our victory before that victory is won."

Why telling the world what Britain and the United States would do with an Allied victory after it is won would lead to quarrelling is difficult to understand if the Atlantic Charter agreement declared to the world by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill as being the aim of their two nations means what it implies.

For although in Article (4) (which refers to equal terms of access by all nations to trade and raw materials needed for their prosperity) a rather ominous reservation lies in the words "with due respect for their existing obligations", yet there are in Articles (6) and (7) over-riding principles stated which, if observed, would surely lead to agreement concerning existing obligations. The existing obligations in question being presumably existing tariff and trading preference agreements.

The Peace Aims declared for and on behalf of the two great English speaking nations, whose Governments jointly expected to carry the greatest, if not actually an overpowering weight, at a peace conference following the projected allied victory, include two affirmations of principle which are of first and not even of secondary importance.

Article (6) contains the much emphasised declaration in world-wide publicity that the peace must be a peace

"which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Article (7) of the Atlantic Charter declares that the peace

"should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance."

Now why shouldn't the implications be made clear **now,** if not as a matter of common honesty, then at least as sound war strategy to bring about the end of Hitlerite Germany (which is all that Soviet Russia is pledged to)?

If Articles (6) and (7) mean what they imply, and what peoples of enemy Governments and blockaded peoples of ex-allied and neutral Governments are vainly expected to believe they mean, then two things follow and should be clearly stated. These are:

First, if article (6) means what it says, there can be **no victimisation of the German people or of the peoples of other enemy Governments.**

The fear of a second Versailles Treaty, worse than the first (which the anti-Nazi masses of German people fear, and in terror of which they will fight and die, and work and slave, to avoid defeat and another dictated peace—just as we should do under similar circumstances) would no longer restrain them from opposing the war in every way possible in their Nazi-ruled and Gestapo-ridden land.

And again and again it should be emphasised that not even the most cruel and relentless of dictators can carry on successfully a war between great Powers militarily and industrially organised for the purpose without **support born of fear of the consequences of defeat on the part of their peoples.** And a peace giving in precise terms security **for freedom from fear and want** as promised in Article (6) of the Atlantic Charter would carry no such possible consequence as another Versailles Treaty, to the German people as we have given them reason to fear.

Next in importance as affecting the desire for an anti-Nazi peace of peoples of other European countries whose Governments are ex-allied or neutral, is article (7) which, if it means what it says and the world-wide desire for definitive peace aims were acceded to by the British and American Governments, would end the control of peaceable overseas traffic by any Government.

To the blockaded and starving populations of Belgium and other West European countries this freedom-of-the-seas peace aim is vital. The British blockade is the trump card of Dr. Goebbels, the chief propagandist of Nazi Germany, in the blockaded ex-ally and neutral countries, and if article (7) doesn't mean freedom of the seas and end of the Britannia Rules the Waves" mentality, then it is a sham and a fraud.

Mr. Churchill's forecast of a United Nations peace aims conference when the first of the two future stages of the war he is anticipating has been won—the armies of Germany, Italy and their satellite states defeated in the field on the Continent of Europe and in Germany itself—does not mean much. It will be a peace aims conference **well and truly tied up beforehand** when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have had all the necessary years of their people's blood and tears and toil and sweat for such a militarist victory. As in the last war, there is already evidence of this tying-up process by means of secret understandings, arrangements and pledges. This is what the Tribune (November 13th) says of the latest example:—

"We have guaranteed the Spanish Empire, and we have expressed the hope that she would recover in peace from the effects of the civil war and take her rightful place in the Europe of the future. Are we fighting for a future which we shall share with General Franco? This is a thought to inspire our soldiers to new sacrifices.

"We have also guaranteed the French and Portuguese Empires. And now Mr. Churchill has rounded it all off by bluntly stating at the Mansion House that 'We mean to hold our own.' He went on to say, 'I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.'

"So there you have it. This future of sunny uplands and beckoning vistas Mr. Churchill is fond of telling us about in his perorations is to contain the French, British, Portuguese and Spanish Empires intact as before. In short, if we are to judge by the specific and definite statement made on our behalf by the British Foreign Office and by the Prime Minister himself we are fighting this war, going through all this agony and privation simply in order to put the old world back on its feet again.

"As though to give point and substance to our fears in this respect, fugitive incidents occur from time to time showing that all the old values are there in full strength only awaiting a favourable moment to assert themselves. We fete the political trader Darlan in a 'manner suited to his position and rank.' Even whilst the battle of El Alamein was in progress General Montgomery dined and breakfasted with the captured Nazi General, and the whole British Press carried photographs of the two men shaking hands. All that was wanted to complete the picture was the body of a dead British soldier lying between. It is surely intolerable that the supreme horror of this war should be treated as though it were a cricket match.

"We wonder how the underground movement in France will react to our reception of Darlan. This was the man who plotted against us and maligned us, and conspired in the murder of hundreds of brave Frenchmen who gave their lives for our cause. What kind of a Europe have we in mind? One built by rats for mice? It may appear to some people a very clever idea to seduce and beguile these men who owe their power to hurt us to their having been the jackals of our enemies; but it does not bear that appearance to the millions of oppressed men and women in Europe to whom we look for help in our offensive against Germany. Are they expected to face torture, imprisonment and death so that the authors of their calamities may be feted by us? It is not good diplomacy to beguile your enemies and lose your friends. A famous German Socialist of the last century once said, 'YOU CANNOT BE CLEVER IN BIG THINGS.'

"If our military offensive is to give the moral atmosphere conducive to an early victory it is, therefore, essential that the United Nations should now PUT ON RECORD FOR ALL THE WORLD TO HEAR A CONCEPTION OF FUTURE SOCIETY WHICH WILL RALLY MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE TO OUR CAUSE. If it is done now with vision, courage and imagination, it might save millions of lives. Conquered Europe moves restlessly under the Nazi heel. If we can find the words of power it might rise to its feet. Who will speak them?"

LEIGH FISHER.

Our comrade, Leigh Fisher, has addressed the following letter to us from H.M. Prison, Edinburgh.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—This is the first opportunity I have had of writing to you since being buried alive here. The prison office phoned through yesterday to where I am working informing me that you had communicated with the governor in connection with appearing as a witness before the Appellate Tribunal on my behalf.

I had quite a fair hearing in the High Court, which was presided over by Lord Normand. During my address he interrupted to ask the Crown-Solicitor the maximum sentence that could be imposed on a charge of this description. The Crown Solicitor replied 12 months. I understood it was 2 years.

Lord Normand, in summing up, said the sentence was not excessive; that I had acted in good faith, and it was my stubborn character and strong will that had made me refuse medical examination, and that I erred in my interpretation of Section 5 of the Armed Forces' Act. The Crown claimed no expenses against me.

I hope the Burnbank comrades are having a big circulation of the papers. Comrade Lyle came to the High Court with me the two days.

Hoping everybody at George Street is well.

Yours fraternally,

LEIGH FISHER.

1404/42 Leigh Fisher, 1/12/1942.

On Thursday, December 17, Leigh Fisher appeared again before the Appellate Tribunal. He was accompanied by the editor He was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he resumed the work in which he was employed at the time of his imprisonment.

TOM JOHNSTON AND THE KING

5

Welcome, Royal George

So the head man in our half-million-a-year family of latest-comers is coming to the Clyde, is he? When last we lamented at his penchant for lavish entertainment, which confronted with a three-cornered hat and a sword (which must be a lavishly ornamental one, a long chain of ironmongery dangling at one's legs) that day they will hail him Sir's Lord High Admiral of the

Heading of and top of the two column attack on King George V. contributed by the now Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P., Secretary of State for Scotland, to his paper, "FORWARD", for July 3, 1920.

such permits Privilege to pick poor

he King his job. Poor old hey dress him up in a naval

seated."

He must laugh. A job like his without a sense of humour would be unbearable.

T. J.

Conclusion of Johnston article, much reduced. Note his initials "T. J." He was not content to leave his two-column effort unsigned. Note also position of cartoon, which obviously was drawn to illustrate Johnston's editorial. At this time (1920) "FORWARD" was a very large sheet, and the article and cartoon occupied two full-sized columns.

The "Scots Daily Express" in its issue for Thursday, November 26, 1942, gave special display to the following announcement:—

NEWS IN LINES.

TOM JOHNSTON AT PALACE.

THE King at Buckingham Palace yesterday received in audience Mr. Tom Johnston, Secretary of State for Scotland.

When we read this we looked at "Who's Who" and found that one of the accomplishments on which Mr. Johnston prided himself was that of having edited "Forward" for 27 years. We wondered if he discussed his contributions to its columns with the King. Then we pondered on the vanity of human achievement and human careerism. Interned in the Isle of Man or in Brixton Prison are men who visited the present King's father at Buckingham Palace during the Great War of 1914-1918, to receive medals for distinguished conduct, for bravery on the field of battle. What was Thomas Johnston doing during that period? He was not resisting war inside His Majesty's prisons and detention barracks as we were. Yet he was of military age, for he is only four years our senior. Somehow, he was evading the draft, and was safely spending his time between Glasgow and Kirkintilloch, penning "Socialist War Points" and denouncing Horatio Bottomley for being war-minded The Clydeside applauded his attack on Bottomley. They appreciated his vulgarisms and mistook them for extremisms. And so, in due course, he reached the Cabinet. To-day, he enjoys higher distinction than Bottomley sought to enjoy, and he is doing the same kind of propaganda that Bottomley engaged in when he prostituted his great talents—and Horatio Bottomley was a man of many talents and outstanding oratorial and journalistic ability—to the cause of war, imperialism, and destruction.

We looked up our "Forward" files, and we wondered if Thomas Johnston took with him to Buckingham Palace "Forward", for Saturday, March 14, 1925, No. 15. Vol. 19. The front-page "Socialist Commentary" is signed "T.J." Johnston was so proud of his article that he had to sign it. The headlines of this commentary explain its contents:—

THE STORY OF EDWARD THE P(E)ACEMAKER. THE CASH TAKINGS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY. TWENTY-EIGHT MILLIONS IN ONE LIFETIME—AN AMAZING RECORD.

Beneath these headlines Thomas Johnston developed a strong attack on Edward VII, the present King's grandfather. Johnston attacks Sir Sidney Lee's official biography of Edward VII as being "a masterpiece of reticence." He proceeds to attack Edward's associations with "Sir Tom Lipton"—Johnston's peculiar style of address—and Sir Ernest Cassel; to indict Albert the Good, beneath the heading: **"What Albert the Good Netted in His Spare Time"**; to expose **"The Emoluments of Victoria the Good."**

The other sub-headings of this signed article by Thomas Johnston in the columns of his own paper are as follows:—

WHAT THE P(E)ACEMAKER RAN THROUGH.
MORE PICKINGS FOR EDWARD THE P(E)ACEMAKER.
WILD OATS.
THE TRANLY CROFT CASE.

It is regrettable that space does not permit us to reproduce this article in full. But it can be consulted in Glasgow in the Mitchell Library. And it can be found in the British Museum. Later, we may be able to give it the publicity it merits, not on its own account, but in view of the present position of Thomas Johnston.

The article concludes:—

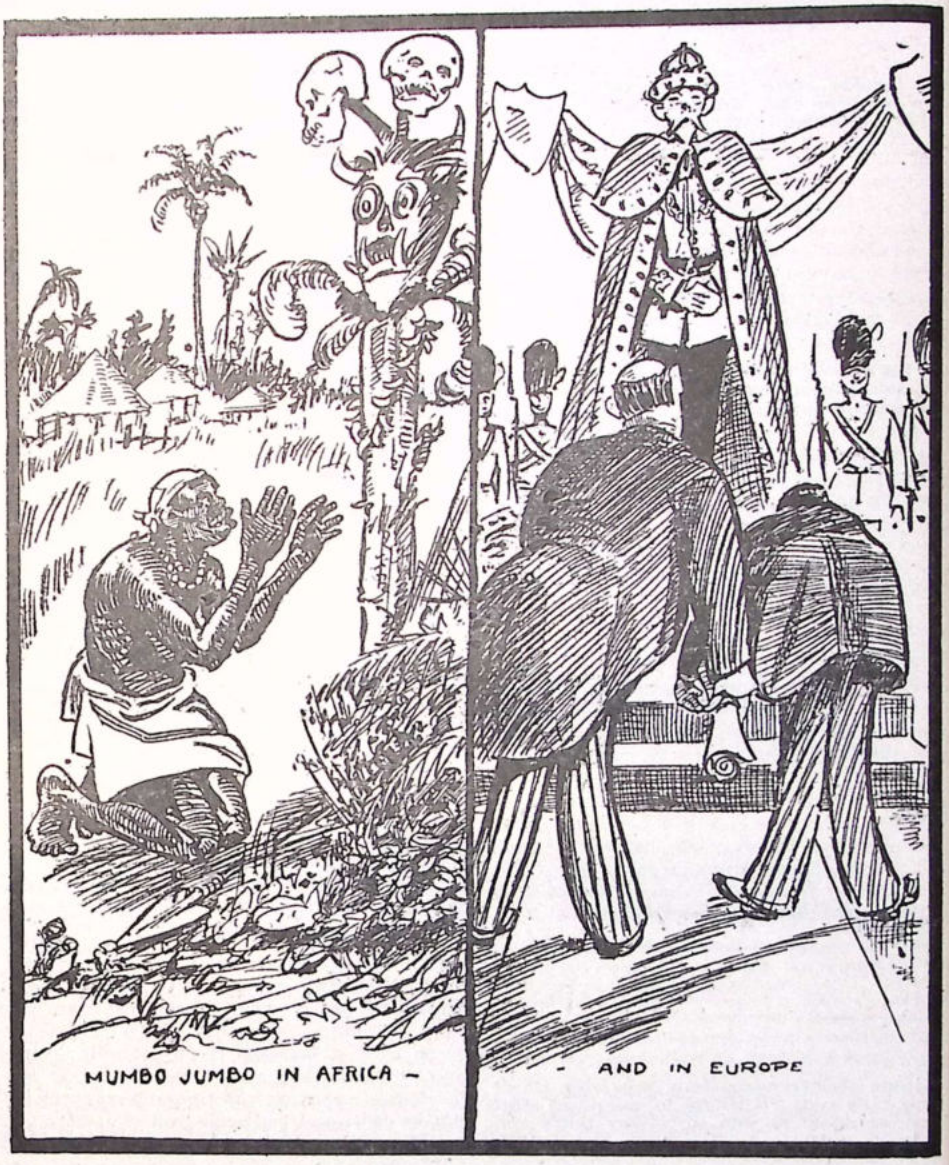
In later years the echo of these scandals died away, and the Press dubbed him Edward the Peace-Maker. Perhaps, because he spent considerable time in organising the Entente Cordiale with France and Russia against Germany.

T. J.

This conclusion indicates the nature of Johnston's denunciation of Edward VII. The Clyde thought that its vulgarity stamped Johnston a brave publicist. It disbelieved us when we indicated that the man was a parliamentary careerist and a climber; that his pen, like all vulgar pens, was devoid of power and sincerity.

We ask Johnston: Did he take "Forward," for Saturday, March 14, 1925, to the Palace? Did he show his splendid article to Edward's grandson? Did he explain that this had enabled him to climb into Cabinet position?

But perhaps his 1925 essay was not sufficiently lewd for his purpose. Perhaps Thomas Johnston took with him to the Palace a copy of "Forward" for July 3, 1920. Perhaps he turned to Page 5, and showed King George VI the article that he, now the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P., P.C., contributed, as editor, to the columns of "Forward" for that date. This article is too good—or too bad—to be



MUMBO-JUMBO

The above cartoon was published in the "FORWARD" for July 3, 1920. At that time "FORWARD" was edited by Thomas Johnston. The cartoon illustrated Johnston's editorial denunciation of the monarchy, which is reproduced in full on this page. In the "FORWARD", the cartoon was nearly 7 inches across.

summarised. We reproduce it in full, together with the illustration with which the "Forward's" editor tickled the fancy of his proletarian readers:—

Article contributed by the now Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P., as editor, signed with his initials, "T. J.," to the "Forward," for Saturday, July 3, 1920:—

WELCOME, ROYAL GEORGE

So the head man in our half-million-a-year family of bazaar openers is coming to the Clyde, is he? When last he honoured us with his presence, his family name was Wettin, which was unfortunate, for it made the Rechabites suspicious. But during the war he changed his name to Windsor, and he publicly swore off the booze for the duration. If this sacrifice was designed to ease off the demand upon the available alcohol stocks, and so help us to win the war, it was nobly done.

There are other monarchs in the world, who if you saw their faces on a cinema screen, would give you the impression that they might be startled into ecstatic anticipation at the sound of a cork. It is they who give body and currency to the epithet: "Royal Fou." Not so our own Gracious. He never needs a peppermint now.

He comes of a long and noble lineage. His father was Edward the Peacemaker; his grandfather was Albert the Good, and his grandmother was Victoria the Good, who told the savages that Britain's greatness was founded upon the Bible. Such a noble and original thought! And before her were Gentleman George and William the Sailor, and George the Good, and William the Protestant and Good Queen Bess, and James the Wise and Alfred the Great, and a whole string and galaxy of virtue.

It's worth while paying half a million a year only to get thinking about it.

Besides, look at the other advantages! We must have some one to set the fashions. I remember in my boyhood wanting a pair of brown boots, only to be told that King Edward would not wear them—"They were no boots for a gentleman", he had said, just as his predecessor Charles had declared Presbyterianism to be no religion for a gentleman. And that settled it.

The King business is an anachronism: a survival from more superstitious times: a chip from the medieval raree show with gilt coaches and outriders and ermine cloaks and gold-sticks-in-waiting, and keepers-of-the-green-wax-in-expectation, and a whole army of political spongers and mouchards looking for a share of the half-million sterling that an educated British people pays for the upkeep of the Royal Family.

You wonder, perhaps, why Feudalism keeps a mascot, and why Capitalism should encourage and pay for costly Royal Goloshins.

The landowners allege that they received their landed "rights" from the King: therefore the King must be maintained and exhibited to the groundlings at periodical intervals. Properly advertised, these exhibitions have a hypnotic and mesmeric effect upon the ignorant.

Capitalism, again, is willing to tolerate Royalty, because it stands as a great bulwark against the ideas of the equality of men. Capitalism demands servitude, and Royalty, in its essence, means that the many must serve the one. Landowners and Capitalists are interested in maintaining the corner stone of an economic system which permits Privilege to pick the pockets of the poor.

I do not envy the King his job. Poor old chap. One day they dress him up in a naval uniform with a three-cornered hat and a sword (which must be a beastly nuisance, a long chunk of ironmongery dangling at one's legs): that day they tell him he's Lord High Admiral of the Seas, Ruler of the Waves and Storms and King of the Tempest.

Another day they dress him in khaki and stick him upon a horse. But in France he had an accident at the back of the front: he fell off the horse and was hurt, whereupon they put up prayers in the churches for his recovery, as was right and proper, for he is so good that he is head of the English Church. Nowadays he does not lead the armed nation into battle; he simply reviews the troop's for he's Commander-in-Chief of the Army. But it's a tiresome business saluting on a hot day.

Another time they deck him up fancy, knee-breeches and all the rest of it, and give him a speech to read at the opening of Parliament. This is called the King's Speech from the Throne. But for the most part his job is opening bazaars in aid of the British and Foreign Society for the Propagation of White Mice, Indigent Tea planters, or what not. He also opens libraries and has been known to lay a memorial stone of half a hundredweight, whereat there is great and justifiable comment in the Press, for no bird that ever flew or swam could lay anything half so heavy. Thus man triumphs over Nature.

But the drawback to the job, and the reason why, despite the high wage rate per hour, there is no competition for his billet is the awful and sickening aura of snobbery and lickspittling that is attached to it. Mayors and Provosts and Town Clerks and Bailies, and Common Councilmen, all in their Sunday best, bowing and scraping and sliding out of The Presence on their hams. And their wives loading themselves up with imitation jewellery and laces and feathers, practising the proper curtesy before mirrors for months beforehand. And every pawnshop and pub. with its Union Jack and emblem calling upon God urgently to save the King. And the loyal address which is tiresomely read out by the pompous personage whose wife is in the nerves (for her man's trouser foot has stuck in his boot top). And the aged slave foreman who is "introduced", having been in the employ, your Majesty, for sixty years and has never asked a rise, and whose tongue cleaves to the roof of his mouth at the honour, and who never thereafter washes the hand that has touched fingers with Royalty.

He suffered cruelly during the war because of a disloyal Press, which suggested that his cousin was a degenerate and his (the cousin's eldest son) had 500 wives.

If, as appears to be the case, the old gentleman is the average decent, kindly-intentioned father of a family, doing his day's darg in the situation in which without effort or struggle he found himself, and knowing no other way of making an assured bed and board for his dependents, how he must laugh at the snobs, how he must chuckle at the Bailie-bodies waddling forward in due order of precedence to be "presented."

He must laugh. A job like his without a sense of humour would be unbearable.

T. J.

The heading was spread across two columns. We ask: Did Thomas Johnston mention this article to His Majesty, King George VI? Does Mr. Churchill consider that the writer of such an article ought to have a place in an Imperialist, Tory Cabinet? Does Mr. Churchill believe that men who fought in the last war, were wounded, and received at The Palace to be honoured, ought to be rotting in jail, whilst "Tom Johnston", in his own super-elegant phraseology, is received at The Palace, and treated as a patriot and a citizen of distinction?

We do not think that Tom Johnston qualifies either as a patriot or a pacifist. He is a politician who has risen by vulgarity, and vulgarity only, to a place in the world of political pretence. He has never suffered for his principles and he now proves that he never possessed any principles for which to suffer. But he has made a parade of principles and so has advanced himself to his present position, persuading the workers that he was the enemy of Churchillism as when he stood for Dundee, and that it was most urgent, in the interest of proletarian emancipation and Socialism, that he be returned to Westminster. Such are the vagaries and the vulgarities of parliamentary Socialist Careerism.

The workers' business is to show contempt for Thomas Johnston whenever he appears in public. Every decent man, irrespective of class or opinion, will be able, after reading this article, to take the man's measurement and to show contempt accordingly. The man should be impeached and driven from public life as an exploiter of oppressed passion and a political trader in human suffering; a mean, contemptible careerist, who insults the common people with his lewd commentary that he might rise by sycophancy to public position. The man stamps his career as that of a political cheat and a fraud.

(Continued from Column 3.)

of Lord Elphinstone and also of Mr. Maitland and Mr. Barron. The tone of their questions, and the manner of putting them, expressed understanding and ability to vision the pacifist objection. A very great thing in war-time. Mr. Grant, the Clerk of the Tribunal, in the Fisher case, showed great courtesy and made special enquiries concerning the facts so that these could be considered accurately by the Tribunal. The proceedings were thoroughly democratic and judicial.

EDINBURGH APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

The editor attended before the Appellate Tribunal, Edinburgh, on Thursday, December 17, as the friend of Leigh Fisher, of Burnbank. Fisher was brought from Saughton Prison, Edinburgh, by a warder who treated him with every consideration and who had served as a warder, at one time, in a jail in which the editor was confined for his political principles. The editor was then doing "a stretch"!

The Tribunal consisted of the Rt. Hon. Lord Elphinstone, K.T., LL.D. (Chairman); Alexander Maitland, Esq., K.C.; and Thomas Barron, Esq., J.P., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

We do not wish to discuss the details of Fisher's case in this report, as the facts call for a clear and thorough statement and analysis. In our view, as stated to the Tribunal, Fisher ought never to have been sentenced, and his conviction ought not to have been upheld by the High Court of Justiciary. We are confirmed in this opinion by one item of fact stated by Lord Elphinstone.

The Tribunal discussed the case with great courtesy. The questions were scrupulously fair; and although the members of the Tribunal clearly believe the war to be right, they permitted no prejudice against pacifism to move them. The questions were clear and to the point. Finally, Fisher was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he returned to the work in which he was employed when sentenced, or undertook work in the building trade.

The following day, Friday, the editor accompanied comrade John Lambert, of Paisley, before the same Tribunal. Lambert received a good and long hearing. Finally he was registered as a conscientious objector on condition he remained at his trade as a shoemaker, and did part-time A.R.P. Lambert's appeal was against the decision of Glasgow No. 2 Tribunal. In the first instance, it was this local Tribunal that removed Fisher's name from the register.

In our view, fair consideration of cases by Tribunals are important contributions to the well-being of humanity. They maintain and define principles of justice which should be upheld in war-time, not only on ethical grounds, but on grounds of wise social policy. Principle is more important than power. It is not merely a question of releasing, conscripting, or imprisoning a certain individual. It is a matter of sound jurisprudence and understanding upon which society must rest if ever a commonweal of mankind is to be established. One day this will be achieved and the just behaviour of Tribunals to-day, no matter what errors may be made, contributes towards the realisation of this ambition.

Tribunals are not to blame always for erroneous decisions. Many conscientious objectors are moved by a kind of inferiority complex, which causes them to evade answering some questions, because they seem afraid to look stupid; and also causes them to be unduly aggressive in reply to other questions, with the result that their stand is falsified. They make their case appear like one of ugly selfishness. What is needed is to tell the truth very simply. Naturally, the atmosphere tends to be somewhat against the objector. That is inevitable, in view of the war situation. The conscientious objector minority, however right it may be or may feel itself to be, must face this fact. Every member of this minority, when called upon to do so, must consider his position in relation to such possible bias.

In the two cases mentioned, the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal was most just and betrayed no prejudice. This characterised the conduct

(Continued on Column 2.)

THE DREAM

By the Rev. R. H. LE MESSURIER, B.A.

(Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London).

"Same again, Miss."

"Golly! Whot d'ye think ye're mide of? Blottin'-piper?"

Harry Harman forced a smile, though inwardly he was seething with anger. What business had the fat old barmaid to hint he was drinking too much! He'd have what he liked. And as long as he paid for it, there was no need for her to pass remarks about it. Anyway, he hadn't had much. Only two pints. And beer was like water nowadays.

She deposited the overflowing, third pint on the counter, swept up his florin with wet hands, rung up the amount on the cash-register, and clapped his change in a pool of beer by his glass.

"On leave?" she queried, affably.

"You ought to know better than ask."

"Orlright, orlright. Keep yer 'air on. Only tryin' ter be civil."

She turned away. Harry picked up his pint, crossed the bar, seated himself by a small table, and commenced his drink.

He was fed-up—fed-up with himself—fed-up with everyone and everything. Curse it, what was wrong? He'd never been like this before. Of course, he'd been always highly-strung. That meant he got irritable at times, and sometimes even lost his temper for a bit. But he soon recovered.

This was different. It was a black mood he couldn't shake off. He'd got up like it. He'd got angry because his bath-water wasn't hot enough. Then his bacon hadn't been properly cooked, and the tea was too weak.

But Eileen's letter had been the last straw. She'd come dashing in with it just when he'd discovered there wasn't enough marmalade.

"Oh, Harry!" she cried excitedly, "Look. It's from Mum. She's coming up to Town this afternoon, and wants to stay overnight."

That finished it. Harry lost his temper completely, and shouted at Eileen. He could still see the surprised look on her face when he began, and the dismay in her blue eyes as he said cruel things, spiteful things, hurtful things to her. In all the two years of their married life they had never had a quarrel.

"What the hell does she want to come here now for? Why can't she have the decency to stay away? I've got only a few days leave, and I want my home to myself. Why does your mother want to come barging in for?"

"Harry!"

"You're just as bad yourself. I come home for a few days fest and quiet. And you're more excited about having your mother than you are to have me. Oh! yes, you are. I'm supposed to be fighting for my home, and when I get back to it, it isn't my own any more."

"Harry! Don't shout so. The windows are open. The neighbours . . ."

"Dam the neighbours. Let 'em listen if they want to. I don't care. Can't a fellow say what he likes in his own home without having a crowd of curious neighbours listening to every word? The neighbours! All you care is about everyone else. I don't come into the picture at all. You don't care anything about me. . . "

"Oh, Harry! That isn't true. You know it isn't true."

But he went on raging and storming at her, lashing himself into a furious temper, shouting more and more loudly. Eileen grew white and cold before his eyes. Like a mad dog he attacked the one he loved best. Then, to end it all, he stamped out of the flat, down the staircase, and out into the street.

It was only after he had walked for miles that the storm died down at all. Then he had turned into a public-house and drank two pints of beer, defiantly, in a vain attempt to bolster up his self-pity.

Curiously, the drink soothed him, and gave him a detached sort of feeling. It seemed as if he were watching someone else. He was looking at another Harry Harman losing his temper and quarrelling with his wife. This observer-part of him knew that he was in the wrong, that there was no truth in his wild extravagant accusations, and that Eileen was the best wife any man could possibly have. This rational part of him knew he would have to apologise to Eileen sooner or later.

Still, another part of him was pleased over the whole business. He had asserted himself. He had fought for what he wanted. He had increased his self-importance. He was somehow more manly. And to climb down now would be to revert to childishness.

So he was restless and divided, torn between reason and passion. And the cool drink helped to reconcile the conflicting tendencies in him. He wanted to go home and make it up with Eileen. But he wanted to give her a lesson, too. Yet the sands of his short leave were running out. To-morrow he would have to report back to his unit. And he knew that before long they would be off on another raid on occupied France.

The last one had been thrilling. Harry recalled the quiver of excitement, the funny little thrills in the pit of his stomach, the quickened breathing he had experienced as their barge grated quietly on the French sands, and the men had leaped silently on to enemy territory. Each knew his job, and went about it silently and efficiently. Harry's job was to find and dispose of any sentry who might be guarding the radio-location building near the town which was the Commandos' main objective that night.

Crawling quietly in the darkness, Harry had quickly spotted his man. Making a detour, he had come up in the shelter of a side wall and approached the corner at the end of the sentry's beat. He waited quietly till the German turned about to retrace his steps. Then he sprang.

Unfortunately, the Nazi heard him, and turned in time to knock the upraised knife out of Harry's hand. The two closed, and now were fighting desperately in hate-filled silence. Harry knew that one shout of the sentry would give the whole game away, and he sprang for the German's throat. They fell, clutching each other in a fierce embrace. But Harry was on top. In spite of the German's struggles, Harry felt his fingers close about a hard throat. He pressed and squeezed, forcing his knees into the other's stomach in order to wind him. A fierce feeling of power swept through Harry as he noticed the German's struggles were lessening. He renewed his grip on the now softening throat, shook it violently, and almost cheered as the creaking, gasping breath died down to its last death-rattle. It was the first man Harry had killed, and the wildly exulting sense of superiority upheld him for the rest of the raid.

Funny, it was the same feeling which had flowed into him when he was shouting at Eileen.

He returned to the flat at six o'clock, after spending three hours aimlessly wandering about the streets. All the time he was fighting himself.

Apologising to Eileen was easier than he had expected. He just went up to her, knelt by her chair, put his head on her lap, and said, "I'm sorry."

Her forgiveness had been instantaneous, too. "That's all right, Harry. Let's forget about it."

"I don't know what came over me."

"Never mind, darling. I expect you were tired."

Her arms were about him. They kissed passionately.

"Forgive me, Eileen?"

"Of course, darling. As long as you love me, I don't care what happens."

"I do love you, Eileen. I don't know what . . ."

"Hush, darling," her hand closed his mouth. "It's all right now. We're together again. Besides," she giggled almost gaily, "Mum decided not to stop, after all. So forget about it, and let's start again."

They did. Eileen was brighter and gayer than he had ever known her. And soon he was laughing and joking just like old times.

Then they went to the cinema.

"I'd like to see 'Next of Kin,' Harry," said Eileen after a riotous supper.

"What on earth do you want to see a picture like that, for?"

"Well, it's all about a Commando raid, and I want to see what you boys do on a raid like that."

He smiled grimly. No cinema could give all the details. Still, she wanted to go.

She clung to him very tight in the cinema.

"Oh, Harry!" she said afterwards, "I'd no idea it was as dangerous as that. Anyway, thank God there weren't any spies to spoil the two you were on. And you came back safe and sound."

Home once more, Eileen was gay and loving, Harry penitent and at peace. Their love swept them along, lifted them to pinnacles of bliss, and at last brought them, exhausted to sleep in each other's arms.

Harry dreamed. He saw again the spy he had seen in the film. Saw him creeping up to Eileen, who didn't know he was there. Harry tried to warn her, tried to shout. But he was held fast, and no sound would come. The spy reached Eileen. She screamed. Harry fought with whatever was holding him. At last he was free. He jumped on the spy. Grabbed him by the throat. Eileen still screamed. Harry fought harder. Again he felt his fingers in a throat, felt the ridges become soft and limp, heard the agonising breath of the man he was killing. Then Harry seemed to roll over, exhausted, as the man died.

He woke up, trembling. God! what a horrible dream! He wiped the sweat from his face, as he realised he was safe at home with Eileen. Dear Eileen! how he loved her!

What time was it? He reached up and snapped on the light. One o'clock. He looked at Eileen beside him.

God in heaven! What had happened? Swiftly, sickeningly his mind took in the details of what he saw—the swollen, purple face . . . the crushed and bruised throat . . . the protruding tongue. God! What had happened?

He tried to rouse her. Failed. Called her name wildly over and over again. Looked round the green-and-yellow bedroom to see who had done it.

Then, suddenly, he knew. The dream had been no dream, after all. In his sleep he had . . . he had . . .

God! O God! This is terrible. God! what could he do now? The police! . . . But they wouldn't believe his story . . . The neighbours, they'd heard the quarrel—was it only yesterday morning? They'd tell the police. God! he would be hanged. Even if they believed him, they would think he was mad.

Suddenly he knew what he must do. He got up, closed the window and the door. Working feverishly now, he tore up his shirt and stuffed the pieces into any crevices. He

pulled the gas-fire away from the chimney and closed the register. He turned on the gas without lighting it.

Then, with a terrible, ghastly sob, he threw himself on Eileen . . .

The Pulpit to the People

Our comrade, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, B.A., Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras with St. Jude, adds to his fearless exposition of Socialism and Pacifism in his "Weekly Leaflet" to his parishioners for December 6th, 1942.

Dealing with the Reformation and the Higher Criticism, he says:—

My Dear People,—The Reformation in the sixteenth century was as much a political and an economic movement as it was a religious one. The abuses within the Church were conveniently used as an excuse to revolt from her steady, unifying and international influence. So the main attack was directed against the authority of the Church. But the Reformers were sufficiently astute to see that the new form of Christianity, which was to be used to support the nascent nationalism and capitalism, must have some form of authority.

It was in the Bible that such authority was now found. Up to the Reformation the Bible had been considered as the Church's book. It had been written by churchmen for churchmen, as the result of the Church's corporate experience of God in Christ. The books had been selected by the Church. In fact, the slogan "the Church to teach and the Bible to prove" was the rule for sixteen hundred years.

Now that was gone. The Bible—thought of as somewhow mechanically and verbally inspired, was to be the front of all authority. And its interpretation was now to be left to the individual, whether he knew much about the Bible or not.

It is obvious that such a position is illogical, when one considers what the Bible is. And so the advent of Higher Criticism in the 19th and 20th centuries easily destroyed this unnatural view of the Scriptures. The result has been the discrediting of the Bible and the decline of all authority in Christianity whatever. Indeed, this was quite inevitable from the assumption that anyone could wrest from the sacred writings whatever meaning they liked.

It cannot be too clearly stated to-day that no one can appreciate and understand the Bible unless he is in some sense sharing that Christian experience from which the Bible sprang. No non-communicant, for example, can possibly understand the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel. No man living as a member of a privileged class in our modern society can enter into the meaning of the prophetic writings. No man who does not to some extent know and love God can appreciate the full meaning of the Pauline Epistles, to say nothing of the Gospels themselves.

What then is needed? First a clearer understanding on the part of the Church of both her experience and her authority. Too often the Gospel is watered down to suit the susceptibilities of worldly semi-Christians, especially if they hold high positions in the State. The Church must recover her rich experience of the newness of the life in Christ. She must begin once again to teach and not apologise for the Gospel. Then, and only then, will the world listen.

Your servant for Christ's sake,

This is an interesting statement. The author's comments on the chaotic state of private judgment challenges discussion, thought, and criticism.

Comrade Le Messurier turns to the consideration of the Beveridge Report. He writes with much clarity and boldness. We commend his criticism to every worker:—

The publication of the Beveridge Report at this time is a symptom both of a national guilt and of the sickness of our capitalist system. The old tags "the Devil was sick, the Devil a Saint would be", is perhaps the best commentary that can be made on the Report by one who longs for a Christian social and economic order.

Two points must be remembered: (1) the Report is not law, and already the reactionary forces in the country are being mobilised to prevent this—the same forces now accepting a fascist regime in North Africa, in Spain and elsewhere. (2) no amount of ambulance-legislation can make up for the one thing needed to prevent casualties in the economic order. Nor can it be offered instead of the necessary replacement of that order by something more Christian. The full adoption of the Beveridge Report must lead to the abolition of capitalism, which is but one aspect of Nazism or Fascism.

The world struggle is between this and some form of socialism. That, at least, is becoming clearer each week. There can be no compromise between them on a world wide scale. And I am persuaded that the events of the last month have brought the spectre of civil war in this country a bit closer than ever. I believe that the Beveridge Report will appear in history as the watershed dividing the two opposing streams now struggling for world position and power.

This struggle is not against one or two men—Hitler and Mussolini—but between a class in each of the belligerent countries and the whole peoples of the world. Such a thought will clear up many of the strange anomolies which we see in the midst of the war to-day. The attempt to pin the blame for the war on one or two men will mean that the real criminals—those who have used these men and thousands of others for their own advancement—will escape to plot another day. The so-called temporary fascism in N. Africa must become permanent or lead to revolution. And Italy may be the field of our next compromise. What does our dear Lord think of it all?

HUMANISM IN AMERICA.

We have received the following interesting letter from Dr. Lowell H. Coate, M.A., Ph.D., President of The Humanist Society of Friends, 2405 West 23rd Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Aldred:

It was indeed a delight to receive a copy of the September issue of "The Word." It certainly strikes a clear note and, may I say, a Humanistic note. I will gladly exchange magazines with you, sending you our "Humanist Friend", a copy of which is enclosed herewith in response to your generous invitation to "give full publicity to the activity of each and every local of the Humanist Movement in the United States."

I shall try to contribute my bit toward further "setting you right", as Dr. Charles Francis Potter puts it in your September number. I would say that the chief difference between William Floyd and Dr. Potter is that Dr. Floyd does not claim that his "Arbitrator" is the official publication of the Humanist Movement in America, while Dr. Potter does claim that "The Humanist" is such an official organ.

"The Humanist" is the official organ of the American Humanist Association, but that cannot be said to be "The Humanist Movement", for Mr. Floyd's "Arbitrator" is appropriately designated "A Humanist Monthly" and very definitely represents an important section of the Movement.

I also may be permitted to add that the "Humanist Friend" magazine represents another very definite section of the Movement known as "The Humanist Society of Friends" (Quakers) which is incorporated under the laws of California as a "Religious Organization" and as such is authorized to issue charters anywhere in the world. It has about fifty (50) Ministers in many different states and hundreds of members throughout the United States. The "Humanist Friend" is the official organ of this Society which is enjoying a splendid growth in the midst of the serious war emergency.

There is also "The Humanist World Movement", of which more will be heard in the near future, and which is entirely separate from the various sections of Religious Humanism, it being non-sectarian and purely educational in its programme.

Again thanking you for this opportunity, believe me. Sincerely and fraternally,

LOWELL H. COATE.

Los Angeles, Cal., October 27, 1942.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I had a show-down recently with the National Union of Agricultural Workers, Surrey County Committee. A large number of C.O.s are in the Union and are fed up with their conditions, but don't quite know what to do about the land treatment of C.O.s. Am doing my best to show the way and believe that I am making some progress.

There's nothing like "The Word" for a tonic. Even the Four Square Gospellers are straying from the party line after reading it.

With best wishes for another 40 years.

Yours fraternally,

KEN BRYAN.

Croydon, Nov 11, 42.

Dear Guy,—I have read the Duke's speech in the House of Lords and also his "Why Have This War." I think "Why Have This War" is the finest exposure of British Capitalism that I have read. If every household could be supplied with this magnificant pamphlet, this war of dead-end ideas for the common people would terminate speedily enough. There would be a dead stop to the plague of murder. Never has so few deceived and betrayed so many.

The Duke's speech in that rabbit warren of scared interests and ambitions, the House of Lords, is nectar. You might as well try to talk sense in a trade union branch as in the chamber of the great. The effect would be the same.

I am critical of the Duke's failure to come to grips with the economic question. He strenuously avoids urging any semblance of equality. This naturally makes me conclude that he believes that the rich and poor will exist still in future society. I cannot agree, as I think that equality must be established, and the distinction of rich and poor abolished for ever.

The Duke is opposed to the Government ownership of the land. I may consider this merely an amelioration and I might not think that Government ownership is the same as Socialism. But there must be social ownership of basic economic monopolies and the social wealth given to man by nature. I think that the Duke is in error in not coming forward boldly in defence of Socialism. It is a pity that he does not feel the need for clear action here. With the Labour Party committed to war and capitalism, he would become the great liberator of the common people.

Nevertheless, the Duke is championing the greatest cause of mankind: stop war and mind our own business. For his splendid and uncompromising opposition to war and to this war, he commands, and will command always, my profound respect. People do not get time to live to-day. This fact enables the dictators to add to our agony. The wrongs of war are piled on to the wrongs of wage-slavery. If only we would pause to regard ourselves as individuals, we could see that we are stronger than our exploiters. Ignorance of what really exists and occurs constitutes our real chains of captivity. We are the shackled prisoners.

Yours Sincerely and Fraternally,

WM. JENKINSON.

Hanwell, London, W.7.

Dear Sir,—Thanks for publishing such a cheap, interesting, and open-minded paper. Best wishes and kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

A. J. H. SANWAYS.

London.

Dear Comrade,—Allow me to pay a tribute to "The Word." I have taken it for a long while now; and as an Atheist-Anti-War Socialist, I greatly appreciate the publication of such a fine journal. May you go from strength to strength. Best wishes in the struggle.

Fraternally yours,

DARYL HEPPLE.

Gateshead, November 23.

Dear Comrades,—Guy Aldred's ideas are so full of truth, that all his writings are worth reading again and again. Particularly did I like "Dogmas Discarded", where his evolution of thought during his younger days so closely corresponds to my own.

With best wishes in the common struggle.

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED H. SHIPWAY.

Southall, Middx., 13/11/42.

Dear Sir,—I have come into possession, recently, of two issues of "The Word", and find them so eminently satisfying and stimulating, that I wish to become a registered subscriber. The two issues to

hand I regard as the finest value for money ever known.

As a non-party student of politics-finance-economics and sociology. I do not particularly like your status as "an organ of the United Socialist Movement." I want to know what is a Socialist, who and what are the United Socialists, what precisely and exactly are their objectives and by what authority your paper is constituted an organ for such movement. I prefer, in fact to regard "The Word" as your own organ, in the words of your own claim, owned, edited and published by Guy A. Aldred.

The words of your Slogan, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity are to me as meaningless abstractions as "Socialism", "Fascism", "Communism", etc., etc., around all of which there is so much woolly and wishful thinking.

However, having read very closely and carefully the two issues in hand, I find myself in almost perfect agreement with the views expressed. Whilst, as I have indicated, I have no party allegiances or leanings, I have a considerable respect and regard for the views and philosophy and for the splendid courage of the Duke of Bedford, whose Social Credit views and ideas are shared by myself. I greatly admire his firm Pacifist stand. I have also a considerable admiration for that gallant fighter for true Democracy, Mr. F. W. Jowett and regard him and Maxton as being representative of a very small minority of our professional politicians who have any sincerity. As for the so-called Socialists, who are, or have been leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party, I have nothing but contempt and pity; contempt for their lack of principle and pity for their lack of moral courage and strength of purpose.

Whilst I am an Atheist, a Sceptic, a Secularist and a Rationalist, I can respect the Christian views of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, because, unlike the mass of professing Christians he takes a stand consistent with what are generally claimed as Christian principles.

As a Pacifist—on logical, humanitarian and political grounds as distinct from religious grounds, I have had the unusual experience of being dismissed from the Army during this period of hostilities. As a Regular Reservist Officer I was recalled to the Service shortly after the outbreak of war. I had thought that my liability was terminated by reason of age limit, or would have resigned my commission.

Without seeking deliberately to be a propagandist, I determined to express and to defend my pacifistic and humanitarian views whenever and wherever involved in discussion and conversation. After many months, I was brought before a General Court Martial on several charges, including sedition, incitement to disaffection, political agitation, propaganda, conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, etc. In spite of my objections, the Court was held in camera. After two days of proceedings, almost entirely taken up by the prosecution, it was impossible to sustain the more serious charges, but I was found "guilty of making a statement calculated to create unnecessary alarm" and "guilty of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline."

During the final opportunity afforded me by the Plea in Mitigation. I took the opportunity to conduct pacifist propaganda, pointing out that, at all times, as a Rationalist and a Freethinker, I was primarily concerned with the search for truth and determined to stand for the truth as and when I knew it. I intimated to the Court that their finding as conveyed to me, indicated that I had been found "Guilty of **telling the truth.**" I was Cashiered.

I shall look forward to reading further the lucid and logical expression of pacifist opinion from your excellent contributors.

Wishing you health to continue the great work you have undertaken, and to your organ the success it deserves in opening the eyes of the blind to the utter futility and insanity of war, and to its inevitable consequences and aftermath of hatred and enmity, and of political and economic intrigue.

I am, yours faithfully,

H. DAY.

Bradford.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been most interested in reading two issues of your excellent paper, "The Word." I bought one copy at a recent "Famine Meeting" at Trafalgar Square, and another at the South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall. Unfortunately, in London, it is very difficult to secure regular copies of "The Word", and I am, therefore, enclosing one year's subscription for 3 copies to be posted to my address.

I have been interested in the fine courageous efforts on the part of the Duke of Bedford in his uncompromising stand for the pacifist way of life. I read his first two speeches that he made in the House of Lords, and was impressed greatly by the noble efforts to spread the pacifist faith and secure a saner outlook from the public, that is being constantly weaned by subtle propaganda from every direction.

Wishing you every success.

Yours sincerely,

WILFRED E. BEDFORD.

Upper Tooting, London, S.W., 12th Nov., 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—For some time and for some strange reason I have been receiving from somewhere your wierd publication called "The Word." At first I didn't mind because I figured that each copy sent to me was one that would not reach someone more susceptible, but now I have begun to think of what it might mean to be known to receive such a subversive paper and feel that it would be better if I did not receive any more copies.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD B. KING,

Minister, First Universalist Church.

Junction City, Kansas, U.S.A.,

Oct. 29, 1942.

Whoever has mistaken Mr. King for a man and a thinker will please note his request. A Christian Minister should give no heed to the opinion of the world of Caesar. He should fear neither the Gestapo nor yet the F.B.I. Surely, in a democracy, one has the right to read all literature! Is not such freedom of thought and reading the essence of Christian thought and an expression of democracy? Mr. King sends me a manifesto he issued on December 17, 1941, after the United States had declared war. In this manifesto he speaks of the adoption of the American Bill of Rights on December 15, 1791, and dares to write of free speech, free press, religion, and assembly. Mr. King should read the great and immortal Jefferson on subversive literature and he should endeavour to be worthy of the fathers of the American Republic whom he quotes with approval precisely because they are dead and enjoy static reputation. He has lost touch with their dynamic spirit. He should re-read Jesus on the dead burying the dead.—Ed.

Dear Sir,—Could any of your readers enlighten me on the question "What are we fighting for?" Everytime I switch on the wireless or open my paper, I am led to understand, it is for freedom. Yet, in the last war I shed my blood, and helped to kill other human beings, on the Flanders Fields, not only in the belief that I was fighting for freedom, but that the rising generation should never know the horrors and bestiality of war. Now I find my own son, torn from my side, conscripted and crucified in a like manner, his soul not his own, but just the property of the Government. The same dope is being served out to him in the shape of "This Freedom" and the promise of a better world.

As a disabled ex-Serviceman, my experience of war, has left me a comfirmed pacifist. God never intended man to kill, maim or destroy, that which he has created. The attitude of the clergy in war-time is beyond my comprehension and one cannot but admire the faithful few who still cling to the cross instead of the sword.

Retribution will overtake the church, when men return and settle down to sanity. They will have no room in their hearts for the hypocrisy being preached at the present day. I am convinced that if the church had made the stand she should have done in war-time, we should be much nearer a better world than what we are to-day. There are many who, having passed through war, have the courage, and courage it does need in these days, to denounce that which is a crime against God and man. Yet war receives the support of Archbishops and the blessings of the Church.

E. S. DANES.

Birmingham.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I am rather interested in how "The Word" is the focal point for all sorts of apparently contradictory interests, ranging from atheistic anarchism to hierarchic Christianity.

Everyman has to live according to whatever revelation is permitted to him according to his family social contacts. Your own conception of the universe for instance is derived largely from Christian philosophy. Yours is a nature which needs no fetters to keep it from going astray. Your freedom is really limited by the ideas of justice and brotherhood, which as I have opined, are outsprings from the teaching of the Church. To come round to the opposite end of the circle of thought, there is much to be said for the Catholic idea of conscription of religious thought by means of dogma, ritual and Papal authority, when applied to the average man, who lacks the rational outlook, and if un-guided would drift into the chaos of war and international anarchy—which he has done.

I believe that if mankind followed sincerely and with faith, the teaching of the Church, then social justice, or the Kingdom of God upon Earth, would follow.

I have been studying the Catholic point of view and have been impressed by the insight of the Papal encyclicals into the problems of war and individual freedom. For instance, the danger of State control is recognised, and in place of the Marxian idea of making everyone proletariats, so that no one has anything except through the state, the Catholic believe in the necessity of private property, because it is only by the individual having something that he can call his own, that he can resist the power of the state. Of course to say private property to some socialists is to wave a red rag.

I believe in private property and the importance of the family. For this reason I am much attracted to the socialism which aims at public control over the big monopolies such as finance, transport, minerals and land but also allows freedom for industry and commerce to develop with the freedom, variety and elasticity which can only be secured by private enterprise. Profit in the sense of the securing increments which really belong to the community, would be abolished by private control—but the true profit which is the reward for enterprise and hard work would remain and be the touchstone of whether or not a business was successful, i.e. whether it served a demand or not.

I am thinking in terms of a man who has struggled to get a small factory going, and not the man for whom enterprise means a successful swindle on the Stock Exchange, or those hereditary classes who live out their lives on per cent. from investments.

I can see now the dangers of a certain type of socialism whose cry is nationalise this that and the next. It is possible to learn from experience.

I do not know why you deny God, when there is all the evidence of his power working in you. It may be a reaction from certain unrealities in human conceptions of religion. It is a revolt against a society which used the other-worldness of religion as a sanction for their material progress. In other words, by surrounding religion with a mystery which promised the poor suffering here and heaven above, they could get on with their materialistic schemes. I have often felt this. I have been studying the Catholic theology and philosophy, and it is only necessary to read what Leo XIII. said about the working classes in the '90s to realise that in the Church we have a strong bulwark against oppression.

In England the Church has been too much entangled with the State, and in fact become part of the great profit-making system, to be taken as the type of Christ's Kingdom. The Catholic Church on the other hand is independent of the national State and universal. In its published writings it is possible to find a complete answer to all the social problems. If the lives and works of the Humanists such as Thomas More, are studied it will be seen that it is possible to combine rationalism with faith which is beyond reason.

Reason can never establish the basis of faith, it can only work out the implications of it. It is possible to work out a rational case for war but the faith basis would be power, not love. You have made out a rational case for freedom and brotherhood, but the only basis I can see for that lies in the Christian conception of the fatherhood of what we call God, and as a corollary, the brotherhood of man.

With best wishes.

THOMAS MILLAR.

Norwich, Nov. 16.

Dear Guy Aldred,—It seems a far cry from the rural quietude of the Lincolnshire Fens to far off Glasgow which sounds such a busy hive of industry (and, incidentally, suggests a spot where comrades may meet and talk and plan for a better future); but, thanks to you "The Word" steps in and links us up making us a part of the great chain that is, at once, a power now and a challenge to the future.

A friend sent me "the Word" for a year as a birthday gift and now I am asking you to send it for the coming year.

When "The Word" first arrived I was a war-weary and disillusioned person, sick of the shams of the Labour Party, for which for so many years I had toiled, and from which I had expected so much, and feeling there was neither faith nor sincerity in any movement.

This was intensified by the attitude the Churches took, as I happened to be a member of the Methodist Church here and act as organist.

Well, along came "The Word" and by the tone of sincerity and the commonsense articles contributed by the Duke of Bedford, your own numerous contributions breathing out truth and hope to despondent comrades and last, but not least, the letters from comrades everywhere I am lifted out of the Slough of Despond and feel I am, once again, part of a living, fighting movement.

I was reading, last night, of your musings on looking back over the years and I mentally compared your humble summing up with the words of St. Paul as he sums up his past "I have kept the faith." Don't you think the Labour leaders of to-day (if they have the courage to look deep into their own hearts) wish they had your vision and your conscience. I am sure they do.

This letter is a humble attempt at thanking you for what you and your paper mean to an isolated comrade; for through the medium of "The Word" I am inspired to a greater belief in the future and am cheered by the knowledge that there is, with me, so great a crowd of witnesses.

A scribe of old tells us — "the word came and dwelt amongst us." Please, Guy Aldred, will you bring this quotation up to date by sending "The Word" to dwell in a humble Lincolnshire cottage?

Thank you so much for your gifts, and the uses to which you have put them, and thank you for "keeping the faith."

Yours most sincerely,
(Mrs.) MABEL HOWARD.

Boston, Lincs., 7/12/42.

Dear Sir,—Your mention of a woman conscientious objector, a Catholic, serves as a reminder that there exists a considerable body of Catholic opinion in Britain, wholeheartedly opposed to the present conflict.

The Catholic Principle, if put into **practice**, would necessarily imply both Pacifism and Social Reform. Unfortunately the hiatus between principle and practice is apparent in this as in other matters. Catholics who realise the issues involved should vigorously support any genuine form of Socialist or Pacifist effort, thus helping to counteract the propaganda of a type of person, all too familiar, who uses and dishonours a name to which he is not entitled. Petain, Franco, Mussolini and their gang are good examples of the type I have in mind.

I am quite aware that your excellent paper is unsectarian in outlook, but as you are also an impartial "forum" I trust you will find space for this expression of opinion.

Yours fraternally,
F. R. MORRISON.

St. Andrew's Club,
Whitehall Court, London, 17/12/42.

[Many letters have been held over to our February issue.—Ed.]

UNDERMINING WAR PROPAGANDA

The most important problem at present confronting men and women of intelligence and good will is that of finding an effective method of undermining war propaganda. Many have at times felt tempted to regard this task as almost hopeless. It has seemed as though events must be allowed to run their course, since only through the hard lessons of experience will light be made to penetrate into minds darkened almost unbelievably by the poison of Press and radio.

Yet when "events running their course" means the sacrifice of many splendid and useful lives, we cannot rightly sit back as mere spectators of the tragedy. A considerable percentage of the victims of propaganda-poison were, in pre-war days, not only kindly but also sensible people. Unless we are prepared to acknowledge evil as a greater power than good, there must surely be an effective antidote to propaganda and it is up to us to find it, for most certainly we have not found it yet.

I should welcome from readers of "The Word" practical suggestions based on the test of experience, of lines of approach which have proved successful, so that in time we may be able to fashion an instrument really adequate to our task.

I should be also particularly glad to hear criticisms, especially hostile criticisms, of the policy of wise diplomacy which I have advocated in some of my recent writings.

BEDFORD.

[Letters addressed to the Duke of Bedford at this office will be forwarded to him. Those who wish may write to him direct: THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, CAIRNSMORE, NEWTON STEWART, WIGTONSHIRE, SCOTLAND.]

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"THE ABSENT CHRIST"
by The Rev. R. H. Le Messurier.

In **"THE ABSENT CHRIST"**, Mr. Le Messurier offers his readers poems which give the impression of having been written out of the very heart of war, revealing its true nature as a Christian should see it. He speaks out of the shattering hell of the blitzing of a big city, without bitterness, but also without "drawing the blinds down" against the hideousness and stark tragedy of its effects. He beholds this flaming, insensate fury, and looks at it steadily, with the deep-seeing eye of the spirit, and knows that Christ is **not** "Supporting its efforts, inciting to madness, Counselling slavery that men might be free."

Writing during a raid:—

No God above
Created this unhallowed hell,
To torture His creation dear.
No God of love
Designed for man a fate so fell
As man himself, close gripped by fear,
Invented on his own.

Mr. Le Messurier makes it very clear that, having faced and experienced this ugly, evil thing, the only way to conquer it is by love and never by revenge. In "The Spirit of War" he writes

Begone, foul spirit! Not with earthly force
Will I attack thee. That were but to spread
Thine error, and increase thy bloody sway.
For love alone will change thine evil course,
Abate thy power and crush thy brutish head.
So will I love, and dare to love, for aye.

I can gladly recommend **"THE ABSENT CHRIST"** (Price 1/9, post free, from New Vision Publications, 47 Argyle Square, London W.C.1.) both to pacifists and to their non-pacifist friends.

BEDFORD.

SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN

The Government of Britain
A war for Freedom made;
To help the Poles beat Hitler
Our forces are arrayed.
So—they bomb the little children,
The women and the children,
They murder little children—
And call it a Crusade.

Our lads are sent on night raids
To give the Nazis hell;
To smash their war production,
And smash their wills, as well;
So—they bomb the little children,
The women and the children,
The little German children,
The tyrant's power to quell.

"And how does this help Poland?"
The thoughtful may enquire.
Our P.M. says it's bound to,
And surely he's no liar!
So—they bomb the little children,
The women and the children,
The old, the weak, the children,
And set their homes on fire.

O gallant men of Britain,
So plucky, brave and true—
Our hearts are well-nigh breaking
For what you're made to do!
You bomb the little children,
The women and the children,
You murder little children—
What does it mean to you?

And when the war is over,
Its furies passed away,
The hideous bombing silenced,
Will men of Britain say:
"We bombed the little children,
The women and the children—
But WHY did all these children
Have such a price to pay?"

E. F.

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EDITOR'S REPORT

In our appeal last month, we stated that £1,500 was needed to keep the paper and press going. Unless that was forthcoming, the paper would have to close down. If it was given, no more appeals would be made for 12 months. The actual sum during December was £80. With the £50 acknowledged last month, this makes £130. We wish to end this appeal and we do not want to waste space on a long story. We are struggling on for another month, since our paper was exhausted last month, and there are continuous calls for issues long sold out. Will every reader PLEASE MAKE AN EFFORT and so give us what we need this month: another £1,370. Our circulation is large and this could be done. Either this help must be forthcoming or our work must cease.

VICTOR WALKER

Dear Comrade,—I am writing to you in connection with the death of my brother Victor Kenneth Walker, following shortly upon his release from Prison, where he served a sentence of 12 months as a result of his conscientious objection based on Socialist grounds.

The Central Board of Conscientious Obectors published a statement on the subject, in their "Bulletin" as did "Peace News."

The original Medical Report contained a passage in which the Doctor stated, "in my opinion Victor Walker has had heart trouble for a number of years."

We, who knew Victor, were sure that this was not the case, and as a result have been challenging this "opinion" We now have a very different report in our hands from the doctor who carried out the Post Mortem.

The whole case is a great outrage and demands the greatest publicity. Victor age 25, was a real stalwart fighter in the Socialist movement. He entered prison vibrant with life and vitality and was released a human wreck, just able to crawl home into bed where he stayed till he died 3 months later. During this time he had 2 doctors, 1 specialist, and was in 2 hospitals. I might add that while in Prison I, personally, complained to the Governor, but nothing was done. These brief notes do not in any way do justice to the case, and I suggest that if you consider dealing with the case, you should publish the full details.

In passing, I would like to mention that I have seen some statements from C.O.s, recently gathered by Charles Harding, of Catford. They show up the prison Medical system in a way that has made my hair stand on end. They are so bad that several C.O.s have decided to form a new organisation to be known as the prison Medical Reform Council.

This Council is taking charge of all the statements in my brother's case. I suggest that all who are interested in the facts, should write to The Secretary, Prison Medical Reform Council, Roger Page, 12 West Park, London, S.E.9.

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD WALKER.

THOSE BOLSHIE FIGURES!

In my article in "The Word" for December, what appears to be a printer's error is found in the fifth last paragraph, thus, "Thus Stalin says 3,500 Germans dead, Churchill says 2,000,000 German dead, and Hitler says 271,000 German dead."

The figure as from Stalin should read 3,500,000, and NOT 3,500.

Since that article was written which gave the official Soviet figure of German dead, wounded and prisoners in the German-Russo war from June, 1941 to June, 1942, as standing at 10,000,000, there has appeared in the press MORE AMAZING NEWS. In the STOP PRESS of the evening papers for 3rd November, 1942, and in all the morning journals on the 4th November, it was reported that "George Alexandroff, Propaganda Chief of the Central Committee" had stated in "Izvestia," that "Ten million Germans have been killed or put out of action on Russian Front since the war began."

Ten million was the OFFICIAL figure at end of June, 1942, and now at the beginning of November it is still ten million, no more, no less. All of which is an OFFICIAL ADMISSION BY THE SOVIETS that since June not a single German has been killed, wounded or taken prisoner by the Bolshies.

What will Communist propaganda in this country be telling us next?

ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE.

THE FUTURE:

Resolutions or Revolution?

By ANNESLEY G. ALDRED.

Once again the fulness of time brings us to the threshold of yet another year. And as we stand there, well into the fourth year of yet another ghastly war, we may well wonder just where we are going to head for during that year. It may be that the events of this year will decide the future of mankind for many years to come, and, if that be so, it is imperative that we should throw off our mental lethargy and spend some time in considering who is going to have the say in the shaping of that future.

It is traditional, with the advent of a New Year, for one to make a number of most pious resolutions with the object of ensuring that one's life shall, in future, be quite blameless. Nor does the knowledge that there is not the slightest intention of adhering to them detract one iota from the feeling of righteousness which pervades as they are made.

Strangely enough at the present phase of the war, with war-weariness creeping over even the most perfervid of "patriots" it is becoming almost equally traditional for the political "New Era" resolutions to be placed before us also with a great show of unctious righteousness. And so they have, once more, been carefully dusted and polished and placed on show so that mankind may take a glimpse at the wonderful world we are to have once the war is won.

Unfortunately in spite of the spring-cleaning these resolutions still bear a tarnished and faded appearance. Then too there are those who recall that those same pledges are still owing from the last war, and perhaps the war before that. There are even some who have had the temerity to ask for some clear indication of the Government's intentions after the war.

And so, on Sunday, 29th November, Mr. Churchill replied:

"Certainly the most painful experiences would lie before us . . . if we fell to quarrelling about what we should do with our victory before that victory had been won."

No doubt it was his considered opinion that such a solemn warning should be sufficient to stop anyone from asking again for some indication of the basis of the peace which, we are to believe, is to prevent the horrors of war from being visited again upon mankind.

Nevertheless one cannot help feeling that the picture thus presented is over full of contradiction. On the one hand we have the picture of the "Knights of the Round Table" fighting for the freedom of the peoples of the world—Britain, America, Russia and, in a small voice, China. The champions of liberty marching forward shoulder to shoulder. Then we have the picture of those same champions quarrelling amongst themselves how best to share the produce of the world amongst its inhabitants so that all get a fair share. Surely a strange reason for quarrelling — or could it be, perchance, that what they are really discussing is how to share the loot?

With such a vision before one it would be excuseable to begin to doubt how, then, a peace treaty which is a basis for a lasting peace can be framed. But, fear not, for has not Mr. Churchill anticipated that doubt and, before even it could be expressed, replied to it too. Here it is, from later in the same speech:

"It may well be that the war in Europe will come to an end before the war is Asia . . . It seems to me that should the war end thus . . . there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles. Then the danger had passed away. The common bond between the Allies had snapped. There was no sense of corporate responsibility such as exists when victorious nations, who are masters of one vast scene, are most of them still waging war side by side in another."

Behold the solution! Perhaps the greatest political conjuring trick of all time. The way to make a lasting peace is to make the peace treaty whilst still engaged in fighting somewhere else. Of course, that means that no lasting peace can be made in the Pacific because by the time that Peace Conference comes the rest of the world will be at peace!

It is, however, a pity not to give such a magnificent effort a second chance so perhaps it is not too late to suggest that the alternative would be to frame the European peace aims whilst the Pacific war is still on and frame the Pacific peace aims whilst the European war is still on.

The logic of his own argument is, in fact, irrefutable. If there were the slightest intention of making a peace for the benefit of the mass of the people now would be the time to state those aims. But, of course, there is no intention to state such aims for the whole business is a shoddy, shabby fraud and deception.

Somehow, then, we have got to make it clear that we want our full voice in the shaping of the world that we, and our children, and our children's children, will have to live in. Somehow we must make certain that we **do** have that voice.

But as certain as it is that we must have it, so certain is it that the Government are determined that we shall not have it even through the medium of the completely petrified machine at Westminster.

It has long ben inferred that there will be no election for at least two or three years after the end of the war. The feeble remnants of the Labour Party are finding that their leaders are, one by one, being bought over, used, discredited and discarded—a double insurance that when the time comes there will not be any voice powerful enough to raise itself in protest, nor yet will the Labour Party be able to disown a share of responsibility in the sell-out.

It is true that two days after Mr. Churchill's speech the ragged rump of the Parliamentary Labour Party made a belated effort, under the third-rate leadership of one of its ex-Cabinet Ministers, to restore some of its lost prestige by moving an amendment to the King's Speech, demanding a statement of the Government's war aims. But even that motion was not pressed, and in any case the size of the majority, ensured if need be by the Tory Whip, made it a very safe thing to do. For it is already nearly twenty years since the Party learned, under the leadership of their arch-prevaricator Ramsay MacDonald, the tactics of demanding when in opposition reforms which they would not dare to sanction when in power.

It was during this debate that Sir William Jowitt, whose political cloak must now seriously rival Joseph's coat of many colours, outlined what one Tory rag was pleased to call "The Shape of Things to Come after the war."

And it was also whilst the debate was still in progress that the Beveridge "red herring" was finally brought into the light of day.

"Capital", said Jowitt, "must be ready to seek new opportunities, labour to be more fluid, the Government to help in both directions." And then, after foreseeing "years of very good employment" he added "After the period of brisk employment in war the people will not accept the view again, that a prolonged period of unemployment is inevitable."

Meanwhile Sir William Beveridge was piously recommending an insurance scheme guaranteeing a minimum basic existence for all. He fixed the £2 per week for unemployment, so we are told, because he thinks **it is the very least a man and wife can live on!**

One London evening paper commenting on the report gave "some representative opinions." These emanated from the following:

Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M.P.
Sir Edward Mountain, Chairman of the Eagle Star Insurance Co.
Mr. Percy Rockliff, Secretary of the Joint Committee of Approved Societies.
Lord Latham
Sir Harold Webbe, M.P.
Mr. L. C. White of the Civil Service Clerical Association.
Sir Ian Fraser, M.P.
Dr. A. Welply, Secretary of the Medical Practitioners' Union.
Captain Somerset de Chair, M.P. (Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Oliver Lyttleton).

The opinion of Mr. "Billy" Brown, much published during the "London can take it" campaign, one of the chief "benificiaries" under the scheme was, presumably, held over owing to lack of space.

Captain Somerset de Chair gave a most interesting comment:

"This plan promises what we young Conservatives have always demanded—a square deal for the working man within the existing social and economic framework, instead of some Utopia on the further side of an economic torrent."

Therein lies the crux of the whole matter. With every lie and trick and decoy the workers must be fobbed off until the "old firm" has securely re-established itself. You will get a square deal "within the existing social and economic framework." The same old business but, just to cheer you up, they will put an "Under Entirely New Management" notice in the window.

The Governing class knows, only too well, wherein their moment of danger lies. For centuries the workers have, literally, marched shoulder to shoulder to fight wars they do not want and which bring them nothing but degradation, misery, starvation, disease and death, as the masses of Europe know only too well at this moment. For centuries they have allowed themselves, in peace-time, to be divided by all the artificial barriers of race, creed, colour and craft. It is the transition period from peace to war which, without doubt, provides the greatest menance to the present rotten economic structure. The danger that ere the workers forget that they have died shoulder to shoulder they may decide that

". . . we no master need;
To live upon this earth our own
In fair and manly deed."

Time presses and soon the choice will have to be made. A choice that may well mean the difference between stepping back a hundred years or moving forward a hundred years. The choice between a real peace or the ever-recurrent horrors of war. The choice, in brief, between the shallow, deluding Capitalist Resolutions and deep, purposeful, all emancipating Workers' Revolution.

OF HUNGER LET US SING

Of Hunger let us sing,
Praise the Lord for its mad pain.
Not the Hunger of the belly,
But the Hunger of the brain,
The Hunger that makes Mortals dare
To build a world that's bright and fair.

The Hunger that makes pale men strive
To solve great mysteries,
The Hunger the reformer feels
To build his Paradise,
The Hunger of the poet
Who would deathless Beauty make,
Ay, thank God for raving Hunger,
And the pain that makes hearts break.

JOE CORRIE.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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THE SOWER

"OUR CAUSE"!

A STUDY IN "COMMUNIST" CANT AND RANT

"The Daily Worker" does not like the Strickland Press. But then it never liked the Bakunin Press, of which the Strickland Press is but the direct continuation, without any break or interruption of Socialist, Pacifist, and Revolutionary activity.

"A Worker's Notebook", in its issue for December 22, 1942, devotes its opening paragraphs to a denunciation of our activity. We make the following excerpt:—

Among those sources of anti-Soviet propaganda, whose efflux seems to seep around pretty widely, is the Strickland Press, of Glasgow.

This institution, which owes its existence to the legacy of Sir Walter Strickland, is administered by an anarchist-pacifist, Guy Aldred—of repute not unknown at least to older members of the Labour movement.

The Strickland Press publishes a periodical entitled "The Word." Its remarkable variety of propaganda lines include pacifism, anarchism, Trotskyism and social credit.

Here is a collection of samples from the current issue:

"The recent Moscow celebrations, and the references, for war alliance purposes, in the capitalist Press, throughout Britain and the United States, to Stalin as though he were creator of the Red Army are nauseating to those who believe in truth as a pearl beyond all price."

Unsigned book notice.

"We are entirely opposed to Stalin and do not believe the enemies of Stalin are, of necessity, the enemies of Soviet Russia."

The editor (Aldred).

Compared with past attacks upon our activity, this comment is mild. The unsigned book notice clearly, as the paper states, was written by "The editor (Aldred)." Our contemporary omits all reference to the book reviewed. Why? Was the work unanswerable. The quotation from "The editor (Aldred)" was a necessary introduction, very brief, to a long essay from the pen of our comrade, F. W. Jowett, defending the Soviet Union against a short comment on the Soviet-Nazi pact we had published in an earlier issue. **Jowett was allowed the final word in defence of Stalin and the Soviet.** Our explanation was to make that fact clear. Why did not our critic say so? But does the fact that we permitted comrade Jowett to defend the Soviet, without replying, make us a Stalinist?

"The Daily Worker" proceeds to quote from Alexander Ratcliffe's criticism of Soviet casualty figures in his article "Falsehood in War Time." It styles Ratcliffe the leader of Protestant Action and states that his propaganda appears little different from that of Catholic Action. If Ratcliffe's analysis is false, or if his facts are stated wrongly the columns are open for a reply. This is a free and democratic journal. Not one of the contributors is sacred. We want the truth and if the truth is with the Soviet in this matter, our columns wish to record the fact.

Under a sub-heading "Defeatist Duke", the critic turns from Ratcliffe to the Duke of Bedford. He says:—

Defeatist Duke.

Defeatism is represented, in the organ of the Strickland Press, by the writings of the Duke of

Bedford. In his "War Commentary" in the current issue of "The Word", he unashamedly uses the Allied success in North Africa as basis for advocating negotiation with the Nazis.

Then follows a quotation in which the Duke pleads for the forces of reason to make a peace approach. The critic adds:—

In his summing-up of the situation which fills him with such hope, the Duke complacently counts Russia out, as "largely crippled!"

What, ho! cripples of the Don!

A Lavish Press.

There's money in this Strickland Press. I have an interesting collection of half-a-dozen of its pamphlets, printed, in these days of paper scarcity, in astonishingly expensive style.

The heaviest, glossiest paper, in covers of high quality, is used to embalm the views of the Duke of Bedford—truly ducal style, in fact.

And just why should wealth be free now to sabbotage our cause?

We have nothing to say against the tragic heroism of the Soviet defenders, who, by the way, are becoming quite an orthodox army, with commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and signs of rank on their uniform. But when the history of the struggle is written, might it not be discovered that British and American supplies have played a tremendous part in the Soviet battlefield? The heroism is there, and also the tragedy. But how much thanks is due to the bureaucratic dictators and organisers of the Republic? Also, let it not be forgotten, that the Nazi host is entrenched still in Soviet Russia, even though its days may be numbered.

The remark about money comes ill from the Communist Party, whose remarkable changes of point on all questions, from tactics to principle, have been dictated by subsidies. We need not go into that story now, which has been discussed thoroughly in the past by the present Conservative Capitalist colleagues of the "Communists."

If our press is lavish, it is as our press has been since we started it in 1906, unsubsidised and uncontrolled. Our propaganda is above bribery and cannot be corrupted. Our press is not lavish in itself but only in relation to our means. Actually it is today as it has been always, a rather poor affair in actual staff and machinery.

We like "The Daily Worker's" phrase about wealth sabotaging **our cause!** Was "The Daily Worker" suppressed for its loyalty to our cause? Did it support **our cause** so long as the Nazi-Soviet Pact was not violated? The answer to these questions are known. They are factual and present a daring study in zig-zag opportunism and corruption. Why has not "The Daily Worker" consistently supported **our cause** since the declaration of war in September, 1939?

We have on our desk, as we write, copies of "The Scottish Daily Worker" for these dates: December 7, 9, 11, 12, 1940; January 13, 16, 17, 1941. Would our critic like us to quote from these issues at length to prove how little loyalty was shown to **our cause** by "The Daily Worker" and the "Communist" Propagandists?

And here is a quotation from "The Daily Worker" for May 14, 1940, attacking the landing of British Forces in Europe:—

On this day British working men, on the orders of the capitalist Government, face death and wounds in Belgium in the biggest and most murderous international gang fight of capitalist society that has ever been seen.

Was this loyalty to **our cause?**

In the "Labour Monthly" for December 1940, Harry Pollitt wrote:—

Labour's own daily ("Daily Herald") hails Churchill as Britain's man of destiny. That is the measure of Labour's shame, a betrayal of every principle of Socialism and Peace.

He wrote much more to the same effect. This extract is sufficient to demonstrate Harry Pollitt's loyalty to **our cause!**

Those who wish to know how well "The Daily Worker" and the "Communists" have defended **our cause** should read the I.L.P. pamphlet by Thomas Taylor, "Defend Socialism from the Communists." At no time has the Communist Party stood for principle or pursued a policy of service to mankind. The Communist Party is the most disgraceful and most corrupt episode in world politics. Its members are the most despicable and unprincipled hirelings the struggle of the classes, and the oppressions of Imperialist society, have produced. They pioneered the terrorist mentality of Fascism and they reduced the propaganda of Socialism to a verbiage of cant and hypocrisy. They combine the gifts of parrots with the instincts of vultures and so prey ceaslessly on human suffering. The Communist Party is the Russian Counter-Revolution retarding the struggle against capitalism. It has spread disease throughout the working class movement. Decent men and women everywhere should view its activity with horror.

To-day, we offend the subsidised organ of that party of corruption because we have "a lavish press!" Actually, as stated already, we have nothing of the kind. Let any worker inspect our press and see for himself. One monthly paper. A lavish press! What nonsense! But does "The Daily Worker" columnist recall the attack he made on us on September 13, 1930, under the caption, "An Anarchist's Epitaph?" It rejoiced then in the fact that we were without money and bankrupt. We were very poor because of our quarter-of-a-century of tireless propaganda, and so the stooges sneered! Now they think we have "a lavish press" and write, in opposition, but more politely. What knaves! What sycophants!

THE IMAGE OF GOD

[The following poem was published during the last war. Its author only became a Labour M.P. many years after the war, partly because of his opposition to war. We reprint the poem without permission as a reminder to poets not to inspire anti-militarism ideals and then, with dull careerism, turn pro-war.—Ed.

I slaughtered a man, a brother,
In the wild, wild fight at Mons.
I see yet his eyes of horror,
I hear yet his cries and groans.
We met on the edge of the trenches,
Where murder, in crimson, rode.
When swish went my blade to his stomach.
I'd slaughtered the Image of God.

We'd never in anger quarrelled.
We never had met before.
But someone had dreamt of conquest,
And we had to buy it with gore.
Perhaps he'd a wife and children,
Through whose hopes and dreams he strode,
With the pride of a king in his empire.
An heroic Image of God.

And I asked myself the question,
As I saw in his glazing eyes:
"Am I my brother's keeper?"
Till the sod I trod on cries:
"You made his wife a widow,
Made desolate her abode.
Your thrust made his children orphans.
You slaughtered the Image of God."

The cold, cold stars keep blinking,
And the winds make moaning sighs.
Men worship me as hero, and laud me to the skies.
But I keep on thinking dully, till my heart gets like a clod,
Of the thrust I made in the trenches
That slaughtered the Image of God.

JAMES C. WELSH.

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SOCIALISM AND MONETARY REFORM

Dear Guy Aldred,—As a Socialist there are one or two things I would certainly agree with in Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe's suggestions for monetary reform. There is no doubt that the banks with their financial prestidigations have a powerful stranglehold on the life of the community and the taking over of the banks will be a very necessary step on the part of any Socialist Government. But the banks like any other essential feature of our community lie in the hands of the ruling class, and the Government to-day is there to protect and safeguard their control and privileges, a control and privilege which has its basic expression in profit-making. Now as I understand—the labour theory of value is that surplus value is created by the worker and stolen from him by the ruling class. Now actual wealth—money has no value in itself—is raw material plus labour power, which can be used either in transforming raw materials into things useful and necessary to the life of the community, or expended in labour service necessary to the running of that community. What is the relation of this actual wealth to so-called money wealth? My knowledge of finance is confined to my pay envelope, but still I would like to ask a few simple questions about it.

When the gold standard crisis was at its height, prominent statesmen and so-called responsible editors were shivering in their shoes at the approaching, as they thought, national disaster. All this terror and gloomy prophecy was occasioned by the separation of the pound from the gold standard. When this threat did materialise without the subsequent catastrophe, the very gentlemen who had shivered in their shoes so much, now expanded their chests and shouted financial hallelujahs, crying "It's the best thing that could have happened to the country." Curiously enough whilst this grave financial problem was being decided, the railways continued to run, the mines to turn out their usual quota of coal, the baker's ovens their supply of morning rolls — this before and after the prophesied catastrophe. Apart from its affect on foreign exchange, which is merely finance again, this crisis of the gold standard, had no real basic connection, apart from superficialities, with the capacity of the community to produce real wealth and to run the necessary services. The pound was once based on gold. What was the connection between gold and real wealth? The gold was taken away, what is the pound now based on? And if it was on any new measurement, what is the relationship, between this new measurement and ultimately the pound, with real wealth?

It seems to me that if money is to have any real value it must be based on real or potential wealth, and as long as that real wealth is kept in the hands of a minority, and assuming, that money is actually based on real wealth then it is difficult to see how the ruling class would allow its representatives to create new money for the purpose of enabling the community to buy the surplus products, which glut the markets and fill the warehouses to overflowing, far less clear the debts of approved enterprises, unless that new money in itself was again based on real wealth, so that the capitalist would feel that instead of getting a lot of useless pieces of paper in return for his goods, he was getting something of real value. It is only a Socialist Government, as far as I can see, that can adjust a sane and serviceable system of exchange between producer and consumer, whether in the form of a pound note or a labour note, because the wealth of the country being in the hands of the people, and a Socialist Government being the real representatives of the people, it is only then by a proper assessment of supply and demand, that a Socialist Government by creating new labour notes, credit notes or any other kind of note, can solve the problem of overproduction, thus allowing the wealth produced by the community to return to the community. The new notes would be based on the actual surplus wealth of the community, and there would be no danger of obstruction from a minority of interests who controlling the actual wealth of the community, would regard the issue of new money as worthless pieces of paper, giving them no return in real wealth.

As I said earlier in my criticisms of monetary reform, I am not a financial expert and these are just a few of the problems which present themselves to my mind as a Socialist.

With best wishes, I am, yours sincerely,

A. FRASER DUTHIE.

Aberdeen, December 17, 1942.

[A strong Socialist article on this subject by Isaac W. Braithwaite will appear next month.—Ed.

UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH

62 Kingston Crescent, Portsmouth.

Minister—CHARLES H. COLE.

Services Sunday at 6.45

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy Aldred,—You and the Duke of Bedford have your kingdom right at your hand when you require anti-war propaganda. Indeed your office itself is in a slum building which I believe in all conscience to be one of the very worst in Europe. So that if you begin to develop the slum-problem here you are in on a vital theme which in the nature of things is bound to outlast the war. Thousands of people are interested in this housing problem. Indeed there are thousands now undergoing sleepless nights thinking of it.

Why should house-building be left till after the war? Surely it is an immediate war aim? Why not invite the bombed-out survivors of Clydeside to write to you for publication in "The Word?" They could and would tell us all something. In a week or two the agitation should assume such proportions as to counteract the war-propaganda effectively and progressively.

Even before the war the housing problem was a grim one here, and now it is something of real importance to the entire community. I'm certain myself it is the most important problem for the people here and elsewhere. Nearly everybody would be immediately interested here if only you'd set the demand in motion. That is, perhaps, why I doubt, with all respect, if you'll touch the housing problem here with the proverbial barge-pole.

Fraternally yours,

ALEXANDER McARTHUR.

Glasgow, C.5. January 5, 1943.

Dear Sir,—Please discontinue sending any further copies of "The Word" to my house — cancel the remainder of my order.

I cannot tolerate your unkind attitude to Russia any longer, and far from distributing the copies received this morning, I have handed them over for waste to the refuse man.

No wonder your appeal for funds finds no support —when you understand that the people's heart and mind is with Russia, and that Russia alone is fighting this terror of Nazism—when you stick to your guns as an atheist, and not allow the publication of the religious dope, but use your paper to remove the silly superstition and rot from the people's minds, encourage the sensible and only way—then and then only will we rally and support you.

Meanwhile I have stuck it as long as I can, please strike my name from your lists.

Yours faithfully,

H. J. GRIFFITHS.

Rhyl, Flintshire, June 6, 1943.

P.S. This article by Kaikhorsu Shapurji Sorabji is about the last straw—if you cannot help Russia, you can at least keep quiet, still I do not think your paper now carries much weight amongst the masses.

[This sort of thing happens to all radical journals. We are grateful to our friend for his intolerance and inability to reason. It provides an admirable study in "Communist" and military psychology. The refuse men made good use of "The Word." As a result of their research, we now have 20 personal subscribers in Rhyl that we did not possess before the public employees of Rhyl took a hand in the game of circulation. And one comrade has ordered 50 copies to be sent to him for circulation. Congratulations, Mr. Griffiths!—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—As one of the subscribers to "The Word", I would like to say how much I appreciate its fine matter and stand against the most horrible violence of these days. The contribution, "The Cure", by the Rev. Le Messurier was terrible beyond imagination. Had he indeed such a revolting experience in his own memory? War is a series of such things. Is it more wicked or more absolutely silly? That is what I am asking myself always.

I should like to know how you regard the question of vivisection and animal research, of which the most advertised branch, just now, perhaps, is Immunisation —so-called.

You will remember, perhaps, the Tail Waggers' Case. I was the defendant. But I shall know, to the end of my days, that I ought to have brought it off.

Do you not think that our exploitation of these living beings—animals subject to experiment and then slaughter—is fundamentally allied to all human exploitation. We have grades of importance: animals; less important humans: then the experts and the great. But it means greed, selfishness; in short, materialism!

Yours sincerely,

BLANCHE A. WATSON.

Hull, Yorks.

Dear Guy Aldred,—"The Cure", by the Rev. Le Messurier, is terrible, but needed to be said. I feel that the crime and horror of war hardly can be exaggerated, when we consider the awfulness of the weapons employed, and the blasphemous hatred and the violence of the thought that is being broadcast today.

I feel dreadfully sorry that "The Word" should be jeopardised for want of money. I only wish that it were in our power to help. Alas! it is not. I do think, though, that it might be better known in Hull and neighbourhood.

My sister and I wish you every success in the great work you are doing, and we hope that many who are able to come to your rescue will do so.

Yours sincerely,

Hull. ELEANOR WATSON.

Dear Friends,—The literature I received from you recently—i.e., "Richard Carlile", "The Devil's Chaplain", and 'Dogmas Discarded"—has proved most interesting. One point has puzzled me since reading Carlile. How is it, that, although Richard Carlile and Robert Taylor, were persecuted for propagating their views and publishing banned works, they were allowed, when in prison, to continue their writing, and to have published, material similar to that which had led to their prosecution. Can you explain?

With Best Wishes to you all.

Yours sincerely,

STANLEY H. ELLISDON.

Ilford, Essex, 17/12/42.

[This matter has been dealt with in "The Word" and also in "The Spur." Our comrade ought to read Leigh Hunt's account of his imprisonment. Carlile was imprisoned before the Reform Act. It is absurd to think that, in these days of alleged democratic parliamentarism under alleged "Socialist" Secretaries of State, political prisoners and prisoners for heresy and blasphemy should be treated worse than such prisoners in the days of Castlereagh and Eldon. It is a fact, however, and an indictment of our "Socialist" parliamentarism.—Ed.]

Dear Guy,—I was discharged from Lincoln Prison yesterday, December 19th, after serving 4 months of my 6 months' sentence. I served the whole of the sentence at Lincoln.

I wish to thank you for the publicity you gave to my case in the October and November issues of "The Word."

During my imprisonment, I had plenty of time for thought and I left prison more convinced, than ever, of the righteousness of our cause. Yes, I am a firmer Socialist and Pacifist than I was at the time of my sentence.

Prison is a most unpleasant experience. It is very, very unpleasant at times. But I have found that, inspired by a good cause, one's principles prove firm and confidence develops in oneself. The inconvenience and persecution promote an understanding sense of humour, and soon there is nothing to fear.

Until my imprisonment, I felt that it was a privilege to be associated, in a very small way, with the many grand comrades, of both sexes, all ages, and all ranks and conditions, who constitute our great movement of witnessing for the sacred cause of humanity and peace. To-day, I feel more privileged, as having a real place in this movement, since I have been called upon to suffer for our principles. Yet I am aware that, by comparison, my experience is mere dust and ashes. Still, I have witnessed and I am honoured that you recorded so faithfully my stand. I will try to deserve the publicity you gave me.

I do not regret having taken my definite stand as a Pacifist and a Socialist and an opponent of all war.

I remain, in the struggle

Yours fraternally,

NORMAN LEVERITT.

Spalding, December 20, 1942.

Photograph reproduced from a story in "The Daily Mirror."

FATHER & SIX SONS ALL CONCHIES

On page 76 we publish a letter from our Streatham Anarchist comrade, Alfred C. Toye. Comrade Toye and his six sons were all born, in a manner of speaking, to the profession of optics. Each served an apprenticeship to Sight Testing and Spectacle Making as City of London Apprentices, and have received the Freedom of the City in recognition of service to the craft. Alfred, Charles, John, Albert, Henry, Stanley, at the outbreak of the present war, each had his own Professional Practice at Streatham, Dagenham, Twickenham, Wembley, Hounslow and Putney. Their professional status did not cause them to repudiate their principle of war resistance and opposition to capitalist Society when the time came to avow their views.

Dear Guy Aldred,—The enclosed letter I received from an anonymous writer who as you see signs himself as an "Englishman." It shows you to what extent victimisation will go even in these days of so-called enlightenment.

Amongst the more obvious mistakes the writer has made, is the fact that we are by no means a "safe" area having received our share of bombs and casualties, etc. Also, he seems ignorant of the fact that I am a lorry-driver pressed into National Service, i.e., Agriculture, and that I had to get the shop managed as best I could under the utmost difficulties. The fact that I have been on the dole twice and experienced pawn-shops, etc., perhaps accounts for the fact that I am disinclined to close down a business I have built up through much travail, much as he would be overjoyed to see me do so. Needless to say the letter came without a stamp (5d. to pay).

This letter from "An Englishman" will give readers an idea of the sort of people they may come up against in "The New World!"

Yours sincerely,

W. S. KAY.

Bramley, Surrey, December 17, 1942.

LETTER RECEIVED BY COMRADE W. S. KAY.

Dear Sir,—I understand that you belong to the Peace Movement and have been exempted from National Service on grounds of conscience. I would like to make it clear to you that almost everyone in Britain is a Pacifist by nature and outlook—but, when a race of brutes in Europe rise and would rob us of our lives and freedoms, we are justified in resisting them. When this same race massacres and mutilates tens upon thousands of men, women and children, we are doing a Christian act in bringing them to book.

If, however, there are amongst us a few—a very few—thank God—who have no courage, who have weak and flabby minds, who hide behind protestations of disturbed consciences at the thought of physical war—then those few miserable and useless persons should hide themselves with their shameful and cowardly thoughts.

That you and your family have the audacity and hyprocrisy to keep a shop open and make as much money as you can from the outcome of war, is surely an indication that your blood is of water and your colour yellow.

To add to this infamy you do not hesitate—with your family—to broadcast your wretched little ideas to your customers.

The writer is taking it upon himself to inform the authorities on the matter. Not the local ones—but those actually in authority in the highest places.

In conclusion I would consider it a salutory lesson if you were transported to an area where death and desolation reigned, where lives and homes were destroyed frequently, but where the inhabitants shewed infinite courage and demanded retaliations, e.g., Plymouth, Coventry, etc.

There your miserable little souls would surely find shame, and perhaps a very latent spark of manhood and womanhood assert itself.

I do hope that you do not also degrade the name of Christ by dragging Him in to cover your weak and cowardly professions.

In the meantime thank your lucky stars that you are in the safest area in England and that millions of our men are protecting you.

From "AN ENGLISHMAN."

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I would like to tell you that my wife and I are reading your book "Why Jesus Wept." It is a fine piece of work, splendidly written; and there are many passages of nice perception and subtle expression. The section—"The Philanthropist", which I read aloud to my wife last night, is, we think,

the most true and beautiful tribute to the real greatness and goodness of Jesus that we have read.

All good wishes.

E. E. BRISCOE.

Hever, Kent, December 16, 1942.

Dear Comrade Guy,—I must thank you for Strickland's "March of Homicide" and Carlile's "Jail Journal", which I am now reading. Both authors are powerful champions of Liberty, and your own life follows closely in the footsteps of Richard Carlile.

I am much inspired by reading "Jail Jottings." Carlile undoubtedly had much understanding.

I should like to see more space given to Anarchist thought in "The Word"—articles on Bakunin, Malatesta and Durruti.

With all good wishes for the coming New Year and sincere Socialist Greetings.

SIDNEY KAYE.

Rickmansworth, Herts, 28/12/42.

Dear Comrade Guy Aldred,—I have received the beautifully bound copy of "The Word." It is a wonderful book and I wish that every worker might have a copy at his or her elbow: what a storehouse of wisdom and courage. It is a treasured volume and I turn to it again and again with real happiness and pleasure.

Last night I read your article on "Militarism and Woodlands", and I was so moved by it that I re-read it to my husband. There was no need for apology in reproducing such an article. I felt the pathos and the pity of your position at the time when you wrote. And I was moved almost to tears by the beauty and sadness of your reverie; but at the same time I felt filled with the bitterest resentment against the puffed up fools who could shut away genius and attemp to break its spirit. Surely you, as well as Jesus, have known the bitterness of Gethsemane and almost the loneliness and friendlessness of Calvary.

When I read the shoals of letters you receive I am so glad you have so many appreciative friends but what a pity that when you needed help the most, your so-called comrades were missing!

This brings me to my reactions to your ideas expressed in your essays, especially "Why Jesus Wept."

I don't think I'm so much shocked as annoyed, yes annoyed at myself for my laziness in not thinking things out more honestly. I don't think I've ever really thought seriously about Jesus as a revolutionary simply because he has never been presented in precisely that light to me.

My real idea of Jesus has been some one to whom I could reach out when needing inspiration and solace and I have felt (rather as the Duke of Bedford suggests) that without the living Jesus, I could never achieve anything worthwhile or be able to deal with tiresome people with kindliness and justice or overcome my shortcomings; he has been, and is, what you would term a "prop" to bolster up my acknowledged human frailty.

I find, on re-reading "Why Jesus Wept", that I like the portrait of Jesus you present there much better than the hazy one I had formed before. When stripped of the foolish fripperies which have draped his life and character, your Jesus is a lovely and lovable man, and I like him with his understanding of the poor and downtrodden, and his desire to give them a fuller life, much better than the ethereal figure we have been accustomed to.

Your words and phrases are inspired by the understanding of one who, too, is inspired with love for suffering humanity and it is only one who has himself known the bitterness and loneliness of sacrifice who could deal so sympathetically with the character of Jesus,

I haven't bothered much about God for a long time. I have thought, I must admit, what a horrible person he must be if one has to lie down and fawn at his feet promising to reward him for a life that is none of our own choosing for the air we breathe and for all the things which are part of our human life, but most of all his failure to respond when we approach him and his general air of aloof superiority.

Curiously enough, I hadn't pictured him as an earthly king sat upon a throne with a few favourites round him, deaf to the cry of the poor and oppressed as you portray him. But I realise that is the kind of god we have had thrust upon us, an exact replica of the human kind: as you suggest in your quotation from Emerson, a picture of the meanness of man's mind in its most corrupt form.

I thought your definition of tears was most beautiful. It brought home to me the tragedy of the life of Jesus more forcibly than I have ever known any account of his life to do. Bitter tears are the symbols of pity and understanding and I feel that your essay has made me realise the significance of that terse sentence "Jesus wept."

I have to confess that I have never read Carlile, and I do not know much about his character and works. I am anxious to read your biography of him.

May the blessings of the workers bear you up and keep you, never lonely but aware of our thoughts of you is the warmest wish of yours most sincerely,

MABEL HOWARD.

Boston, Lincs, 28/12/42.

[Comrades who are interested in our views of Jesus should obtain "Why Jesus Wept" and "The Rebel and His Disciples." On the evolution of Christian doctrine they ought to read our "Historical and Traditional Christianity." The first pamphlet is 6d. and the other two are 4d. each. Postage is 2d. extra in each case.—Ed.]

My Dear Guy Aldred,—The Glorious Gospel of Discontent, has been my love since a boy. I recall the days of Karl Marx, William Morris, Prince Kropotkin, Louise Mitchell, Blatchford, Ingersoll, Annie Besant, G. W. Foot, John Burns, when we met and sang in chorus "The Carmagnol," William Morris's inspiring songs, and "Bonny Annie Lawrie", in memory of the 7 Anarchist martyrs of Chicago. That rebel Gospel of Discontent was my life's young blood and now in my declining years it inspires me still. I feel sure I shall be true to the gospel till death and I am no less sure that, one day, mankind will dwell in commonweal and freedom.

I am the proud father of six sons, all Conscientious Objectors. I enclose a picture of them together with myself taken by "The Daily Mirror." We are all opticians.

As paradoxical as it may seem, my adherence to the Gospel of Discontent has given me in my old age a contentment that passes my understanding. When I die, I shall leave behind eight confirmed anarchists, six sons and two daughters. One of the girls is also an optician in her own practice.

My attention was drawn to your publication "The Word" at a family Christmas party. We all went out for a drink when one of my sons said, "here is an old Socialist, dad", introducing a stranger. It took but a very little conversation for me to learn he was one of the old school—an Anarchist. On leaving we invited him home for a song round the fire. He sang two good old comic songs, and then said: the price of the books is two pence," and brought out about a dozen copies of "The Word." Midst our laughter and jokes he soon sold out. Then I discovered he knew the tune and the words of an old song that I knew well. So we sang a duet and this was it:

Steer wide of the poison of the press,
Leave your grand old mass-leaders alone.
It will pay you for your pains,
If you'll educate your brains,
And do a little thinking of your own, your own, your own.
Yes, and do a little thinking of your own.
When leisure and pleasure will be free,
When hardship and hunger will go,
When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,
And the landlord is somewhere down below, below, below,
And the landlord is somewhere down below.
Then it was the boys' turn.
A jolly good song jolly well sung
Jolly good company every one.

That took me back to the old days for a few minutes. My musing must have been noticed somehow, for one of the boys pointing at me, said: "Die-hard is himself again." Then came a great big Christmas laugh from all the company.

Yes, I have had a jolly Christmas and I feel grateful to "The Word" for reviving old memories. With an old man memories are the real thing on which he lives. For the young man, potentialities constitute better fare.

Let us hasten the day when the vision of "The Word" will be translated into visible creation of a new and true society. I enclose my subscription. Please see that I get "The Word" regularly. Put me in touch, if you can, with any Anarchists, Pacifists, and genuine Socialists in or near Streatham.

Fraternally and eternally yours,

ALFRED C. TOYE.

Streatham, London, S.W.16., Dec. 28, 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been in the habit of regularly reading "The Word" for some time now, and I must say I thoroughly appreciate this astonishingly outspoken organ of the United Socialist Movement. But I understand from your appeals that you are desperately in need of funds if you are to continue to publish this paper. Now, I would not like to see the publication of this unique paper suspended for lack of funds. But the unfortunate truth is, that being only a common or garden land worker, I just haven't any spare money to give to your cause. But what I do suggest is that you raise the price of your paper to cover the cost of its production. Personally, I would be quite willing to pay anything up to 6d. a copy, although I am poor. I honestly think it is worth more than we pay at present. I think you will be forced to do this, unless some wealthy Pacifist admirer of the paper gives you the necessary funds.

Yours faithfully,

H. J. KEEBLE (Junr.)

Woodside, London, S.E.25, 29/12/42.

Dear Editor and Friend, — I am a conscientious objector and I wish to become an annual subscriber and reader of "The Word." I am a lover of Christ; therefore for me there is no hope for this dark world but in the Light of Christ. The Duke of Bedford, I believe, has come in contact with that Light, and in it he has found courage enough to stand against the perpetrators of war sin. Against reason, truth and sanity, which is the work of those who love darkness. Yes, I take my hat off to him and say, "There is a man who is fit enough and strong enough to lead us in the name of Christ to peace and in peace."

Oh for men like the Duke of Bedford. I have read most of his pamphlets and his speeches, and again I say: "Thank God for such men, they are few and far apart.

I must thank you too for your good work, and stand for peace. We may differ in our beliefs in Religion but for peace we are brothers under the skin So I say, if I may, keep up the good work. Believe it or not the moral fight against war, against political corruption, which involves the lives of millions is the highest moral fight possible. The moral fight is the work of Christ, for He was and still is the Prince of Peace, the Counsellor, Leader and Saviour of mankind: not excluding the German, Italian and Japanese.

Yours faithfully,

D. G. LODWICK.

Briton Ferry, 29/12/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Please accept my belated Xmas Greetings and also £5 (note) towards the upkeep of "The Word" which is doing such good work in keeping alive a spirit of real democracy.

During the last war, when I was a boy, whistling the jingo national anthems of the "Allies" of that particular war, any press reports of yourself gave me the impression that you were some sinister figure that lurked in the shadows to destroy everything that humans hold dear. Even the pale pink Ramsay "Mac" was called a Red Firebrand. Shades of Truth!

All this goes to prove of course that even if the grand case you put up so consistently, in "The Word", only converts one person each issue it is doing good work, especially if every convert is a live wire. I personally maintain the Christian Pacifist position and appreciate the fair way you deal with all expressions of opinion however contrary to your own.

I must remain anonymous while giving money, and as a receipt you can acknowledge through "The Word" to:

Yours sincerely,

"MANUSCRIPT."

Edinburgh, Xmas Day, 1942.

[Other letters, a great volume all meriting publication, and from all parts of the English-speaking world, are held over. Some will be published next month. "Three Wigan Busmen" sent a donation and an encouraging letter requesting that "The Word carry on.—Ed.]

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THE QUINTESSENCE OF BERNARD SHAW. By Henry Charles Duffin. Reduced to 2/6. Post 4d.

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A PATH TO WALK ON

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

(*Concluded from page 64.*)

It has been pointed out earlier in this article that a peace-settlement reached as a result of wise diplomacy would secure for each party important gains but would of necessity also involve some sacrifices. The Democracies, in addition to preserving the lives of thousands of their finest men and, it may be, of many women and children as well, would secure the deliverance of conquered and occupied countries. They would also have an extremely effective fourfold defence against possible future acts of aggression—the defence of just treatment of the Axis people which would deprive their rulers of the propaganda weapons necessary to secure support for a new war; the defence of a capacity to exploit to the uttermost the unpleasant memories of war-sacrifice in the minds of the Axis people; the defence of very thorough safeguards, based on adequate facilities and supervision and on the actual performance of undertakings; and the defence of the power of their own armaments to give protection or enforce a threat in the event of treachery or misconduct. (I am of course aware that Pacifists, of whom I am one, are sceptical as to the value of such "defence" but non-Pacifists attach the utmost importance to it.) In regard to the freeing of conquered or occupied territories, the point is perhaps worth bearing in mind that the inhabitants of some of these territories might prefer not to be under the control either of their present or of their former masters. The people of the Ukraine, for example, might wish to be independent alike of Soviet and German rule; but, provided that they were not exploited, an arrangement might be reached which allowed Germans and non-Ukrainian Russians facilities to assist in the development of the natural resources of the country and to obtain thereby reasonable advantages for their own people in accordance with the general plan for the fair sharing of the world's economic resources. An important point often overlooked is the fact that, provided natural wealth is developed, the actual ownership of an area of land is a comparatively minor detail; what do matter infinitely more **are the arrangements which decide who is to be allowed to buy the goods produced from the land, when these are placed on the market.**

A somewhat similar arrangement to that suggested for the Ukraine might possibly be arrived at with regard to Burma, that country being granted her independence, but facilities being allowed both to the British and to the Japanese to assist in the development of the country with a better regard than has hitherto been shown for the rights and welfare of the native inhabitants.

Some conditions might even be laid down with regard to the liberation from the worst forms of injustice and oppression of minorities living within Axis territories, but if this were to be attempted, it is clear that the Democracies, also, must be prepared to show equal consideration to minorties under their own control.

So much for the very real gains which the Democracies might achieve—gains embodying the most essential elements in practical victory. They would, however, need to make certain sacrifices, not unreasonable in view of the gains. Their offers of fair treatment in the economic field would have to be genuine offers and once and for all they would have to cut adrift from men and policies restricting, in the interests of money-lending financiers and Big Business monopolists, the production and distribution of the world's wealth.

They would also have to be prepared to forego the exaction of reparation payments. These, however superficially attractive to the moral sense, have in practice proved difficult to collect and very unfair in their incidence, falling most heavily on persons with little or no responsibility for the war. Moreover, if the choice were offered to the citizens of the conquered or occupied countries whether they would rather have peace and freedom now on fair conditions but without reparations; or further years of war with a doubtful chance of reparations at the finish, their vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of the former alternative. A far better arrangement than any form of reparations would be co-operation by the belligerents on both sides in restoring prosperity to countries which had suffered most severely through the war. The Democracies would also, of course, have to forego the chance of putting enemy war criminals on trial, as well as the very burdensome and very expensive "satisfaction" of occupying Axis countries and educating their youthful inhabitants.

The gains for the Axis, which would be both an inducement to their leaders to accept the proposals of wise diplomacy and a powerful weapon to use against the leaders with their own people if they decided to reject the terms, would be a fair share of the world's economic resources; freedom from the hostile actions of International Finance; freedom from the danger of any military alliance operating unfairly; relief from further war casualties and war damage; and the chance to go ahead immediately with plans for post-war reconstruction.

The Axis would, however, have to restore political independence to occupied or conquered countries and, subject, of course, to receiving the economic advantages already mentioned, relinquish some of the plans they may at present entertain for the definite annexation of areas whose populations do not desire their rule.

Citizens of the Democracies who are much concerned with the question of adequate military defence for their own countries and those of their Allies would have no cause for nervousness. They would not be required to place themselves at any kind of military disadvantage and ample safeguards would be insisted on against treacherous armed attack. The only concession they would have to make would be the perfectly reasonable one of allowing the Axis guarantees of security similar to those they demanded for themselves and for their friends.

Pacifists could support wise diplomacy as a means of bringing to an early end the slaughter of war with its attendant mental and spiritual evils and they could rejoice in, and make good us of, the restoration of those international contacts which are necessary to the promotion of good-fellowship among the nations, leading ultimately to world disarmament.

They would, however, for a time be compelled to tolerate an arrangement which retained armed force as a **potential** instrument of international policy.

Wise diplomacy would benefit the Jews as, in common with other people, they would share in deliverance from war casualties. If wise diplomacy brought hostilities to an early conclusion, it would check immediately to a very important extent the continued progress of Axis persecution and it would open the way to action of various kinds for the relief and assistance of the Jews. An early end to the war would also check the growth of anti-Semitic feeling in Britain and America where the hardships, irritations and anxieties of war encourage the pursuit of scapegoats. Nothing incidentally is more contemptible than the policy of those individuals who are by no means rare and who, while neglecting to support measures which would give practical help to Jews on the Continent, utilize, and indeed welcome, a continued supply of stories of persecution in order that, by atrocity propaganda, they may be aided in prolonging the war.

On the other hand, the Jews would need to show themselves willing to exercise a measure of patience. Human nature and world conditions being what they are, they could hardly expect to secure immediately the full redress of every grievance and the complete reversal of every hostile measure. Progress, it is to be hoped, would not be slow, but in some respects it would inevitably be gradual.

I have so far dealt with the gains and sacrifices associated with the employment of wise diplomacy as these would affect some of the most influential groups of people. I should like, however, to refer more briefly to other classes to whom wise diplomacy can offer benefits of infinite value and who should therefore accord it their most active support. There are, for example, the Service men enduring, it may be, years of exile from their homes and exposed to all the dangers and privations of war; merchant seamen sharing the same dangers; prisoners eating out their hearts in internment camps; anxious relatives longing for the return of those whom they love; children deprived of their parents' care by reason of war conditions; members of the medical profession whose concern is for their patients' welfare and not merely for their fees and who are now compelled to watch the steady increase of tuberculosis and other diseases; social workers who deplore the moral injury inflicted by war conditions, especially on the young; business men ruined, or faced with ruin, by the closing down of their businesses or by loss of trade; invalid and elderly people deprived of proper care by the conscription of relatives or attendants; scientists and those who are concerned with cultural pursuits who watch the gradual stifling of all that adds beauty and interest to civilised life under the deadening hand of war; men of creative ability and organising power impatient for destruction to end and reconstruction to begin.

Last, but not least, our politicians would do well to give their support to wise diplomacy lest, when their country's safety and welfare have been committed to their charge, by lack of imagination, obstinacy and a rigidity of mind which fails to adapt itself to unforeseen conditions, they end by destroying what it is their duty to preserve, wrecking all chance of a successful political career after the war has ended, and earning not the admiration of posterity, but its contempt.

The most outstanding characteristic of the nightmare world in which we are living is the unnecessary folly of it all and the simple obviousness of the remedy. A little imagination, a little goodwill, a little understanding of human nature, a little capacity to handle men, a profound distrust of propaganda—that is all we need. I said earlier in the war that if "two madmen" (Hitler and Mussolini) have really made millions of people behave towards each other as the citizens of Europe are now behaving, then the millions must be madder than the two. Is this not true and if it be true, is it not plain as daylight that an alternative must exist to madness?

If brave men had not resisted authority, even to the blazing faggots, the black pall of superstition would still lie on the face of this land as it lies on the face of Spain.

—Wordsworth Donisthorpe.

WANTED. — Old Freethought and Socialist pamphlets, papers, books. Carlile, Holyoake, Foote, Hyndman, etc.—WILLIAM WATSON, 27 Canal St., Kirkintilloch.

CHURCHILLISM FOUNDED ON VANSITTARTISM

By The Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.
(Minister, Great Meeting House, Coventry)

OUTLINE OF ARGUMENT.

There are ardent Churchill supporters who renounce Vansittart. But Churchill's policy is really bound up with the Vansittart theory. Here are Churchill's propositions: (1) Victory; (2) No Parley; (3) No Hope for Germans: crush them; (4) A Dictated Peace; (5) Germany disarmed and in chains. These items of policy imply Vansittart's articles of faith: (1) Germans the only aggressors; (2) Germans possess a double dose of original sin; (3) The Innocence of the Versailles Treaty. It is because Churchill believes in the radical sinfulness of Germans and our holy innocence that he presses for victory at all costs.

Acland once saw differently. The Atlantic Charter is inspired by Vansittart, especially Clause 8. Surrender, the result of Churchill's strategy, thus far, is not the only alternative. The constant proclamation of terms with no annexation, no indemnities, no humiliations is the alternative to Churchillism's blind crusade. Stalin's Order of the Day (Feb. 23, 1942) suggests the right attitude. Hitler MIGHT, like Churchill, pursue the phantom of victory but the proclamation of decent terms would bring the end of the war nearer. Cripps warns us of the dangers of a long war.

There are those who denounce Vansittart and all his works. They recognise the harm he does to the Allied cause and the help he gives to Goebbels and German propaganda. These very same denouncers of Vansittart uphold Winston Churchill and their leader and back up his policy of the vigorous prosecution of the war to the bitter end. Yet if we examine the Churchill policy and face clearly his general attitude, he shares the Vansittart outlook and implicitly or explicitly stands for the very worst of the Vansittart falsehoods and hypocrisies. If you follow Churchill, you ought to acclaim Vansittart as a prophet and his aim in the war is the destructive and futile purpose of this breeder of hate and endless murder. I have certain well-known Never Endians in my mind who belong to the Left and support this war. They pose as Idealists who really love peace and deem this the real war to end war and bring in the reign of the common people. We will leave names out of the picture in the meantime and consider the articles in the Churchill Creed.

I. Article No. I. is described by Mr. Churchill on May 12:

VICTORY.

You ask what is our aim. I can answer in one word. It is Victory. Victory at all costs. Victory in spite of all error. Victory however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.

In other words, to have your heel on the neck of the enemy is the fundamental aim of the Churchill policy.

NO PARLEY.

II. No terms can be made with Hitler.

"We will mete out to the Germans the measure and more than the measure they have meted out to us.

We will have no truce nor parley with you nor with the grisly gang who work your blessed will.

It is time the Germans should be made to suffer in their own homeland and cities something of the torments they have inflicted upon their neighbours and upon the world."

NO HOPE FOR GERMANS.

III. The third article in the Churchill creed is: Let us give nothing to assure the German minority they will get any measure of justice. Mr. Churchill again and again, has alluded to them with contempt as the Huns.

A DICTATED PEACE.

IV. The object of victory is to secure one more dictated peace where the terms are laid down by the conqueror and imposed on the defeated foe.

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

V. The Atlantic Charter with all its fair phrases discriminates between the Holy Innocents who are to be victors and the criminal aggressors who alone made the war. The victors are to be the police; the defeated to be disarmed and kept disarmed by brute force.

Everyone of these articles is based on the Vansittart philosophy, which can be stated in three sentences.

The Germans are the only aggressors.

Their aggression is due to a double dose of original sin.

The evil nature of the Germans, not the Versailles Treaty or economic circumstances is the only cause of Hitlerism and the present war.

If we look for a moment at the Churchill policy which our Labour intellectuals and place men support we shall see that it is applied Vansittartism. Vansittart might as well be in the Cabinet for his spirit saturates every speech of Churchill. The belief in victory as the only way to future security is obviously pure Vansittartism. It is also inverted Hitlerism. Hitler has the same childish insane faith in the power of the sword to bring a German peace. Vansittart and his clique have proved failures in their task as diplomatists and now they ask the soldiers to make up for their failures by a holocaust of destruction and death.

The refusal to trust Hitler's word, and the contempt for the German people are both founded on the Vansittart theory. It is assumed that no terms can be framed which will win over the German workers and compel Hitler to make a decent peace. Vansittart with Churchill believes that a grisly gang of murderers made the war and only their humiliation and destruction can end it. There are no wrongs done by Britain and France in the past which need to be righted. It is useless to offer terms of justice. Hitler's word is worthless and he would keep no pledge he had given. The German people are tied up with Hitler. What applies to one applies to the other. This policy is manifestly based on the Vansittart estimate of the utter degradation of the German race. Churchill revealed his mind in that broadcast where he asserted that some Germans are curable but all are killable. There are two or three things to be said about this attitude.

Hitler is not the only statesman who has broken his pledged word again and again. There are terms to be framed which in themselves would guarantee against treachery by Hitler or anyone else. The whole object of statesmanship is to divide from Hitler by a wide appeal those who are capable of responding to terms of abnormal justice: Sir Richard Ackland when he was not so dominated by the war mania saw the only way to overcome Hitlerism.

The German people followed Hitler because they saw no other hope and it is because they despaired then we are fighting them now. If we have no other idea but to force them to accept from us the same kind of terms as we imposed last time they will fight us to the death, maybe for ten years.

We can only hope for an early end of this war if we can prove to the German people not by words but by deeds that we mean to build an entirely different and better world.

Churchillism, in spite of the Atlantic Charter, offers no such better world to Germany.

All it offers is another dictated peace a peace dictated by America and Britain might be far better than one dictated by a victorious Hitler but it would most assuredly lead to another world war in the next generation or before. Such dictation implies a superiority complex on the part of the United Nations, a monopoly of wisdom compared with the German hordes. Victor Gollanz says the temper of the Atlantic Charter is very different from that of the Vansittartites. In assuming the role of Holy Innocents whose word is divine law, there is little difference. Clause Eight of the Charter is pure Vansittartism. It proposes the unilateral disarmament of the enemy powers who are assumed to be the only possible aggressors. As Gollanz admits, this will not prevent another war. It will make another war inevitable, sooner or later. But this plan of Clause 8 to disarm the Axis and keep down the enemy powers by military occupation over five or ten years is applied vansittartism. It is based on the dogma of the Island Pharisees. In our British record there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing. Duff Cooper stated it baldly the other day "We are the greatest people on earth!" Let us tell it to the world and let them join in the Seven-fold Amen. Those who subscribe to the Churchillian dogma victory or nothing are, whether they are conscious of it or not, Vansittartists. I have in mind men like Laski, Sir Richard Ackland, Gollancz who accept the Churchill leadership and subscribe to his policy. Yet they hope, somehow, there will emerge from victory a European Revolution and a new Socialist society in Britain and all over Europe. In their view, as Laski says, we have either to break the power of Hitler or surrender. There is no middle term.

The Laski school charge anti-Churchillites with advocating surrender. This is very curious. Because by following Churchill's strategy they have had to admit one shameful surrender after another. Moreover, the most likely outcome of the pursuit of victory will be the fading out of Hitler (and possibly Churchill) and a patched-up peace of weary and disgusted belligerents.

Surrender is not the only alternative. The other way is to let the Germans know, without a peradventure, that a peace based on justice can be had any time. Such a peace would lay down the same conditions for all belligerents. It would regard all belligerents as possible aggressors and also as possible co-operators in building up a new Europe. There would be in such a peace no assumption of super holiness on behalf of any nation. It might happen that Hitler would stick to his war-gains and reject such proposals. They would still be open for any German Government to accept. But the offer of such terms on the lines of Stalin's Order of the Day in February would do more to destroy Hitlerism's worst phases than all the futile strategy or vain rhetoric of Mr. Churchill.

Stalin's Order of the Day, February 23, 1942, should form the basis of Britain and American policy. Stalin said:—

It would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. History teaches us that Hitlers come and Hitlers go but the German people and the German State remain.

If this were the invariable attitude of British official utterances there would soon be in sight a German people eager to seek a reasonable peace.

The real alternatives are going blindly on with a war which is destroying civilization for at least a generation, or seeking the way to peace now and trying to save something from the wreckage on which to build a new order. Churchillism stands for this policy of blind destruction. What it means Cripps saw clearly soon after the war started, when his vision was not obscured by the dazzlement of office.

If we continue with the war which will last much more than three years, the British Empire and indeed British Capitalism will never survive the strain. We may go down in a welter of blood or we may, if we are lucky, survive as the conquerors, but the civilisation we have known in the past will not survive.

This prophecy of Cripps is being fulfilled before our eyes. The United Nations are imitating and going beyond, in some respects, the barbarous methods of the enemy. And for this wallowing in the pit of murderous destruction, the left wing supporters of Mr. Churchill have a deep responsibility.

All Pacifists and Socialist comrades living in West Central London who remain in communion with the Church of England, should attend the services held at The Church of The Holy Cross in S. Panceras with S. Jude, every Sunday, morning and evening. They should write to the Vicar, asking for a copy of his weekly leaflet. Please enclose postage.

RICHARD CARLILE'S DEATH CERTIFICATE

This is an official copy of the death certificate issued to Carlile's son, Alfred Carlile. In copying it, a mistake must have been made, as Carlile's name was spelt without the "s." In our December issue we reproduced from "The Times," London, an account of the funeral.

REGISTRATION DISTRICT CITY OF LONDON

1843. DEATH in the Sub-District of South West District in the ~~Count~~ City of London Union

No.	When and Where Died. (1)	Name and Surname. (2)	Sex. (3)	Age. (4)	Rank or Profession. (5)	Cause of Death. (6)	Signature, Description and Residence of Informant. (7)	When Registered. (8)	Signature of Registrar. (9)
95	Tenth of February 1843 Whitefriars Precinct	Richard Carlisle	Male	52 years	Bookseller	Bronchitis	Alfred Carlisle 1 Bouverie St. Present at Death	Twenty fifth of February 1843	William Arnott Registrar

CARLILE'S COMMONSENSE

Our comrade, Dr. Charles Brook, publishes the following letter in "The Medical World," for January 15, 1943:—

Sir,—Last Sunday afternoon a primipera in the later thirties gave birth without warning to twins.

Her own doctor is now absent on war service, and an attempt was made to contact me, but I was out on visits.

A hospital was then telephoned and the mother and twins were after some delay removed by ambulance. Unfortunately both the babies were dead....

Early last Wednesday morning a dying cat was found on the mat outside my front door.

Having no knowledge of veterinary medicine I telephoned the police. Not very long elapsed before a constable arrived, followed shortly afterwards by a veterinary surgeon in a car. The cat was removed and although I offered to pay the vet's fee, it was declined as I understand that this service is provided by the R.S.P.C.A.

I cannot do better than quote from an essay by Richard Carlile, the great English Libertarian, the centenary of whose death will be celebrated on February 10 next (but not by the B.B.C.).

This essay was written in 1827 and is included in Carlile's "Jail Journal," edited by Guy A. Aldred and recently published by the Strickland Press, Glasgow.

Carlile wrote:—

"Men and women subscribe money for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but forget to include their own species, the animal man, in the common benefit. This animal nature is a strange mystery."

Yes, Richard Carlile, whose greatest talent was his plain downright English commonsense, wrote these words in 1827; and yet while in 1943 there is an admirable emergency service for dumb animals, there is no domiciliary emergency medical service for human beings.

Yours, etc.,

London. CHARLES BROOK.

Dr. Brook's great work on Richard Carlile, entitled "Carlile and The Surgeons," will be published this month.

PEACE AIMS GROUPS

A public meeting was held at St. Thomas' School, Caroline Street, Wigan, on Wednesday, January 6, at 7.30 p.m. Our comrade, the Rev. J. F. Gerrard, took the chair, and the speaker was our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., and his subject was: "What Are We Fighting For?"

Comrade Davies has spoken also, during the parliamentary recess, at a conference organised by the Birmingham P.P.U. This group has had a visit from our comrade, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., now of Coventry, and so well-known in Glasgow for his stalwart advocacy of Socialism and defence of the common people's struggle. Dick Lee has opposed two wars because he believes war to be wrong and to be of no service to the workers of the world. He is a great internationalist and humanist.

Rhys Davies made an excellent speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday, December 9, dealing with conscription and the distributive trades. We hope to reproduce this speech in our next issue. Also a speech by our comrade, R. R. Stokes, M.P. The latter's fearless speeches in the House, and the activity in the country, should be recognised by all who are appalled at the horror and falsehood of war.

SIDNEY SPENCER

Our comrade, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., Minister of the Hope Street Unitarian Church, Liverpool, was fined £10 in November, 1942, for refusing to register for fire-watching. As in April, his fine was paid by an unknown person. This was contrary to his wishes.

Mr. Spencer states his position thus:—

My objection is to the application of the principle of compulsion to a task so closely associated with the war. There is, I believe, the gravest danger to the freedom of this country in the increasing regimentation to which we are being subjected. It is vital that this tendency should be resisted. The Government allows no possibility of conscientious objection to civil defence. Men in some instances have suffered the maximum penalty of the law (£100 fine and three months' imprisonment) for their refusal to register, and severe penalties are still being inflicted. While men are suffering in this way for conscience' sake, I can only take my stand along with them, and make my protest in whatever form I am called upon to do, as a testimony to my belief in personal freedom and the liberty of conscience.

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Meetings for Friendship every Wednesday evening in February at 7.30.

Feb. 3—Mr. Domingo Ricart talks on "Social and Religious Struggle in Spain.
" 10—Muriel Lester on "The Power of the Spirit
" 17—James Fraser.
" 24—International Evening. Friends from abroad speak of conditions in their home countries.

Folk Dancing and Tea at every meeting.

See also announcement on page 81.

EDITOR'S STATEMENT

We are endeavouring to keep this journal at 2d. despite statements by readers all over Britain that they would pay 6d. or 1/- for each issue. We write and speak, as did Richard Carlile, for the poor to the poor. We shall change the price or cease publication with equal reluctance. To do either thing is to admit defeat. We are not defeated yet. The response of readers has been good. In all, since December we have received donations of £329 15s. 10 d. Our appeal was for £1,500. We have acknowledged £130. Our total is now £459 15s. 10½d. The balance, NEEDED IMMEDIATELY AND URGENTLY, is £1040 4s. 1½d. This sum is wanted to clear the debt on our printing and publishing and MUST be forthcoming. Given it, we shall make no more appeals for 12 months.

Also, we need two folding machines, since our pamphlet work is handicapped by old-fashioned hand-folding on big pamphlets. Who will help? Our plant is good except for want of these machines.

LUNACY

The Man in the Moon looked, and mused:—
"Those people on Earth seem confused.
They are told they must fight
For freedom and right;
And "peace traps" must all be refused.

"Sane thought for a stable world state
Must be crushed in an orgy of hate.
All conscience and reason
Suspected as treason
'Gainst those who destruction dictate.

"They must not negotiate peace,
Or honour and freedom will cease.
They must all bomb and blast
Till the earth at long last
Lies ruined:—a happy release!

"A lunatic lot they must be
They all could be happy and free.
They have all that they need
For their good: yet they bleed.
Alas! Are they maddened by me?"

E. E. BRISCOE.

I WILL NOT GO TO WAR

I will not go to war,
And kill my fellow man,
Because a few financiers
Have got the world in pawn.

I ask, what did we gain
At Verdun or at Loos?
We all must die, I know, but war
Is not the death I choose.

So take your bloody guns,
And hate, and maim, and kill,
I'll lie and listen to the lark
Upon the daisied hill.

And when you're sick of blood,
And mud, and lice, and shame,
I'll listen to your grouse, and say,
"Well, who was it to blame?"

JOE CORRIE.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY,
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Sunday Meetings, 11a.m.

Feb. 7—J. McCabe.—Richard Carlile Centenary.
" 14—150th Anniversary. Speakers, Lord Snell (presiding) J. McCabe, S. K. Ratcliffe, Dr. C. Joad and Prof. G. Keeton.
" 21—Dr. C. Joad, M.A.D.Lit.—Eighty-seven years of Bernard Shaw. The Socialist and Playwright.
" Prof. G. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—Some Makers of Modern England (6) The Younger Pitt.

CHRISTIANITY AND PEACE

Our comrade in the struggle towards peace, the Rev. J. F. Gerrard, B.A., Vicar of St. Thomas's Church, Wigan, states his position fearlessly.

The motto text of his "Parish Magazine" for 1942, was: **"As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."** When a Vicar takes this for his text in time of war, and proclaims fearlessly his Pacifist opinions, the text becomes a very definite challenge to all the organised political forces of war and Capitalist Imperialism. The Rev. J. F. Gerrard is a very brave man and a true Christian teacher.

In his magazine for September of last year, he addressed the following letter to his readers:—

St. Thomas's Vicarage,
September.

My dear Friends,—The courageous speech of the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords advocating a negotiated peace with Germany, found little favour with his fellow peers. One would have thought some Christian voice would have spoken out to support a plan which provides an alternative to the diehard policy of "fighting to a finish", whatever the cost in life and treasure. No doubt some who were present secretly shared the views of the Duke, but kept silent from fear of unpopularity, or of being thought disloyal. It is the same in the country at large. Three years of confused fighting, in which we are ranged on the side of strange allies, have left people bewildered and with little enthusiasm for continuing a struggle which has become increasingly a fight between Fascism and Communism. They keep uneasily silent, however, because it seems disloyal to be otherwise.

I believe the time is ripe, and people are ready for a lead out of the present chaos of conflicting ideologies. Where is that lead to be found? Where should it come from? Surely it is the duty of the Christian Church to show the world the way forward to sanity and world-wide brotherhood. In this connection I should like to put forward a peace plan which I have long had in mind.

It is that an armistice be immediately declared to last, say, from now till Christmas. During that time negotiations for a peace can take place. But it must be a Peace of Christ, a just peace, not a vengeful peace. There must be no revenge, no laying the seeds of a future war through lack of forgiveness. The armistice would provide the opportunity for counsels of moderation and fairness coming to fruition.

The alternative to this is fighting on, with fearful casualties, and increasing ferocity of warfare. Can any Christian contemplate this without intense sorrow, or accept it as the only solution? At the present time Anglicans are fighting Lutherans, Roman Catholics fighting Roman Catholics, yet all name the Name of Christ, all are equally dear to our Lord. In His last prayer which He offered to God "with strong crying and tears" His passionate cry was that "they all may be one", all united in the Family of God. How long are we to grieve His sacred Heart, how long delay His glorious Kingdom on earth?

Yours faithfully in Christ,
J. F. GERRARD.

In the December issue, the Vicar returns to his Pacifist charge. We make the following excerpt:—

Except by looking at the Kalendar we will not, this year, be able to tell whether Christmas has arrived or not. The usual preparations for the happy time are absent this year; the glittering shop fronts with their fairy lights and shelves groaning under the weight of all sorts of wonderful things are but a sad memory of the past. As for turkey and goose, and the usual Christmas fare they are completely banished for the "duration." Still, for the earnest Christian these things, though valuable as showing the importance of Christmas, are but the external trappings of this sacred time: the real sign of Christmas is the spirit of love and brotherhood which our Redeemer's birth brought into the world. To-day, alas, that spirit is eclipsed by the designs of wicked men, the battle is on, "with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood." The angels of the Nativity who proclaimed the message of peace and goodwill must weep at the spectacle of men made in the image of God using the Devil's weapons of slaughter, suffering and destruction. It would be wrong to let pass the festival of our Saviour's Birthday without a plea for the return of peace and sanity in the councils of the warring nations. The war has gone on long enough and it is no nearer a solution by force of arms than it was at the beginning of hostilities. Other methods should be tried, Christian methods of conciliation which will achieve much more than campaigns of hatred. A Christmas Armistice should be declared and the attempt made to settle differences at a peace conference. Sooner or later it will come to this; why not now?

Alas! Pagan-Christendom believes only in the power of the sword, not the Christian message of the power of the word. It does not believe in the power invisible, only power transient, corrupt, and visible. Yet the power invisible, latent in the poor, lurking in unseen places, will stir the world and finally conquer the too visible power of death that stalks abroad in pomp and ceremony, and mocks man with the false military glory of war.

UNDERSTANDING THE WAR OBJECTOR

THE PROBLEMS OF CONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

When Lew Ayres, famous to his screen admirers as Dr. Kildare, took his original stand as a conscientious objector against war, we collected the facts concerning his attitude and his treatment, with a view to publication. Space considerations held up publication. The pressure placed upon Ayres has caused him to modify, with obvious reluctance, his original stand, but he has avowed that his opinions are unchanged. We sympathise with Ayres in his original stand and we understand and sympathise with him in his retreat, although we do not concur in his compromise. Not Ayres but his detractors, and those who placed pressure upon him, are to be condemned. They could not respect the moral worth and the importance of character and individuality.

Although comments on Ayres' declaration of conscientious objection to war are somewhat belated, the principle involved is of eternal moment. We make no apology for reproducing the editorial published in "The New York Times" for April 3, 1942:—

THE CASE OF LEW AYRES.

If all Americans believed as Lew Ayres does, the "creed of non-resistance to evil", the Nazis could do whatever they wished in this country. If all humanity believed the same creed there would be no Nazis and no war. A minute handful of Americans do believe this creed. We have no reason to hope, from what we know of the human mind and human emotions, that the whole world will accept it in any time we can foresee. But let us not on that account hold back an honest tribute to a man who gives up a rich career and faces public ridicule and contempt because he will not hide the faith that is in him.

Those who are tempted to throw stones at Lew Ayres would do better to ask themselves what their own faith is, and how much forgetfulness of self they are living up to. The avowed faith of the vast majority of people in this country is that no sacrifice is too great if it will help beat down the Nazi abomination. We think that the men whose lives and deaths have testified most eloquently to this faith are the ones who would come closest to understanding Lew Ayres, though disagreeing with him to the last syllable.

When those of us who aren't even eligible for the armed services have paid every cent of our Federal taxes cheerfully, have accepted all the little war deprivations, not only in the letter but in spirit, have put away our jealousies, our private ambitions and our intolerances, have made in our own lives a shining example of what resistance to evil can be, then let us, if we will, pass a moral condemnation on non-resistance. And then, perhaps, we won't wish to. It is a doctrine for the other-worldly and for saints, and there will never be enough of those to interfere with our war efforts.

The tone of this editorial had the excellent effect of inspiring Norman Thomas, the well-known United States Socialist Party spokesman, and the New York Society of Friends, to make statements in defence of conscientious objectors. Both letters appeared in the "Times" for April 7.

The letter from Norman Thomas was set out as follows:—

USE PROPOSED FOR OBJECTORS.

Some of Them Might be Better Employed Than in Work Camps.

To the Editor of "The New York Times":

I want to applaud your editorial, "The Case of Lew Ayres", in your issue of April 3. If Americans can keep the degree of understanding and insight which you show, even in the midst of war, the future may be brighter than some of us had hoped.

Granting, as I certainly do, that Mr. Ayres has not presented a political alternative to war by his stand, it is extraordinarily courageous, and history may record that he and his comrades in an unpopular cause are prophets and pioneers of a happier and far more rational world.

There are one or two aspects of the situation affecting conscientious objectors on which I should like to comment. The first is that a great deal of valuable, intelligent and high-minded service which conscientious objectors are willing to offer is lost by the insistence of the government that conscientious objectors all go to work camps.

Some of these camps are doing fairly valuable work; some of them which I have seen are doing a kind of glorified and more strenuous leaf-raking. At all of them are men with capacities and training for relief work in difficult fields abroad and for special service at home. It is a pity that lack of imagination, bureaucratic rigor and fear of stupid public reaction should keep men digging ditches who can and should be doing other things.

Other Employment Possible.

So far the notion of employing conscientious objectors in humanitarian work in dangerous fields abroad, in public health service and the like here at home are theoretically accepted by the government, but not worked out. What actually happens is that a government which in law recognized useful civilian work as an alternative to military service, leaves almost entirely to religious organizations the task of providing and financing such work. The arrangement is unfair and wastes a great deal of potentially valuable human energy that could be used in raising food and caring for human needs. I am not suggesting the abandonment of these camps; I am suggesting a more varied programme and a frank recognition by the government of its responsibility for the alternative service which it has permitted in law.

The second situation to which thoughtful Americans should give attention is this: Originally the selective service authorities and many draft boards were inclined to interpret religion very broadly in construing the application of the law to conscientious objectors. In America, unlike Great Britain, conscientious objection is recognized only on the basis of religious belief and training.

To-day there is a tendency all along the line to interpret religion very narrowly. Actually, objection to the method of war may be quite as conscientious and, if anything, even more sincere, if the man has derived it painfully as a result of his own philosophic, social or political thinking than if he merely accepts the dogma of some creed.

Social Gains Seen.

From a social standpoint there is no reason for making alternative service a kind of special privilege to people who say their objections to war are derived from a supernatural source. The case for giving exemption from all military service to conscientious objectors is the recognition of the value of the individual which is denied by telling him to invest his life in that which to him seems wholly wrong. In times when the drift to totalitarianism is so strong, there are social gains in this protection of individual rights.

To-day there are scores and perhaps hundreds of men in America quite as sincere as Mr. Ayres who face jail rather than work camps because they say that their objection to war and participation in it is philosophical or political. Some Socialists—and no Communists — are in this number, but by no means all these philosophic objectors are Socialists, and only a minority of Socialists are such objectors. They act on their own conscience and not on any order from any political party.

Nevertheless, their position is entitled to an understanding it is not getting. Not so much for their sake as for the sake of the future of democracy, the American law and its enforcement should be made as liberal as in Great Britain. In the latter country, boards pass on the sincerity of the objector, whatever may be the basis of his objection, and they recognise a great many forms of civilian service as an alternative to military service.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, April 4, 1942.

Mr. J. Hibbard Taylor, Clerk, New York Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, expressed appreciation of the tone of the editorial, and added:—

We are pleased that you recognise the sincerity of an individual who, in obedience to his conscience, refuses to fight evil with evil, but chooses rather to overcome evil with good.

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GLASGOW POLICE COURT MUSINGS

The old year closed with incidents at the Glasgow Central Police Court that recall the part played by that Court in the struggle for Free Speech in Glasgow.

On Thursday, December 24, Mr. David Crawford, who had been Police Court Assessor in Glasgow for many years, was installed as Stipendary Magistrate of the City of Glasgow, until the return of Procurator Fiscal Findlay Langmuir, at present on National Service, who was appointed Stipendary Magistrate whilst absent abroad. In view of the circumstances under which Mr. Langmuir joined up, we think that the Government ought to have released him to take up his police court appointment. Langmuir's joining as a naval rating on June 6, 1940, when he had no need to do so, was dealt with fully in "The Word" for October and November, 1940.

In the Central Police Court Mr. Crawford presented his commission to Lord Provost J. M. Biggar, who administered the oath.

Mr. Crawford was congratulated, on behalf of magistrates and councillors, by Lord Provost Biggar.

Mr. Douglas Steen spoke on behalf of Professor Girvan, Dean of the Faculty of Procurators and members of the Bar. Mr. Robertson, Procurator-Fiscal, and Sir Percy J. Sillitoe also spoke.

Mr. Crawford replied.

This kind of ceremony is necessary but it leaves us with an uncomfortable feeling, because we are opposed to the prison system, and see in that system no hope for the people, and no protection against crime. Also we cannot forget that, to-day, under our parliamentary system, the prison system has degenerated since the days of Richard Carlile and Leigh Hunt. The treatment meted out to conscientious objectors, who are really political offenders, in jail, is barbarous. Even the conditions of writing of 18B unconvicted prisoners are disgraceful. The treatment of Douglas Young, the Scots Nationalist, admitted to be a scholar, under an alleged Socialist Secretary of State, is an outrage that would have revolted the mind of Castlereagh and Sidmouth. This is not rhetoric but fact, as Carlile's "Republican" and his shopmen's "Newgate Magazine" will prove. Hence we do not view these congratulations with unreflecting approval.

At the same time, as one familiar with Edinburgh's truly democratic Court of Session and London's caste-bound anti-democratic King's Bench, and also the police courts of London and Glasgow, we know the part played by the police court in the dull dreary life of the common people. In 1925, Mr. Cecil Chapman, published through Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, his excellent work, entitled "The Poor Man's Court of Justice." This described his 25 years' experience as a Metropolitan Magistrate, sitting at Clerkenwell, Southwark, Lambeth, Tower Bridge, Westminster. This is a most valuable work to the social student, and contains a splendid appendix indicting the prison system.

On December 31, that is exactly a week after Mr. Crawford's installation as Stipendary Magistrate, Mr. James Lindsay, for over 30 years Clerk of the Court at Glasgow Central Police Court, received the tribute of his colleagues on the occasion of his retirement from that post.

Mr. James Robertson, Procurator-Fiscal, said that Mr. Lindsay had been in the service of the Corporation for over 50 years—a truly remarkable record.

In 1932, when the Children's Act was passed, Mr. Lindsay was consulted, and the forms now used were more or less his work.

Police Judge John S. Clark—not the John S. Clarke of the "Worker" and the "Daily Record" and sometime M.P. for Maryhill, but the Govanhill I.L.P. man whom the I.L.P. boosted as a "Socialist" when he stood first for the Council.—also paid a tribute to the retiring Clerk.

James Lindsay's name is to be found on the Stated Cases we took against the decisions given in the Central Police in 1924 and 1931. That fact links the Glasgow Court in our mind with the struggle for Free Speech.

It was announced on May 8 that the Secretary of State for Scotland had informed the Town Clerk of Glasgow that Mr. George Smith had tendered his resignation as Stipendiary Magistrate of the city on grounds of ill-health and that his resignation had been accepted.

Mr. Smith, who is 59, was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate in 1923 when he relinquished his post of Procurator-Fiscal for Glasgow. A native of Midlothian, he was educated at Dalkeith and Edinburgh University, after which he entered the legal profession.

He had considerable experience of civil work and court practice, and had charge of many important arbitrations and Provisional Orders before being appointed in 1914 to control the court department of the Town Clerk's office in Glasgow.

After serving with the Coldstream Guards in the first great war he was appointed to the office of Procurator-Fiscal for the city and for the courts of the River and Firth of Clyde.

Earnest Socialists in Glasgow—we do not mean the careerists—will recall the part George Smith played in the Free Speech struggle against the anti-public meetings bye-laws which abolished meetings in Glasgow Green. We pleaded the cases before him in 1924 and 1931. Mr. Smith's conduct of the hearings greatly contributed towards the useful result attained in the High Court of Justiciary in the 1931 appeal. As a result the bye-laws were changed and ever since there has been a legal right to hold meetings on Glasgow Green and in the public parks and open spaces of Glasgow and readers can see the bye-laws posted up for themselves in the open spaces of Glasgow. That right has never been implemented, owing to the failure and refusal of the Labour Councillors and the I.L.P. Councillors to make provision for operating the bye-laws. Some of them were too much concerned with graft to want free speech to flourish. This is the scandal of the so-called Socialist movement in Glasgow.

It is interesting to reflect that respectability has made Thomas Johnston Secretary of State for Scotland in a Tory administration and has made the Labour Party, to which he belongs, frown on public meetings. Yet, but for the meetings held on the Glasgow Green in earlier years and the circulation of "Forward" at those meetings, Johnston would have enjoyed no reputation among the people of Glasgow, and would not have attained his present status. To-day Mr. George Smith has to tender his resignation to this one-time "Socialist" agitator!

Our experience of George Smith was that he considered the public questions we argued before him clearly and legally on their merits. He considered them from the standpoint of public interest and made shrewd comments on the incompetence or error of restrictive bye-laws he had to administer. He cleared the avenue for a great public wrong being righted. But the "Socialist" Town Council preferred to assassinate the cultural right of public meeting in Glasgow. Every member of the Labour Party, and every member of the I.L.P. in Glasgow, should be ashamed of their attitude towards the operation of Free Speech and Public Meeting Bye-law established after so much struggle—and established in vain apparently.

The Glasgow motto is: "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the word." But careerists are not anxious that the word should be preached.

Every Thinking Man or Woman ought to read

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Minister—Rev. LEWIS MACLACHLAN, M.A.

SUNDAY SERVICES: 11 a.m. and 4.15 p.m.

Glasgow comrades will be interested to know that when Mr. Maclachlan left Glasgow for his London charge, the change was made because the London church is an avowedly Pacifist centre. During January 1943, the Sunday morning services have consisted of vital conferences, opened by different persons, discussing questions of the World Church, Common Ownership, the Nature of Communism, etc. The London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held its New Year Party at the Trinity Presbyterian Church on Saturday, January 23. The church extends a hearty invitation to all Socialists and Pacifists living in N.W. London to attend its conferences and to participate in its institutional life.

THE STARVATION WEAPON

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT.
(First Commissioner of Works, 1924 Labour Government.)

[The following article by our comrade Jowett is reproduced from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, November 6, 1942. The war-mongering Mr. Leach mentioned by comrade Jowett was at one time a member of the I.L.P. He was a conscientious objector during the war of 1914-18! —Ed.

The Upper House of Convocation is a Church of England institution. Whether it consists entirely of Bishops and the two Archbishops of the church I do not know, but it has met recently and passed unanimously a resolution of which Parliament, to restore the credit of our nation and for the sake of common humanity, should take heed whilst there is still time to avert what may be the worst of all the disastrous consequences of this war.

The Bishop of Chichester, moving the resolution, quoted figures showing that the number of deaths in Athens and Piraeus alone in **two months of this year** was 110,000. As the total population of these two cities, judging from the most recent records available, could not have been more than 720,000 the death rate in these two months must have been very nearly **one in every seven on the total population.**

The Bishop of Chichester in his speech ("Times" October 16) also referred to conditions in Belgium.

"In Belgium", said the Bishop, "unless the British Government allowed food to go through the Blockade for the children and nursing mothers, there was likely to be very little of Belgium to be saved and very few Belgian children would grow up. The race for saving large parts of Europe was literally a race with death."

The case, such as it is, against allowing food to reach the starving populations in occupied Europe was put by Mr. William Leach, the Member for Central Bradford, to a deputation representing the Bradford Committee for Food Relief on July 18th ("Telegraph & Argus"). He said that:—

"two or three considerations influenced him in studying this matter. Would the proposal of lifting the blockade and facilitating food supplies to occupied Europe be harmful to our own people? Would it help the Germans? Would it endanger the prospects of victory? My answer to these three questions", said Mr. Leach, "puts me very much against what you" (the Food Relief Committee's deputation) "are wanting."

In support of his first point, that allowing food to go to occupied Europe might be harmful to our own people, Mr. Leach referred to the fact that one food ship had been torpedoed on its return journey and said that if that sort of thing went on our supply of ships would be lessened and we should be made the victims of our own generosity.

The report of the proceedings does not say that the food relief delegation mentioned the fact that the ship in question was not under charter for conveyance of further supplies. That does not seem ever to have been alleged. If it had been it would have displayed the usual maritime signs for its protection. Nor has it been claimed that a charter to fetch further food supplies had been applied for.

Presumably, therefore, the ship had become an ordinary trading ship and no more free from risk of being torpedoed than any other trading ship. Of course it is one of the tragedies of this and the last war that any ship in ballast or carrying non-military cargoes except into an actually blockaded port should have to risk being sunk.

But as **we ourselves** widened the pre-1914 rules of blockade to include the open sea everywhere for the last and for this war, it is a tragedy for which we must acknowledge our share of responsibility.

As to the risk of lessening our supply of ships, that cannot surely be regarded as a good reason for starving the populations of Greece and other occupied countries, men, women and children alike, whose own ships in very large numbers are bringing **us** food and munitions whilst those very same ships are **not allowed to take food or medical supplies to their own people at home.**

Mr. Leach's second point that to allow food to go "to feed starving people" in occupied Europe would help the Germans cannot be maintained except on the assumption that Germany would take more food from occupied countries if arrangements were made to allow food to go there.

But what are the facts? The facts show that even in this war, savage as it has become, food has been supplied from America and from Canada to occupied countries including Poland without any evidence whatever that any part, however small in proportion, was made to benefit either directly or indirectly either Germany or Italy.

Arrangements for dispatch of 50,000 tons of foodstuffs and medical supplies to Greece were made about a year ago.

On the steamer chartered to take this mercy cargo it was arranged that three independent organisations, the American Vanderbilt Committee, the Turkish Red Cross and the International Red Cross would have representatives, the two latter representatives to supervise the distribution of goods to the Greek people. Of this transaction the "Manchester Guardian" said (September 11th, 1941):—

"The German and Italian Governments have given formal assurances that the supplies will not be diverted to other purposes, and have guaranteed a safe passage for the ship, which will also carry parcels for British prisoners of war in Greece."

Neither of this transaction nor of any other of the few other similar transactions, during this war, has there ever been an allegation from any responsible source that the benefit, either direct or indirect, has been taken by Germany or Italy.

To this day a German Quaker monthly journal founded in 1925 is circulating in Germany. In a recent copy of this German Quaker journal there was a long account translated from an American source of the great work done by the American Friends' Service during the last war under supervision of Mr. Herbert Hoover. The assistance given in food and medical supplies under his supervision in Belgium all through the last war was stupendous, and the honesty of the whole procedure from start to finish has never been seriously questioned.

Mr. Stephen Hobhouse relating these facts in "Peace News" (Setember 19, 1941) made also this following statement:—

"THE QUAKER CHILD-FEEDING HAS NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN IN GERMANY.

American Quakers have been allowed to travel freely both there and in most of the occupied countries and there has, we believe, been no interference with the relief work (strictly limited, owing to the British blockade) which they have tried to do for the Poles and the French."

With regard to Mr. Leach's third point that allowing food to go to starving people in occupied countries would endanger the prospect of victory, there is, I believe, no more important factor in war strategy in our day than war propaganda insofar as it has truth for its foundation. If that is so, then even from the point of view of war strategy **to starve would-be friendly and neutral populations is madness.**

This is not only an anti-war socialist or a pacifist opinion. It is the opinion of a greatly increasing number of other people also as the resolution of the Church of England's Upper House of Convocation shows. An opinion which is fitly expressed in the following passage which I cut from a copy of the non-party "Cavalcade" on March 7th last, than which there could be no more suitable close to this article of mine. It reads as follows:—

"Must we wait till the war is over and a vastly greater number of people are dead from starvation? Are we certain that we can keep under control the fearful instrument we have devised, and which we continue methodically to use, in the Blockade War? And, if we are, can we be certain that there will be any moral justification in it—that British policy will not leave a legacy of hate among former friends as it left last time among enemies?

"These are questions which demand an instant searching of heart among Allied counsels. The Atlantic Charter is filling no craving stomachs in stricken Greece. The liberation theme upon which our unimaginative spokesmen play provoke nothing but bitter reproaches in hungry Belgians or Poles. Dr. Goebbels is telling them that Churchill is a monster responsible for their plight, and it must be asked why we should continue to play the Goebbels game for him, instead of beating him at it.

"At the moment the Germans can say with truth that the bulk of the merchant fleet of Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Yugoslavia are in the service of the Allies, many of them carrying food to Britain. Now, Greece, in pre-war days imported 400,000 tons of wheat annually, and we have so far relinquished the Blockade as to allow one cargo of 8,000 tons to be consigned there!

"'Cavalcade' urges that it will be better, alike for the conscience of democrats and for Allied political strategy, if immediate attention is given to raising the Blockade in a degree more commensurate with the facts. By maintaining it with only niggardly and tardy exceptions we do little to hurt Germany, but much to hurt our former friends. What inference can we expect populations in the occupied countries to draw from the Blockade while we keep in these islands an Army that is becoming known as Hitler's three million prisoners in Britain?"

DUKE OF BEDFORD

TO DEFEND FIRE GUARD AND OTHER "CONCHIES"

Forthcoming Speech in the House of Lords

This month the Duke of Bedford expects to make his fourth speech in the House of Lords. It will be recalled that his third speech made last July, was interrupted and so unfinished. The speech will be in support of his motion to call the attention of the Government

to the unsatisfactory position whereby through the failure of many tribunals to discharge their duties in a just and reasonable manner, and also through the failure of the Government to recognise the right of conscientious objection to fire-watching and to other compulsory work ordered by the Ministry of Labour, many persons of good character are being heavily fined or imprisoned, sometimes repeatedly for the same offence to move, to resolve, that the right to conscientious objection to fire-watching and to work ordered by the Ministry of Labour be henceforward recognised, and that appellate tribunals shall contain a majority of persons who, while fully prepared to recognise and reject the appeals of persons who are not genuine, have sympathy for the position of the sincere objector, whatever the grounds for his objection.

Lord Ponsonby may speak in support of the Duke's motion. Whether other members of the Upper House will have the courage to stand for conscience as Lords Parmour and Sheffield did during the last war we cannot say. Many wise words were uttered in the House of Lords in those days in opposition to some very foolish ones uttered in defence of the Government of the time, and the policy of persecuting war resisters.

It is interesting to read Lord Holland's famous memoirs, and also the life of Charles James Fox, to see how at this period the names of Mr. Ponsonby, M.P., and the Duke of Bedford were linked together, on the unpopular side. Lord Holland's memoirs and Fox's life make interesting political reading.

CARLILE CENTENARY COMMEMORATION

CENTRAL [GRAND] HALLS

(25 Bath Street, and Renfield Street.)

SUNDAY, February 7, 1943

(100th Anniversary of Richard Carlile's Death falls on Wednesday, February 10th, 1943.)

DOORS open 2.30. Chair taken 3 p.m.

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Note time 3 p.m. Doors open 2.30 p.m.

INCITEMENT TO ——?

By the Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER, B.A.
(Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London)

We called her Bouncer, which was the nearest thing we ever got to an international pun. And certainly Elsa Kladno deserved the epithet.

She was short, plump and jolly. Of course we, who knew her inner story, knew also the magnificent heroism which made her present such an exterior to the world. For, if anyone could possibly have an excuse for being morose and unhappy, it was Elsa.

She came from Prague, where her father was a professor of medicine at the university. I'd met him once, in London, about ten years ago, and a more benign old gentlemen it is impossible to imagine. He'd come over to read a paper on psychology to the British Medical Congress, and I well remember the furore it caused in intellectual circles. He wiped the ground with the materialistic behavourists, and gave the soundest of scientific reasons why he considered a living faith in Christ essential to mental health. As I, too, held the same opinions, and had plenty of opportunities of proving them in my combined work as a psychologist and parish priest, it was only natural that I should invite Dr. Kladno to spend his last few days in London at my vicarage. And in between the enormous amount of work that he contrived to do even when he was supposed to be on holiday, we discussed many of our cases with mutual delight and profit.

We had another point of contact too. For, like myself, Dr. Kladno was a Pacifist,and in Prague he was the leader of a small, select, devout and intellectual circle of men and women who agreed with his views. It was a bit difficult at first explaining to him what an Anglo-Catholic was—he, of course, was of the Roman obedience. But his large-hearted charity soon bridged the gulf between us, and we corresponded regularly after his return to Prague.

In fact, my wife and I were on the point of accepting his recurring invitation to spend our holidays there, when the Nazi troubles started and Czechoslovakia was invaded. Our correspondence came to a sudden end.

It was in 1940 that I heard of the Kladno's again. A refugee organisation with which I had had some dealings, rang me up one morning. They said that a certain Elsa Kladno had arrived in London, and had told them of her father's acquaintance with me. Of course, my wife and I got busy at once, and within an hour Elsa had come to stay with us.

She was pale, and almost thin when she arrived. When my wife tucked her in bed that night, she broke down for the first and only time, and we learned something of the horrors she had been through in Prague and elsewhere. But twenty-five is a recuperable age, and Elsa—outwardly at all events—soon recovered her good spirits. We both loved her from the start. She fitted in as if we had known her for years, and pretty soon she was like another daughter to us. At first her English was almost unrecogniseable, but we got on with smatterings of German and French, until her quick mind enabled her to speak English almost without a flaw. She was very musical, too, and spent hours keeping up her practice on our piano. I don't think I mentioned that she'd won a gold medal from the Vienna Conservatoire when she was eighteen, and was regarded as a coming pianist in that land of natural musicians.

She wouldn't have left Prague at all, if it hadn't been for the firm insistance of her father. Though Dr. Kladno wasn't interested in politics, he could see perhaps a bit more clearly than most, which way the wind was blowing. When I say he wasn't interested in politics, I mean just that. Leaders of all parties were amongst his intimate friends, and very often bitter opponents would meet at Dr. Kladno's house, and his influence was enough to make them become almost friends while they were there. However, when the second world war started, Dr. Kladno insisted on sending Elsa to England through Austria and Italy; managed, too, to ensure that she brought a fairly good supply of money with her. At least, we'll call it money, for I don't want to give the old man's secret away, lest I spoil the chances of others who have hit on the same idea. Of course, some of you who have listened to Elsa's marvellous broadcasts on the B.B.C., may by this time have guessed that her name wasn't Kladno at all. But what you can guess won't hurt her, now.

Elsa had the kind of hair that every woman wants, and few get. It was gold and sparkling, great masses of it piled up in naturally wavy "sets", as I believe the technical term is. Her complexion was fair, her eyes a lightish blue. Her rippling laugh was one of the most infectious things I know. Our children loved her. And that's the finest test of all.

One evening we'd been privileged to listen to Elsa in a B.B.C. studio, and we got home fairly late. We'd missed the nine o'clock news, and it was Elsa herself who suggested listening to the B.B.C. European broadcast. To my dying day I shall regret that I didn't smash the radio then and there.

I don't know whether you often listen to the continental service of the B.B.C. You'll be surprised at their flavour. They are, well, more pungent, shall we say, than the usually polite and well-bred stuff dished out for English listeners. And this night it was worse than usual.

The announcer had a rather harsh voice, and this quality was augmented by the brusque way in which he read the news. And when he got down to giving some details about some Quisling or other who had been shot in Brussels, he fairly let himself go. "We are interested to hear", he said in a gloating sort of voice, "that Monsieur Paul Lallier was shot in Brussels yesterday. Monsieur Lallier was one of those Belgians who was pleased to co-operate (I can give you no real indication of the sneer in his voice as he said that word) with the Nazis. You may remember that only last week we called your attention to his nefarious dealings with the enemy. And now he has received his reward."

"I am now going to read you", continued the announcer, "a list of people whom you should watch very very carefully. And, if they are listening themselves, I should like to tell them that they are playing a very dangerous game. It may be that they don't understand the terrible nemesis awaiting them. But they can be sure that it will shortly overtake them. . . . Now, perhaps you would like to have a pencil and paper ready, to take down this further list of traitors who have been brought to our notice."

"If that isn't direct incitement to murder", said my wife, "then I've never heard of it."

Elsa nodded dreamily. I think she was still thinking of that Liszt rhapsody she had played that evening.

Then, without warning, the blow fell.

"Last on our list", said the announcer with relish, "is the name of Dr. Albrecht Kladno, of Prague University."

Elsa came out of her dream in a flash. Her face grew pale and old. Her mouth opened. Her hands clenched. And she gazed at the radio with a growing expression of horror and despair.

The rasping voice flowed on. "Dr. Kladno", it said, "has been very friendly with the Nazi chiefs in Prague, very friendly indeed. On several occasions prominent members of the Nazi party have been coming from his house, where presumably there has been a meeting. Dr. Kladno is playing a very dangerous game, and we have given you his name because we thought you might be interested. We know you will keep a careful watch on Dr. Kladno and his kind, and . . ."

I dashed across the room and switched off the radio. My wife knelt beside Elsa's chair, and clutched the trembling hands that seemed to have lost all life.

"Don't worry, Elsa darling", said my wife. "It will be all right. It will be all right, Elsa, dear. I know it will. Don't worry."

Elsa took a deep, shuddering breath. "How horrible!" she moaned. "How dreadful! Why, Daddy wouldn't dream of plotting for or against anyone. Friendly! He's friendly to everyone. His friendship is the finest thing he's got to offer."

"And he offers it generously", I put in, now that I could trust myself to speak.

The next few days were a nightmare. The three of us pestered the B.B.C. and every Government department we could reach. Everywhere the reply was the same—it was someone else's responsibility. Of course, the various officials were polite, that goes without saying. They regretted everything. But then, as one of them hinted, war was war, and no doubt the information received was correct.

We could do nothing. The thing was hopeless from the start. We could see by the way various people looked down their noses as we tried desperately to explain that Dr. Kladno was a Pacifist. But it was no good. The B.B.C. had spoken. The cause was finished.

Elsa, pale, grim, and self-controlled, haunted the radio. She tuned in to Prague, Berlin, Vienna—everywhere in fact where she might get some news. And it was five nights later that she got it—again from the B.B.C.

"We are interested to hear", said the gloating voice, "that Dr. Albrecht Kladno and his wife have paid the penalty of their friendship with the Nazis in Prague. Yesterday a bomb was thrown into their drawing-room, and they were both killed. Now if you will get your pencils and paper . . ."

* * *

"Aunty Elsa", said our youngest son a few weeks later, "why has your hair gone all white?"

TO THE POETS

When the last great war was over,
And the echo of guns had died away,
And the brave lay dead on foreign fields,
And the living returned on feet of clay,
Your verse was bitter as gall, Poets,
How you raved and cursed at war,
You saw through the game, above the throng,
War was fiendish, and war was wrong,
And could never be right—ay, that was your song,
And your books were popular.

But now we have war again, Poets,
The same kind of war as before,
Or do you believe 'tis for Freedom's cause,
And a brave new world for the poor?
Ye must, for your patriotic verse
Is the voice of your masters' guns,
This war, at last, is a war of right,
You changed your views in a single night,
And you praise the men who fly high at night,
And drop their death on the Huns.

But when it is over again, Poets,
And the brave are dead once more,
And the living are walking the hungry streets,
As they did so long before,
And the promises of your masters,
Are words that are buried and dead,
You will rail again, in the same old way,
And show up the shame and hypocrisy,
But forget that you, too, in the bloody fray
The poor to the slaughter led.

JOE CORRIE.

RICHARD CARLILE

A reproduction of the famous oil painting of Richard Carlile presented by George Jacob Holyoake to the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Hannan Swaffer, in the "Daily Herald", for December 22, last, under the title "Protest for a Prophet", wrote:—

Although it is more than ever necessary, to-day, to educate people as to how reformers struggled for the freedom they now enjoy—it did not descend as a gift from the heavens—not everyone seems to think so.

B.B.C. Says "No!"

The Rationalist Press Association had arranged for G. D. H. Cole to broadcast a special talk in celebration of the centenary of Richard Carlile's death — but the Talks Director of the B.B.C., apparently, had never heard of him.

"Although many are furious at the decision", writes Dr. Charles Brook, "the matter cannot be raised in Parliament. Won't journalists protest?"

In Jail for Freedom.

John Wilkes, certainly, is better known. But Carlile fought for the freedom of the Press and for unlicensed liberty of speech and writing with an equal zeal.

Born at Ashburton, Devonshire, in 1790, he died in London, at his publishing house in Fleet Street, on February 10, 1843, after having spent nearly ten years in jail for so-called "blasphemy and sedition."

Forgotten!

"Jail Journal", compiled by Guy A. Aldred, his contemporary champion, from Carlile's writings in prison, is in parts worthy of Tom Paine.

His courage was monumental. He advocated a living vigilant democracy. He discussed birth control—in 1826!

"Yet, while reactionist Cobbett and compromiser Hone have been remembered", writes Aldred, "while politicians Henry Hunt and Francis Burdett have been praised, the bravest and most stalwart revolutionist of his time, the Social Republican and ex-tinker, Richard Carlile, has been forgotten or ignored."

So, alas, are thousands of others to whose stalwartness our freedom is due.

Chapman Cohen, in "The Freethinker", for December 27, 1942, writes:—

"Jail Journal and Other Writings by Richard Carlile", Edited and arranged by Guy A. Aldred (Strickland Press, Glasgow, 2s.) gives nearly a hundred pages of sketches by Carlile, one of the most fearless of English Freethinkers and Radicals, and will be welcomed by many. There is a fine example to be found of the way the work of these pioneers is neglected and forgotten in almost any standard history of the early 19th century that one cares to pick up. If their names are mentioned, it is in such a way as to give the reader the impression that they are not of great consequence. Our scholastic system sadly needs overhauling.

Reviewing "Jail Journal", in "The Monthly Record" of The South Place Ethical Society, for February, our comrade, "Humanist" writes:—

This closely printed book of 90 pages has been produced as a centennial tribute to the memory of Richard Carlile, who died on February 10, 1843, at the age of 53. Out of this quite modest term of life, nine years and four months were spent in prison in consequence of his persistence in publishing matter technically in contravention of the Blasphemy Laws. This matter included Paine's "Age of Reason", referred to by Dr. Conway as "that really religious book." It was one of the many merits of Mr. W. J. Fox (at that time a firm believer in Christianity and in the Bible) that on the Sunday preceding the trial in October, 1819, he arraigned the whole principle of such prosecutions.

Mr. Aldred in his Foreword expresses the hope that the hundredth anniversary of Carlile's death will be celebrated throughout the English-speaking world. South Place Ethical Society has arranged to do its share for, as already announced, it has obtained the consent of Mr. Joseph McCabe to deliver a discourse on this subject at the meeting on Sunday, February 7.

Jail Journal contains a number of refreshingly outspoken articles by Carlile, many of which were written in jail. He was a freethinker who did not hesitate to call himself an atheist. His approach to Nature was strictly scientific and he gave hard knocks even to such an eminent mathematical philosopher as Sir Isaac Newton for his inability to divest himself of superstitious beliefs. Among other interesting items included in the booklet, those entitled "What is Love" and 'Thomas Paine" are of special importance. The first examines the nature of the normal love relation between man and woman and advocates birth control. In this respect Carlile anticipated one of the activities of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. The second is a convenient summary of the life of Thomas Paine.

(Concluded from Column 3.)

ment to the principles of that great and good man —ROBERT OWEN."

He gives his reasons for coinciding in Owen's principles, and concludes:—

"As I never in thought, word, or deed, wilfully injured any human being, I hope that I shall be forgiven by those whom I may have inadvertently or unconsciously jostled in this world's scramble. I have indefatigably, sincerely and disinterestedly laboured to improve the condition of humanity—believing it to be the duty of every man to leave the world better than he found it; and if I have not pursued this object with that wisdom and discretion that should mark at all times the conduct of a rational man, I have zealously maintained what appeared to me to be right, and paid the penalty of what my opponents may term my indiscretions in many cruel persecutions. I freely forgive all who have injured me in the struggle; and die in the hope and consolation that a time is approaching when the spirit of antagonism will give place to fraternal affection and universal co-operation to promote the happiness of mankind.

"(Signed) "Henry Hetherington.

"In the presence of G. J. Holyoake, Henry Allsop Ivory, John Kenny."

The sentiments of Hetherington as regards god, death, and priestcraft are commendable. But the manner of expression is terribly Victorian and I cannot imagine an atheist of our day being so troubled in the matter. Death is obviously the end of all and whether we state the fact poetically or not, the fact remains, and mortal existence cannot override it. The fact stated, the fuss ends.

It is to Hetherington's credit that he desired to check the "Infidel Death Bed" fiction, which was a stock-in-trade of superstition at that time. For that, and his struggle for the Free Press, workers should honour his memory.

UNITARIAN MEETINGS.

The ministers of the following churches are convinced Socialists and Anti-Militarists. Sunday Services are usually 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. but all comrades wishing to attend should read the local notices. We will add gladly to our announcements.

COVENTRY, New Great Meeting House, Holyhead Road, Rev. RICHARD LEE.

LIVERPOOL, Hope Street Church, Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

PORTSMOUTH, High Street Chapel, at 62 Kingston Crescent, North End, CHARLES H. COLE.

SOUTHAMPTON, The Little Chapel. Avenue Congrega Church, Rev. F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A.

AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE, Un. Ch., Grey St., Eastern Hill, 11 and 7, Rev. W. BOTTOMLEY.

The ministers, and some members of the congregation of these churches, are readers of "The Word." Comrades who attend services as a result of reading this paper should make the fact known.

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HENRY HETHERINGTON

[In these columns for October 1941, we commenced a study on Carlile's contemporaries and biographers. Although the matter was in type we have not succeeded in publishing it, owing to pressure on our space. In this issue, we reproduce the part dealing with Henry Hetherington. This essay extends the note found on pages 147-148 of "Richard Carlile, Agitator", and also the paragraphs in the "Introduction" referring to Hetherington, pages 17-18. Since this month is the centenary of Carlile's death, no apology is needed for this record.—Ed.]

Henry Hetherington survived Richard Carlile six years. In his youth, Hetherington learned the trade of a painter. He pursued this profession to such purpose that he spent most of his public life as the much-persecuted and much-imprisoned champion of the unstamped newspaper. He opened a shop in the Strand, London, to champion the Free Press, but removed to Holywell Street, and then to Judd Street, New Road.

Hetherington died a member of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians. The Board paid a great tribute to his memory, on Friday, August 24, 1849, the day after his death. But the class war was a reality in 1849 as it is to-day. And it was as impossible to reconcile the rights of the poor with the interests of the rate-payers then as it is now. I prefer Hetherington's Atheism to his social economy.

Hetherington died at 4 a.m. on the Thursday, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, from cholera, following upon nine days' dysentery. He was buried at Kensal Green on the Sunday. Funeral orations were delivered by James Watson and George Jacob Holyoake.

Hetherington decided, on the Tuesday evening before his death, to put forth his last will and testament

"for the satisfaction and guidance of esteemed friends, that no mistake or misapprehension may arise through false reports of those who officiously and obtrusively obtain access to the deathbeds of avowed infidels to priestcraft and superstition."

Hetherington recounts his reasons for disbelieving in the deity, and proceeds:—

"2nd. I believe death to be an eternal sleep—that I shall never live again in this world, or another, with a consciousness that I am the same identical person that once lived, performed the duties, and exercised the functions of a human being.

"3rd. I consider priestcraft and superstition the greatest obstacle to human improvement and happiness. During my life I have, to the best of my ability, sincerely and strenuously exposed and opposed them, and die with a firm conviction that Truth, Justice and Liberty will never be permanently established on earth till every vestige of superstition and priestcraft shall be utterly destroyed.

"4th. I have ever considered that the only religion useful to man consists exclusively in the practice of morality, and in the mutual interchange of kind actions. In such a religion there is no room for priests—and when these are seen interfering at our births, marriages and deaths, pretending to conduct us safely through this state of being to another and happier world, any disinterested person of the least shrewdness and discernment must perceive that their sole aim is to stultify the minds of the people by their incomprehensible doctrines, that they may the more effectually fleece the poor deluded sheep who listen to their empty babblings and mystifications.

"5th. As I have lived so I die, a determined opponent to their nefarious and plundering system. I wish my friends, therefore, to deposit my remains in unconsecrated ground, and trust they will allow no priest, or clergyman of any denomination, to interfere in any way whatever at my funeral. My earnest desire is that no relation or friend shall wear black or any kind of mourning, as I consider it contrary to our rational principles to indicate respect for a departed friend, by complying with hypocritical custom."

In the sixth clause, Hetherington expresses his wishes with reference to his funeral, and concludes:—

"These are my views and feelings in quitting an existence that has been chequered with the plagues and pleasures of a competitive, scrambling, selfish system; a system by which the moral and social aspirations of the noblest human beings are nullified by incessant toil and physical deprivations; by which, indeed, all men are trained to be either slaves, hypocrites or criminals. Hence my ardent attach-

(Concluded on Column 2.)

(which may come to us whether we want it or not), the second (the only one our Government seems to envisage at present) is to try to meet our after-war difficulties by our present obsolete and useless methods, which do not permit the effective use of our own resources but rely on a vain and foolish dream of fighting successfully for foreign markets and holding them by force of arms or finance. The third alternative is to prepare to use money as the servant, and not the master, of production and distribution.

PEACE AIMS ACTIVITIES

RYHS DAVIES AT BIRMINGHAM

Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., addressing a very enthusiastic Conference in Birmingham on Saturday, January 30th, 1943, stated that we had at last reached the age of crucifixion of youth and the martyrdom of man. There must be at this moment not less than 30 million men under arms in the world, and at least another 100 millions working at fever heat to provide them with weapons for their mutual destruction. Before the conflict ended it may be that one half the adult human race would be engaged directly or indirectly in destroying each other. And in ten years or so after it was all over, and man had recovered his sanity once more, the impartial historian writing the story of this period would stand aghast and wonder then why it was that there did not arise among the peoples in the belligerent countries at least a few who made a determined endeavour to put a stop to the carnage. It was well, therefore, to let that historian know that there were in 1943 in these islands some who tried to bring the holocaust to an end by reason rather than by further bloodshed.

The peoples of Europe seemed to have made up their minds that war had become just the ordinary business of life. Indeed, the majority appeared as if they were terrified lest Peace and Goodwill should again dawn on the world. The workman, who now earned a decent wage for the first time in his career, possibly feared that if the War stopped his job in the factory would end too; and he would be thrown on the scrap-heap when the fighting was ended. The same applied to many employers too. There were still many workmen who felt the full blast of the economic blizzard after the Great War, which brought ruin on their industries and upon them and their families as well. What they all forgot, however, was that the longer war lasts the greater the evil after-effects of the disruption of industrial and civil life. You cannot continue for years to blow into the air the labour and substance of a nation and pawn its wealth in the bargain, and then think you can begin all over again as if nothing had happened. He protested against the assumption that Governments anywhere were powerful and clever enough to harness the financial, economic and political consequences of a world war. Many of those who now promised they could do that would not be in power when the conflict was over to try. It is inconceivable that Roosevelt, Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin would hold office five years after this war ended; nations had almost a universal habit of relentlessly discarding later on those who led them into the slaughter, whether the war was won, lost, or ended in stalemate.

During the heat of the War of 1914-18 there were several attempts at a negotiated Peace, and some of them nearly succeeded; and it is clear now that mankind, and especially the working classes, would have fared much better if that had happened rather than continue the knock-out blow policy until the Kaiser was dethroned. However mad the Kaiser, it was almost agreed in this country now that he was a much more reasonable person than Hitler. But then, our enemy for the time being is always the worst we have ever met. Ten years hence, should another enemy arise in Europe, Hitler might then appear a gentleman by comparison; and so the madness proceeds from one generation to another.

The peoples of the belligerent nations were not, of course, made aware then of the attempts at an Armistice during 1916; and it is not inconceivable that even at this moment Peace feelers may not be roaming round Europe. Even Parliament will not be told that much, although we pride ourselves that we are a Democracy. It was essential that the peoples of each country at War should make their views known to their Governments. Every Government is, naturally, delighted when moves for Peace or attempts at revolution are made in enemy countries; they are terrified, however, if any such suggestion is made in their own. He objected very strongly to the attitude adopted by governments that the common folk had no right to say what they thought about War when it was being waged. They suffered the evil consequences even more so than members of governments. Wars are, of course, the consequences of quarrels between statesmen; and strange as it may seem, those responsible for the quarrels never themselves fought it out; they compelled other men to do the fighting and dying for them. That, to him, was the most disgraceful point of all about modern wars. History relates that many centuries ago kings, princes and chieftains who quarrelled did the fighting among themselves, whilst their subjects carried victuals to the battle front in their support. The position now had been reversed; young men were at last fighting and carrying victuals to each other, whilst the chieftains sat at their firesides reading maps to see how the battle was raging.

Some argued that to suggest an Armistice was a confession of defeat; he thought the reverse was the case. The bravest thing that any sensible man could do was to try and bring the combatants to reason with each other. There must be, of course, an Armistice some day and a Peace Conference to follow. Peace negotiation had always been a better bargain for mankind than when the victors imposed terms on the vanquised. The awful consequences of the Treaty of Versailles proved all that. He felt that the forces at work in this war were too evenly matched for the traditional military victory to inure for either side. It looked at the moment, in spite of the vile propaganda of the several Governments to the contrary, that the conflict might end in sheer exhaustion. Millions of people living on big patches of the earth were already facing hunger; the tillers of the soil where Nature intended them to live and labour were now engaged on the most futile tasks that were ever conceived—that of killing and maiming each other. Ships and their crews were being sent to the bottom millions of men, women and children were murdered; towns devastated and the best buildings and works of art destroyed; and all that was done in order forsooth to satisfy the hatred, greed and selfishness of a few. The massacre up to date, however, was nothing in comparison with what we may expect if the conflict proceeded much further. He was not sure but that famine, pestilence, revolution and chaos awaited the human race everywhere unless this madness was ended soon by an Armistice.

In any case, he was not going to be a silent witness of this destruction and the spread of foul disease, hunger and misery. He was a British subject first, but he was a citizen of the world as well. Whilst he was strongly opposed to Totalitarianism of all kinds, it must be remembered that even when that system is doomed some other bogey will emerge to rouse the hatred of perfidious persons who delight in bloodshed and who at the same time declare that they love Peace and rejoice in international Goodwill.

In conclusion he said that it was more true now than ever that "Peace is the Masterpiece of Reason", and that Peace hath her Victories no less renowned than Wars."

A REAL POET.

There is a Poet in our place,
A pale, exotic-looking fellow,
With a Jesus Christ-like face,
And a skin a pimply-yellow.

All day long he wanders round,
Up the hillside, by the river,
Searching, musing, so profound,
Riding whiles—to shake his liver.

Khaki shorts, and coloured tie,
And a beard—as Poet's wear 'em,
Now and then flat down he'll lie,
Upon the grass, to write a poem.

Writes of flowers and nightingales,
And nymphs who haunt the faery streamlets,
Aesthetic to his finger-nails,
And is quite famous for his dreamlets.

He sits on fences quite a lot,
Looking down on ploughmen broiling,
And sees the beauty of the spot,
But not the shame of these folk toiling.

He never asks what wage they earn,
Nor of the hours they give the farmer,
Sees the milkmaid at the churn,
And sings of her as some sweet charmer.

Chloe-Milkmaid sort of thing,
As was sung in days of Spenser,
Yet her curses have a sting
That would never pass the censor.

I've often wondered, now I know it—
Why we've never had brave songs,
When we have the Worker Poet,
Then we'll sing of shames and wrongs.

Then will poetry be a real thing,
Something vital, true and strong,
No sweet faery-wisps of feeling,
But a new world in a song.

JOE CORRIE.

TOWARDS SOCIALIST UNITY

JOHN McGOVERN'S LETTER

We have received the following letter of interest and solidarity from our comrade, John McGovern, M.P.:—

Dear Guy,—Please accept enclosed cheque for £3 towards your fund on behalf of Maxton, Stephen and myself. We are of opinion that your propaganda has been deadly against war and every form of selfish private interest. In these days of self-seeking and departure from every principle of working class interest it is stimulating to us to read your very fine publication. Your searchlight on past and present activities and pronouncements is the best I have read since the war began.

Although we differ in certain approaches we still admire your efforts.

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN McGOVERN.

House of Commons, Feb. 4, 1943.

Naturally, this letter recalls incidents of the last war, and our close associations with John McGovern during the period 1920-1922, and his intense loyalty during our Barlinnie imprisonment of 1921-22, when the Government of the day attempted in vain to outlaw the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation. It recalls, also, the Free Speech fight on Glasgow Green, when McGovern, Maxton, and Campbell Stephen all took part. Other meetings and associations are recalled, especially in connection with opposition to the great war, and Socialist propaganda activity in Fife immediately after our release from gaol in 1919; meeting Maxton trekking to Dunfermline where we were both due to address Socialist Anti-Militarist meetings, etc.

To-day, we need a great Socialist and Pacifist unity, a movement of wide proletarian common sense and struggle, as never before. All the forces of reason, progress, and revolution must unite. In this spirit of urgency and solidarity we welcome the gesture of McGovern, Maxton, and Campbell Stephen. There should be uncompromising freedom of speech and also uncompromising unity of aim and purpose. We need an immediate unity and we are prepared to do all we can to bring about such unity and make it effective.

On the same day as we received John McGovern's letter, we received a letter from our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P. He had circulated a large quantity of the January issue in Manchester and wrote stating that he was looking to future issues. Comrade Davies also stressed the need for Socialist and Pacifist unity at this moment of crisis.

Outside Parliament, our comrade F. W. Jowett uses his pen boldly and fearlessly, denouncing war and careerism. Jowett's article on "The New British Fascism," exposing Herbert Morrison's line-up with Big Business interests, published in "The New Leader," for February 6, is one of the most useful and fearless articles he has penned during his long career of struggle against capitalism and its calamatious consequence, the destruction of humanity by war and disease. Every Socialist should read this striking essay and tell his mates about it..

Health is returning to the movement: the health of unity in understanding; unity and mutual criticism, without which unity would be but a barren conformity. Very soon, we shall discover a united platform and the recreation of the Socialist movement.

Let us unite.

WORD BOUND VOLUME. For 3 years, May 1939 to July 1942, inclusive. Green Cloth, 12s 6d. Post Free 13s 6d.

WANTED. — Old Freethought and Socialist pamphlets, papers, books. Carlile, Holyoake, Foote, Hyndman, etc.—WILLIAM WATSON, 27 Canal St., Kirkintilloch.

THE PICTURE

By the Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER, B.A.
(Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London)

There is a very famous radio personality who always claims he runs into some very "rum" things each week. I haven't heard him for some time now, but I think you know the one I mean.

Whenever he finished his item with his well-known remark, "Lumme! I don't 'arf run inter some rum things, I don't", I always used to reply—though of course he couldn't hear me—"I wish you'd take my job for a week. You'd run into a good many more." Parish priests do see life, you know.

Take, for example, that night our post-warden came into our shelter on a flying visit in the middle of a blitz. He was in a hurry. Two of his wardens had been killed the night before, and he was short-handed. By the time of his visit we'd settled the people into the shelter, so I offered to do a patrol for him. And he accepted without hesitation.

That was how I managed to run into one of those rum things that would beat Syd Walker's into a cocked hat. Of course, I didn't know the whole story till later, but it was rum enough from the start.

I had just turned a corner, keeping a sharp look-out for any infringements of the black-out. Ahead of me the street stretched dark and gloomy, and I knew there was only one house inhabited in the whole row. The rest just weren't inhabitable at all, after the night before.

Suddenly I heard the usual shrill, seering sound, too close for comfort, and I dived for cover. The bomb—fortunately it wasn't a large one—hit one of the deserted houses about fifty yards from where I was lying and exploded.

So I ran along, just in case someone had been nearer than myself.

I hadn't gone twenty yards when I vaguely saw someone coming out of the house I mentioned above. It was a man. He was coming towards me. And, in spite of everything, my mind slipped back to that radio personality. This was rum, if ever anything was.

* * *

Highbrows would, of course, have turned up their noses at such a picture. It was cheap and gaudy, some sort of a free gift such as used to delight readers of Victorian magazines. It was full of pale pinks, sky blues and watery greens. But Bob had always loved it.

The subject was a very effeminate Christ, standing in a typical antimacassared Victorian drawing-room. A moustached gentleman had obviously been having a quarrel with his wife, for his chin was up as he stood looking down at her shrinking, weeping figure in a chair. Underneath the picture was the caption: "The Unseen Listener."

Yes, it was altogether an unworthy picture. But Bob, who didn't know anything about art, had always loved it. His mother had got his father to make a frame for it, and it had hung, ever since Bob could remember, on the wall at the foot of his bed. Whenever he couldn't sleep, and that was often because the flat was really quiet, Bob used to lie and look at the picture, illuminated as it was by a ray which came in through the cracked window-pane from the gas-light in the street.

Sometimes, when he was ill—which was very often, too—Bob used to get his mother to make up a story about the picture. And, though she had little imagination, she managed to invent something to please him, always ending with the words, "So ye see, Bob, ye mustn't sye no 'ard words to no one. Jesus'll allus 'ear ye. An' if ye remembers that, ye won't sye nor do nuthink bad."

Bob liked nothing better than to take the Vicar into his tiny bedroom, whenever that kind old gentleman called, and show him the picture. That, of course, was when Bob was quite tiny, before he grew out of going to church and became grown-up like Dad and Mum. But he never grew away from his picture.

Bob was still a small boy when Dad went away to the war, and he couldn't quite understand why Mum started to cry one day when a telegram came.

He was too young to miss his Dad, and soon got used to not having him round the place. There was quite enough to fill it, anyway, for Bob had three sisters and a brother. So Dad wasn't missed, except sometimes, when Bob's ailing chest wouldn't let him go out. Then he remembered how Dad used to take him on his knee in front of the kitchen fire. Dad's face was rough, and Bob loved pulling his long moustache. Dad was also clever with his hands, and he made a lot of toys for young Bob; so many, in fact, that the others were jealous, and deliberately smashed them when Dad was out. But Bob was afraid to tell Dad when he returned, because the others had threatened to bash him if he did. So he had to say that he'd broken the things himself, and that used to make Dad look sorry. But, though there was a certain resemblance between Dad's face and the man in the picture, Dad never looked really cross at such times, and certainly Bob couldn't remember that Dad had ever said unkind things to Mum. He never made her cry, like the lady in the picture—except, of course, when the telegram came, and Mum said that Dad wasn't coming home no more.

It was shortly after this that Bob went away for a long trip to the hospital. "'E's allus 'ad a weak chest", said Mum. On this occasion it was nearly two years before he returned home. And during this illness, when at times he was slightly delirious, Bob would often ask for his picture.

When he got home he found that the family had moved into a small flat in one of the "buildings", as they were called. And Mum had got a job. By this time the two eldest were working, too, so things weren't too bad.

Bob was in and out of school. The slightest suspicion of wet weather stretched him on his bed which he now shared with two others. And often he amused himself by making up new stories about his picture. When he left school at fourteen he couldn't get a job to suit him. He had fifteen in less than four years, and lost them all through illness. Then he got his only permanent job, as a pot-man in a local pub, though even now he often lost a week's pay because of his chest. Indeed, to look at him, you would wonder where he found room in his chest to draw a decent breath. He was undersized and pinched, and his chest looked like a chicken's.

However, things weren't too bad. The three girls did pretty well for themselves by marriage, meeting their husbands in the restaurant where they were waitresses. Bob's brother went into the Air Force. So Bob and Mum moved again, into two rooms this time, and managed to make ends meet. Sometimes, of course, they had to pawn things. But then, that was natural to people in their state, and they thought nothing about it. But, whatever was sold or pawned, Bob's picture was inviolate. Nothing would persuade him to let that go.

Mum died in the infirmary just before the second world war, and Bob stayed on at the same address, though now he had only one room with a gas-ring which sufficed for his cooking. But he still had his picture, though by now he used to laugh openly at it whenever one of his pals came to see him.

"It was Mum's reely. She got it from Dad, and wouldn't part with it."

Then the blitzes started, and the district got badly knocked about. The house where Bob lived was the only one in the row. Of course, the windows were out, the ceilings were down, and there was no gas. But Bob managed by lighting a fire in the tiny grate, and kept his coal in a box under the stairs.

One day he had a bad attack of coughing and spat up a lot of blood. He couldn't go out. So all day he lay in bed with nothing to eat, and he was feeling very ill indeed when the sirens sounded at black-out time.

The raid was a pretty bad one, and several times Bob thought he'd better get up and go to a shelter. But he didn't feel up to it. Every movement meant more coughing, and an increase of the pain in his chest. So he stayed where he was, listening to the noises of the raid outside—the droning of the planes, the staccato roar of the guns, the whine of bombs falling some distance away, and occasionally the sound of a fire-engine or an ambulance.

By now it was dark, but there were plenty of houses burning, so that Bob could still see his picture faintly outlined against the opposite wall. And it was the last thing he saw before he dropped off into a feverish doze.

The crash and the blast arrived together. Bob woke up in mid-air. He felt himself flying across the room, surrounded by bits of furniture and shreds of bed-clothes. He hit the wall with a crash which dazed him. And when he emerged from a sort of red mist he could hear what was left of the house falling all about him.

Then he pannicked. He was too ill to worry about being killed. But he didn't want to be crushed by the falling bricks, or to be buried beneath a huge pile of rubble. He scrambled to his feet. As he did so his picture fell from the wall, striking him in the chest. Without thought he grabbed it and, holding it in both hands, dashed through the door, along the passage and out into the street.

* * *

And that was why I was surprised to see a completely naked man running from the bombed house, holding in front of him a large picture.

VICTIMISING CONSCIENCE.

Thomas Johnston's Attitude.

The instalment of "The Editor's Trials," published in this issue, recites the indignation of Thomas Johnston, then editor of the "Forward," in 1921, over the victimisation of a policeman. Johnston has the power to right the wrong then done to an innocent man by the Chief Constable of the day and endorsed by the then Secretary of State for Scotland with whom Johnston is in most friendly terms at the moment. War-interests, and the pursuit of war purposes, unites them. Johnston has not righted the wrong he denounced so vigorously in 1921 but he has interfered with the right of conscience.

The appointment as a probation officer in Glasgow of a conscientious objector, Kenneth B. Roberton, son of Sir Hugh Roberton, was reviewed by the Probation Committee of the Corporation in November, 1942, exactly 21 years after Johnston's excitement at victimisation.

The committee had previously agreed to make the appointment, but Johnston, as Secretary of State for Scotland declined to approve the arrangement for a permanent filling of the vacancy. The committee proposed that the appointment should be for the duration of the war.

In withholding his sanction, the Secretary of State pointed out that the Probation Committee had power to make a temporary appointment to the position—one for three months, which would be renewable if desired—without reference to him, and the question put to the committee was whether they should exercise this power.

Several protests against the appointment of Mr. Roberton were submitted to the committee from Church organisations, including the Presbytery of Glasgow and the Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church.

Councillor Ian Galbraith moved in the committee that no appointment be made. As an amendment Mrs. Kate Beaton proposed that Mr. Roberton be appointed under the temporary arrangement. On a division the motion was carried by 6 votes to 5.

In our view, so long as this system continues, and Probation Officers are necessary, Kenneth Roberton is the one man suited for the task. There never ought to have been any opposition.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

III. GLASGOW (1921) TRIAL ECHOES

(Continued from Volume III., page 109.)

[Part I. of these trials, on Indian Sedition (1909) case appeared in "The Word" for September 1940. The 1921 Trial commenced in the September 1941 issue. It concluded in the April 1942 issue. Some of the issues containing accounts of these trials are obtainable but not all. A number are out of print. Part III. records events arising out of the 1921 Trial and the Case of the Documents, which introduced us to the High Court at Edinburgh, and so opened our appearances at Parliament House. We will complete the Glasgow and Edinburgh records, before dealing with our English Court Martials; Hyde Park Sedition and Blasphemy Cases, 1925 and Hyde Park Free Speech Case, 1938; Irregular Marriage Trial, 1916; and Birth Control Case, 1923.—Ed.

The Glasgow Sedition trial had several important repercussions. One makes most important and most interesting reading at the present time. It will enable the Socialist and the radical and liberal reader, irrespective of the exact terms of his political or economic creed, so long as he possesses a fair and reasonable mind, to form his own opinion of the present Secretary of State for Scotland, the now Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P. It shows how the Labour movement is regarded as carrion by the parliamentary birds of prey, who start in the gutter, risk nothing, and rise to place in class society. The first chapter of this section shall be factual study in political opportunism and parasitism. It will demonstrate how the emotions of the careerist belong to the moment and express only one concern: how to exploit human wrong in order to secure power. The careerist exploits grievances. He never feels them. He never comes to grips with them. He never attempts to remove them. He uses grievances as stepping stones to office and then mocks those who have suffered. Without Utopian fancies, without revolutionary vision, he lacks also even reformist principles. He uses the majority to advance the interest of a strict conservative minority of one, himself. He exploits every special instance of wrong to forward the advantage of an isolated and outstanding mediocrity, himself. His virtue is his social vice: appetite for power and the fruits of office. The Glasgow Sedition Case of 1921 set the appetite working. The War Government of 1943 finds the appetite satiated. The difference measures the parasite opportunism of exploited wrong.

I. GLASGOW POLICEMAN'S DISMISSAL.

In 1921, Thomas Johnston was merely editor of *Forward*. During the war-years, this man's "Socialist War-Points" had exposed every labour leader, parliamentary or industrial, who accepted war-bonuses or made war-speeches. He evaded opposing the war and he evaded fighting in the war. He had no passion for sacrifice or martyrdom. But he assumed an anti-war pose and conscientious objectors, war resisters, Socialists, and Anarchists conspired openly to boost and to build up the repute and circulation of his journal. But for them he would have achieved no distinction. He did not become a M.P. until 1922. His exposure of the Glasgow policeman case earned him much support and assisted in his return to Westminster.

Thomas Johnston, the proletarian editor, the Socialist enemy of unjust power and authority, told the policeman's story on page 5 of *Forward*, for Saturday, November 26, 1921, beneath stream-lined headlines. Here are the headlines:

AFTER SEVENTEEN YEARS' SERVICE.

Why a Glasgow Constable was "Dismissed the Force."

His Wife Friendly with a Lady who took an Interest in Politics.

Beneath these flaring headlines, Thomas Johnston told his story. He opened as follows:—

They're taking no risks with the Glasgow Police Force. You may have seventeen years' unimpeachable service. You may be a son of a sergeant in the Royal Irish Constabulary. You may take no interest in politics. But if your wife buys a pair of boots from a lady who takes an interest in extreme politics you are sacked—especially if your wife was a nurse who had the misfortune to be born in Germany.

Policemen's wives should take no interest in politics, they should not know other women who take an interest in politics.

Policemen should not keep dogs who take German measles, they should take care that their wives are born in London or Paris or Glasgow: their children must not eat German biscuits. The uncles should be warned to pass Labour and Socialist politicians on the street as if they were the plague.

All of which observations we deduce from a reading of the following humble petition sent to the Secretary for Scotland by William Magill, of 68 Adamswell Street, ex-constable of the St. Rollox Division of the Glasgow Police:—

Then followed the petition in full. We quote its introductory recital of the facts of the case:—

Unto the Right Honourable Robert Munro, K.C., M.P., Secretary for Scotland.

The PETITION of WILLIAM MAGILL, residing at 68 Adamswell Street, Springburn, Glasgow, ex-Constable No. 107, St. Rollox Division, City of Glasgow Police.

Humbly sheweth that:

The petitioner was born in Ireland on 23rd December, 1884, the son of Sergeant William Magill, of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

In 1899 he came to Dundee. He served in the Volunteers, 3rd Volunteer Battalion, Royal Highlanders, from 31st January, 1902, to 21st January, 1904.

He joined the Glasgow Police Force on 14th June, 1904, and was on street duty till 5th October, 1907, when he was made Bar Officer and Turnkey.

On 29th June, 1914, he was Court Officer. On 8th March, 1916, he was again on street duty. On 23rd April, 1920, he was Court Officer. On 26th March, 1921, he was on street duty.

He holds the sergeants' and inspectors' educational certificate and has a completely clean record in the Police Force.

On 2nd June, 1909, he married Eliese Wilhelmina Werner, a nurse, who was born in Berlin of German parents, her father, William Richard Werner, having taken refuge in London from Germany on 29th July, 1894, on account of his political opinions. He was repatriated in June, 1915.

Your petitioner has two sons aged six and three respectively. On 1st March, 1916, your petitioner attested for service under Lord Derby's scheme.

In 1915 your petitioner's wife went with her father to the Home Office, having received intimation from her father that he was to be repatriated.

She was informed by an officer at the Home Office, to whom she stated that she was the wife of a constable in Glasgow, that she could write to her father, and she obtained directions as to how her letters were to be addressed.

She wrote one letter only.

On 8th March, 1918, your petitioner was called before the Chief Constable of Glasgow, who informed him that his wife was not permitted to correspond with her father except on very rare occasions.

She herself went to see the Chief Constable and had a conversation with him, when he told her that there was no objection to her writing to her parents, if the letters were submitted to him for censorship before being posted.

In August, 1916, she wrote to her father and submitted the letter to the Chief Constable for approval. She then went to Millport for a holiday, and while there received a letter from the Chief Constable stating that he wished to see her.

She returned at once from Millport and had an interview with the Chief Constable, who informed her that he had kept back the letter which she had written, while he made inquiries, and that as a result of these inquiries he found that there was no objection to her writing to her parents.

He stated that he did not wish to insist upon the censorship, but advised her to submit her letters to him, and to this she agreed.

On discussing the interview with her husband, they resolved that she would not write to her parents, and she did not do so.

In 1915 your petitioner's wife made the acquaintance of Miss Jane Hamilton Patrick, with whom she became on friendly terms.

Your petitioner's wife was appreciative of the attention and kindness which she received at Miss Patrick's hands, as she was at that time rather ostracised on account of her German origin.

She visited frequently the house of Miss Patrick's mother, where she met the other members of the family.

Three of Miss Patrick's brothers were serving in the Army, and one was killed at Ypres.

No mention was made between them of politics, and your petitioner's wife did not know anything of Miss Patrick's politics until the spring of 1920, when on calling for her at her mother's house, she was told that Miss Patrick was at 13 Burnbank Gardens.

She then proceeded there and had a talk with Miss Patrick, who told her that the organisation was a Socialist Party.

Your petitioner's wife did not at any time join the Association, nor was she ever asked to do so, and only on one occasion was she present in Burnbank Gardens at a musical evening.

Your petitioner was not aware that his wife ever went to Burnbank Gardens, for she did not tell him.

On 2nd March, 1921, the premises at 13 Burnbank Gardens, known as Bakunin House, was raided by the police, as the Glasgow Headquarters of the Communist Group.

The raid took place at eight o'clock p.m. At nine o'clock your petitioner's wife called at 13 Burnbank Gardens for the purpose of seeing Miss Patrick, who being in the wholesale shoe trade, had undertaken to purchase your petitioner's wife a pair of dancing slippers, to enable her to go to the dance of the Police Force.

As she entered Burnbank Gardens she was stopped by a constable, who stated that the place was being searched and that she would have to be detained.

She stated that she was told she would have to see the officer in charge.

She saw the officer in charge, told him what she had called for, and, at his direction, asked Miss Patrick if she had obtained the shoes.

The detective on duty asked her for particulars of her name and address, etc., and she gave these without hesitation.

She was informed that her name appeared in a book opposite an entry of 3/-, and this she explained was payment made by her for the ticket for the musical evening at which she had been present.

Your petitioner's wife was a subscriber to a monthly journal called "The Spur", which she obtained by post from London, but in January, 1921, it was addressed from 13 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow, although she was not aware of this fact.

Her card of subscription for "The Spur was also found when the raid took place.

The presence of your petitioner's wife was reported to the Chief Constable by Detective-Superintendent Keith, and on 7th March, 1921, your petitioner wrote to the Chief Constable giving him particulars, stating to him that his wife was not at any time a member of the organisation occupying 13 Burnbank Gardens. A copy of the letter is annexed hereto and marked Production A.

The Chief Constable, without stating any grounds, called upon your petitioner on 16th March, 1921, to resign from the Force.

On 17th March, 1921, your petitioner wrote to the Chief Constable asking him to re-consider his decision. The copy letter is annexed hereto marked Production B.

The Chief Constable refused to re-consider the case, and again called upon your petitioner to resign. On 19th March, 1921, he refused to resign. A copy of the letter is annexed hereto marked Production C.

Thereupon the Chief Constable lodged a misconduct charge against your petitioner for permitting his wife to become a member of a seditious and revolutionary society. A copy of the misconduct charge is annexed hereto marked Production D.

On 24th March, the Chief Constable heard parties and their witnesses, and on 24th March, 1921, he issued his decision, in which he referred not only to the incident at 13 Burnbank Gardens, but to what he alleged to be the attitude that your petitioner took during the war in sympathy with his wife's nationality.

This was no part of the allegation and was without any foundation in fact, both your petitioner and his wife being antagonistic to Germany during the war.

By that decision the Chief Constable ordered your petitioner to resign. A copy of the finding is annexed hereto marked Production E.

Your petitioner refused to resign, and on 26th March, 1921, was dismissed the service.

The petition concluded with a prayer for reconsideration and reinstatement on nine grounds, which summarised amounted to an assertion that Magill had never been guilty of discreditable conduct; that he was called upon to resign contrary to the Statutory Rules and Orders, 1920, No. 2113/S. 102 Section 13, *et seq.*; that the misconduct charge was void because his wife was not a member of, and he had not allowed his wife to become a member of, a seditious and revolutionary society.

The concluding three clauses of the prayer read as follows:—

7. The three persons arrested in connection with the raid are charged with sedition in respect of a

publication called "The Red Commune", and were sentenced, one to twelve months and two to three months' imprisonment.

8. That no suggestion has ever been made that your petitioner has ever had any connection with "The Red Commune" or with the organisation which published it.

9. That after 16 years of service in the Force, your petitioner has been, by the Chief Constable, sentenced to what is practically a life penalty, because of an alleged indirect association of his wife, unknown to him, with those who were arrested.

Thomas Johnston published the productions mentioned in the petition in full. We content ourselves with reproducing Productions A, D, E. These read as follows:—

Production A referred to—City of Glasgow Police.

Subject: Mr. Magill.

St. Rollox Division, 7th March, 1921.

With reference to report by Detective-Superintendent Keith regarding my wife's visit to premises which he was raiding, I have to report that her visit was on business of a private nature, Miss Patrick, who is a personal friend of hers, having promised to get her a pair of shoes at wholesale price, for which she paid Miss Patrick £1 a few days previous. She returned home immediately after giving her explanation to Mr. Keith, and informed me of what had occurred.

My wife denies being a member of the organisation, or of any other, and states that the "card" in question has reference to the fact that he was a subscriber to "The Spur", a monthly periodical in which she was interested from an educational point of view, it being posted from premises raided.

I may state that the matter has caused me grave anxiety since I heard of it, as I realise under what suspicion she has placed me by visiting such a place. She has promised me that in future she will not go to the premises in question or any premises of a like character.

(Signed) WILLIAM MAGILL,
No. 107 Constable, Reg. No. Y277.

The Superintendent.

Production D referred to.

COPY OF MISCONDUCT CHARGE.

"That you were guilty of discreditable conduct prejudicial to discipline and the reputation of the Force by permitting your wife to become a member of a seditious and revolutionary society, known as the Communist Group, with offices at 13 Burnbank Gardens, one of whose aims as set forth in their manifesto is 'To work outside Parliament, on the streets and in the workshops for the revolution, preaching open and avowed sedition and agitating towards the insurrectional crisis.'"

Witnesses for prosecution—

Superintendent KEITH, Criminial Investigation Department.

Lieutenant WEIR, Criminal Investigation Department.

Witnesses for Defence—

JANE HAMILTON PATRICK, Secretary, 166 West Graham Street.

DOUGLAS BRUCE M'LEISH, Chairman, 194 Baltic Street.

ELIESE WILHELMINA WERNER or MAGILL, wife, 68 Adamswell Street.

Production E referred to.

FINDING OF CHIEF CONSTABLE.

24th March, 1921.

"Whether the card bearing Mrs. Magill's name in the card index found at 13 Burnbank Gardens, shows membership, or as she and her husband and his witnesses contend, is merely evidence that she was a subscriber to 'The Spur' newspaper, the organ of the Communist Group, it is clear that Mrs. Magill was in close association with the members and a frequent visitor at the offices of the Group at 13 Burnbank Gardens, also, I must assume, in sympathy with their aims and methods.

I cannot accept Constable Magill's contention that he has no responsibility for his wife's actions in this matter, or his statement that he was unaware of her association with the members or her visits to 13 Burnbank Gardens.

I cannot overlook the attitude he took during the war in sympathy with his wife's nationality.

As his wife is found in association with a revolutionary society which aims at an insurrectional crisis by preaching open and avowed sedition, it becomes impossible for Constable Magill to continue to discharge the duties of a policeman.

He is required to resign (as an alternative to dismissal).

(Signed) J. V. STEVENSON, C.C.

26th March, 1921.

Beneath these productions Thomas Johnston published the letter addressed by Councillor Rosslyn Mitchell to the Chief Constable and the Chief Constable's reply.

Rosslyn Mitchell's letter read as follows:—

THE CASE OF CONSTABLE WM. MAGILL.

As it is now three months since this man was dismissed and the criminal charge against Aldred and others has been decided, I venture to ask you to reconsider this case.

It seems to me a terrible thing that when people who are found guilty in a Law Court are sentenced to three months' imprisonment, William Magill should have inflicted upon him a life penalty, because of an alleged indiscretion on the part of his wife.

I have all along advised Magill to do nothing about his case pending the trial of Aldred and the others and now ask you to give the matter reconsideration, assuring you, that in the interval no mention has been made of the case.

I am, yours faithfully.

(Signed) E. ROSSLYN MITCHELL, Councillor.

The Chief Constable, writing on June 27, 1921, reiterated his position, and his letter need not be reproduced. Rosslyn Mitchell must have written next to the Secretary of State for Scotland. Johnston publishes the following reply:—

Scottish Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
8th August, 1921.

Gentlemen,—With reference to your letter of the 12th ultimo. forwarding a petition on behalf of Mr. William Magill regarding his dismissal from the City of Glasgow Police Force, I am directed by the Secretary for Scotland to inform you that in view of the fact that the power of dismissal of constables in that Force is vested in the Chief Constable by Section 77 of the Glasgow Police Act, 1866, he cannot interfere with the action which the Chief Constable of Glasgow has thought proper to take in this case.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN LAMB.

Messrs. Rosslyn Mitchell & Tullis Cochran, Solicitors, 126 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

Thomas Johnston concluded this record with the following editorial comment:—

The Labour Party in Parliament should take this sort of thing in hand—officially, and at once. The local magistrates, apparently, have no power to interfere, and the Secretary for Scotland should be urged to institute the impartial inquiry into the circumstances that ex-Constable Magill has asked.

Thomas Johnston's very full exposure of this wrong done to William Magill and his concluding comment helped to put him into Parliament. He is now Secretary of State for Scotland. Why does he not institute the impartial enquiry? The main parties are alive still. Since the facts are stated so clearly and speak for themselves, why does he not right the wrong done in 1921? Actually, no enquiry is necessary. Magill should be formally reinstated. He ought to receive all arrears of pay and be granted a police pension as though he had been in the service since 1921. Why not? This would make an end of one of the echoes of our Glasgow Sedition Trial of 1921.

Robert Munro, Secretary of State for Scotland in 1921, is now Lord Alness, a member of the House of Lords. Johnston co-operates with him in war propaganda. Perhaps, having stepped into Munro's shoes by the aid of Magill, he has no time for the Glasgow Police Constable whose grievances stirred him so much for propaganda purposes in 1921. Then he wept in print. To our mind, the case reads like an anticipatory 18B case victimisation.

(To be Continued.)

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THE TRUE STORY OF THE JEHOVAH WITNESSES
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(Concluded from column 3.)

combs out the shop assistants of this country to the extent that he may find something serious happening some day that the community will not be pleased about. Whatever my views may be on war and peace, I am certain of one thing, that the civil life of the community has to be carried on, and I am sure that we must staff our shops in such a way that our civilian life shall proceed smoothly in war and peace alike.

CONSCRIPTION AND THE COMMUNITY

NATIONAL SERVICE CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO SHOPKEEPING AND DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES.

[The following short but excellent speech, considering the practical aspects of militarist utopianism and totalitarianism, was made by our comrade, Rhys Davies, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, December 9, 1942. The speech maintains principles that ought never to be forgotten and advances sane, practical criticism of the evils of militarism.—Ed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, December 9, 1942.

On the Motion for the Third Reading of the National Service Bill:

Mr. RHYS DAVIES (Westhoughton): I may be allowed to say a few words on the Bill. I do not want to challenge the Bill—that is too late, of course—but to make an appeal to the hon. Gentleman and his Department, the Ministry of Labour, in respect to a large class of young persons who will be affected by the Bill but who are hardly ever mentioned in this House at all. Hon. Gentlemen have been talking of teachers, medical students and the like, and the hon. Member for Bridgeton (Mr. Maxton) told the House about skilled workers, engineers and mechanicians, but the largest single group of all affected by this Bill will be shop assistants, warehousemen and clerks. It is by far the largest single group of workers in any of the several industries of these islands. I would plead with the hon. Gentleman to be good enough to keep in touch with the Ministry of Food, because those who distribute food in this country are becoming alarmed about the staffing of their shops. These young people will have to be registered just like miners, engineers, or agricultural workers; but there is no exemption or much deferment for shop assistants, warehousemen and clerks. As one who has been connected with them for about 40 years, I think I am entitled to make that plea on their behalf.

There is one further point. From the Union to which I belong, a large number of our members have already gone into the Forces, totalling about 60,000, or 50 per cent. of all our male members. A considerable proportion have lost their lives, some have been discharged on medical grounds. We are familiar with all that, but I want to impress upon the hon. Gentleman and his Department not to accept the assumption that anybody can be a shop assistant, a warehouseman or a clerk; that any Tom, Dick or Harry can distribute foodstuffs, especially now, with all the paraphernalia of rationing to be understood. To serve behind a counter to-day in a shop is quite a skilled job, but the Ministry of Labour does not seem to realise that fact judging from the way shop assistants are being called up wholesale.

The hon. Gentleman might be good enough to watch a point I have raised before, and that is about queues at shops. People imagine that queues are the result of shortage of supplies, but that is not always the case. It is very often because the Ministry of Labour have called up all the skilled assistants from the shops; unskilled people have been brought in to replace them. We have had the position in some shops where all the men have been called up; there is hardly a male left in some shops and offices to-day. They have all been roped into the Forces. There is no exception for them at all. They are the one class of people in the community for whom there is hardly a single exemption on almost any grounds. I want to impress further on the Government that they have to understand that food is the first munition of war. It is all very well having guns, bayonets and battleships, but the distribution of food is the first essential in the life of any community. Having said that I would like the hon. Gentleman to beware lest he

(Concluded foot column 2.)

RARE and REFRESHING BEVERIDGE

BY G. H. V. ROSE

[Our comrade, G. H. V. Rose, who was so active in his opposition to the last war, and co-operated with us in the old "Spur" days, is as active as ever in the cause of Socialist struggle. He contributes Socialist essays regularly to "The Hairdressers' Weekly Journal." Comrade Rose has been an indefatigable worker for anti-parliamentary Socialism in London for many years. We reproduce the essay he contributed to the "Journal" for December 12, 1942.—Ed.]

Let me make it quite clear from the start that the views expressed in this article are entirely my own. I do not know what the attitude of either the T.U.C. or the Executive of my own Trade Union is on the Beveridge Report; but what I do know of the wartime attitude of the Labour Party fills me with alarm and foreboding for the future of the common people of this country.

As in the last war, our ruling caste are promising us a veritable el Dorado when the war is over, but we know all too well what such promises amount to, and if we are foolish enough to wait for "A land fit for heroes to live in", as we did before, we shall live to discover, to our bitter cost, that one will have to be a hero to put up with it.

Anybody can see that as a result of the unproductiveness of more than half of the industrial workers of the world, and the wicked waste inevitable in war, when it is over there will be a boom in trade, it will probably prove to be the greatest boom the world has ever known. It should be equally obvious that as soon as the state of the world markets reaches saturation point we shall be faced with the worst trade depression ever as a natural reaction.

Now it seems to me that our ruling classes are banking on this trade boom to get everything nicely settled the way it was, with this difference: the liberties they have stolen from us by stealth right from the beginning of the 1914 war outbreak up to date will be still further encroached upon, and with the aid of about a quarter of a million bureaucrats they will have us all nearly tied up in red tape. Our democratic machinery, already so well sabotaged as to become a mockery, will be entirely flouted, and by the time the depression arrives we shall at long last realise we have been shepherded into fascism.

The Labour Party attitude to the pious I.L.P. resolution calling for steps to a permanent peace and social reconstruction is suspicious, to say the least. The fact that the I.L.P. have opposed the present war from the outset is beside the point. The plain fact is that suffering humanity cries out for such revolutionary change in world relations as will remove the causes of war, and such change in our social system as will do away with more than half of the nation's sickness and all of its unemployment.

Instead we are presented with the Beveridge Report, which aims at a little tinkering with the effects of industrialism. This has been heralded with a great flourish of trumpets as a wonder reform which will remove "want" from Britain. What constitutes "want" in the eyes of our rulers would be humorous if it were not so tragic, and it does not take much imagination to see that an old-age pensioner with 14s. weekly, or a couple with 25s. weekly, will be in a constant state of want, even if they paid no rent.

In his report Sir William wrote:—

"A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching."

I say "Hear, hear", to that, but I insist that, if adopted, his report will constitute a tin-pot reform of *what is*, and would therefore be mere patching. Revolutionary change would aim at causes, not tinker with effects.

Even as a reform I frankly think little of it. The proposed benefits are mean and entirely inadequate. Moreover, with the contributory idea retained, the chance of sickness or unemployment being great in times of depression the contributions have got to be seriously high to have any hopes of covering reasonably decent benefits.

Let us examine the position. The contributions come from the worker, the employer, and the Government. Since in point of fact it is the worker who produces all, why shouldn't the whole amount come out of the Exchequer, and thus save a tremendous lot of money in administration costs. It would, in fact, save the country millions yearly if all indirect taxation was abolished and all taxes placed upon income in proportion. The present method places a very unfair proportion of taxation on the worker, for the poor devil out of work or sick must pay tax on his tea and sugar in common with the millionaire.

In common with "the halt and the blind", every citizen should have the right, if unable to work through sickness or unemployment, to full maintenance out of State funds. So also have those who are past working age. And when I say "full maintenance" I mean it. I mean nothing less than a comfortable living. And if the social system was so changed to reduce unemployment, which it should be, the cost of maintaining those unable to work would be very little. Regardless of whether it would be little or much, however, I still insist it is a citizen's right.

As William Morris did, I love beauty, and I hate ugliness. And I want all my comrades to do the same, that in our various ways individually, and by a common-sense policy collectively, we shall begin to destroy all the ugliness in the world and develop a life beautiful.

BEDFORD TRADITIONS

Our Unitarian contemporary, "The Inquirer," published an interesting article in its issue for January 23 last, from the pen of Rev. R. D. Woodall, B.A., on The Abbey Chapel, Tavistock, a pioneer centre of nonconformist and later Unitarian thought.

Mr. Woodall writes:—

The Abbey Chapel, Tavistock, is probably one of the most unique buildings associated with the denomination. It was originally part of the old Abbey of Tavistock which has now been practically all pulled down. The general opinion is that it was the Refectory but, writing in 1891 Rev. D. Alford, the vicar of Tavistock, suggested that the chapel was the Abbot's Hall.

The building first became a Dissenting Meeting House through the liberal mindedness of the Bedford family. About the middle of the seventeenth century, Lord William Russell offered to pay any minister whom the inhabitants of Tavistock might choose as clergyman. Their choice in 1647 fell upon Thomas Larkham who had been dismissed from the army during the Civil War for "observations against divers officers". Although he had the habit of describing in the pulpit leading parishioners who displeased him as "snarling curs, grunting swine, ragged rogues, squint-eyed fools, ninihammers or devils' dish clouts", he became greatly respected. A Presbyterian by convictions, Larkham naturally refused to accept the terms of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and was accordingly ejected. Probably imprisoned for a short time and forced to earn his living as an apothecary, he nevertheless succeeded in founding a dissenting cause in Tavistock and through the influence of the Countess of Bedford was allowed to use one of the surviving portions of the old Abbey as a chapel. It is in the same building that the Unitarian offspring of the original Presbyterian congregation continues to meet.

Despite the tolerance of the Bedfords, the chief landlords in the district, the congregation had to face considerable persecution. Larkham himself was brought before the Consistory Court at Exeter as well as before other tribunals. Nevertheless when Jacob Sandercock, who held the pulpit from 1688 till 1729, came to Tavistock, he found a large group of protestant dissenters. He it was who despite the active opposition of Bishop Trelawney first founded a nonconformist school in the town. . . .

His successors who became more and more Unitarian in opinion, appear to have maintained this tradition of social service. Peter Jillard, who was minister from 1730 to 1741 for example tried to establish a Charity School in Tavistock despite the fact that most of the children's parents belonged to the Church of England. His successor, Samuel Merrivale who left Tavistock in 1760 to become one of the founders of the second Exeter nonconformist college, again was a brilliant teacher who contended that the odds between three score and three hundred pounds per annum were of no great account with respect to the real enjoyment of life. William Evans, when he came to Tavistock in 1794 promptly opened a fresh school to which were sent during the French Revolutionary wars not only the children of naval and military officers but the sons of men like Robert Aspland.

The rest of the article deals with the history of two Unitarian congregations. Enough has been quoted to establish the interest shown by the Russell family in the struggle for freedom of thought and the right of conscience against the dictatorship of church and state. The present Duke of Bedford ably and consistently upholds the tradition of his family in this matter. This fact is evidenced by the nature of his pamphleteering activity.

RICHARD CARLILE

Sherman D. Wakefield reviews our "Life of Richard Carlile in the Humanist monthly, "The Arbitrator," New York, for December, 1942. Comrade Wakefield writes:—

Richard Carlile was born on December 8, 1790, in Ashburton, Devonshire, England, and died February 10, 1843, in London. . . . in this issue a biographical pamphlet is being reviewed. This sketch, "Richard Carlile, Agitator, His Life and Times (3rd ed., Glasgow, 1941, 160 p., 1/6) is by Guy A. Aldred, Editor of "The Word," who is something of a modern Carlile.

Richard Carlile is known chiefly for his efforts in behalf of the liberation of the English press, for which he suffered more than any other Englishman of the nineteenth century. Beginning in 1817 by reprinting William Hone's parodies, for which he was given eighteen week's imprisonment, he was to spend a quarter of his mature life in prison. In 1819 he published the books of two American authors, Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Elihu Palmer's "Principles of Nature." He was arrested on the charge of blasphemy and sedition and stood trial before several courts. He was decreed "guilty" by the various juries on the theory that "Christianity is parcel of the laws of England, and, therefore, to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the law." Carlile conducted his own defense because he could trust no lawyer to take his part, and since he would not retract any of his convictions he was sentenced to imprisonment for three years and fined £500. As he was not able to pay any fines and continued his writing while in prison and publishing when released, he spent more than nine years in prison. In the end, however, he won his cause and the cause of all libertarians.

This pamphlet is the most complete account of Carlile's life now in print, and is illustrated by a partrait and rare contemporary prints. It is to be regretted, however, that no mention is made of Carlile's pamphlet "Every Woman's Book" (London 1826), which was the first tract in the English language devoted exclusively to the medical as well as to the social and economic aspects of contraception. Through its influence upon Robert Dale Owen it affected considerably the founding of the American birth-control movement.

"Every Woman's Book" is reprinted in Carlile's "Jail Journal."

Reviewing this work, "The Literary Guide," London, for February, says:—

JAIL JOURNAL AND OTHER WRITINGS. By Richard Carlile. Edinted and arranged by Guy A. Aldred. . . . 91 pp.; 2s., by post 2s. 3d.

February 10 is the date of the centenary of Richard Carlile's death, and it is appropriate that this collection of some of his writings should be published. It should have a large circulation.

RICHARD LEE ACTIVE.

Our comrade, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., addressed a good meeting of the Brighton P.P.U., Thursday, February 18th last on "Is a Negotiated Peace Practical Politics?"

It was a live meeting and there were many searching questions. The speaker dealt very plainly with the following problems:—

"Can Victory and a Dictated Treaty Ever Bring Peace?"

"Would it be possible to negotiate a decent peace with Hitler?"

"Can we hope to keep down our enemies for ever or to educate them if we get our feet on their neck?"

"Would an armistice involve the immediate laying down of arms?"

A letter from Winston Churchill to Mr. Lee after the last war, which foretold a peaceful Europe for generations after our victory of 1918, was heard with very great interest.

Such meetings are calculated to give a definite objective to the Peace Groups and comrade Lee is willing to speak wherever he can on this theme.

18B DETENTIONS

The present Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, was a conscientious objector during the last war. He obtained conditional exemption and worked in an orchard. To-day, over military age, he occupies a high position in the state, delivers speeches of fiery destruction against the Nazis, and is responsible for the internment of people **who served in the last war against the Germans.** If the Home Secretary's present arguments are correct, he owes his present position to the courage and suffering of the people who are or have been detained under 18B. To our mind the position does not make sense.

The present Secretary of State for Scotland, Thomas Johnston, rendered no war service and throughout the war urged some kind of Socialist AntiMilitarism in his paper. He is a party to the 18B internments and also breathes fire and slaughter against the Germans.

In Glasgow, we have Sir Patrick Dollan, a conchie of the last war, doing the same kind of thing, and identifying himself with warmongering.

We were opposed to the last war and we are opposed to this war because we are opposed to all war. The men we have mentioned were not heroes as conchies, to our mind, for they avoided all severe punishment. They made no absolutist stand. To-day they urge war but do not suffer in it, merely command and direct. Is there not something wrong here? Can even the Tory Imperialists who associate with these ex-conchies, now pro-war politicians, deny that there is something wrong? These ex-conchies threaten the conchies of to-day who are following in their footsteps, and prate of all the good things that are going to be done for the ex-servicemen when the war is over. They would have us all wear different degrees of ribbons so that we might be taped for all time. Is this just? Who shall say that, when the war is over, unless we demand the re-establishment of our civil rights, our right of charge and public trial, present service men may not be interned, their war-services forgotten?

Below is a list of ex-service men who have been detained under 18B. Many, perhaps most, have been released. Some may be interned still. It is difficult collecting details. If there are inaccuracies in the list we will correct them, for our aim is accuracy. Even if released, many of these ex-service men were interned for a long time. Remember, some of them had their pictures published in the very papers that will not give them a hearing to-day. Some of them were photographed when they went to the Palace to receive their decorations.

And now——!

We are a conchie. We are opposed to war. We have no sympathy with militarism. But we feel for soldiers. We understand their reactions. We sense their sufferings. And we believe that **the taking of political office in war time of ex-conchies and the internment without charge or trial** of ex-service men is a grave political wrong. Since no one else will say so, we feel that it is our duty to speak plainly. The situation is wrong.

EX-SERVICEMEN WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED UNDER "18B."

OLIVER HAWKSLEY, Lt., R. Fusiliers, M.C.

JOHN H. HONE, 2nd Lt., Royal Engineers and 1/15 London Regt.

GEORGE LANE FOX PITT-RIVERS, Captain, Royal Dragoons.

H. M. STEPHENSON, Captain, M.C. (R.A.M.C.)

J. H. WOODS, Captain, O.B.E., Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

A. R. BLACKMORE, Driver, R.H.A.—1914-1923.

E. J. WATTS, Sergt., Royal Berkshire Regt. (49th Foot).

F. G. BERRY, Captain (B.V.V.R.) A.B.) Order of St. George, G.S.V.

J. TAYLOR, Private, 1st Btn. Lauries Fusiliers King's Liverpool Regt.; Royal Welsh Fusiliers; 553rd Agricultural Labour Corps.; General Services: Victory, 1914-15 Star; King's Certificate for Honour and Disablement.

W. C. WHITE, Private, 2nd Scottish Rifles; 12th Royal Scots.

S. SMYTHE, Royal Merchant Marines, 21 years' continuous service. Dunkirk, 1914-1919.

F. P. JESSOP, Cpl., Beds. and Herts. Regt.

P. Lunt, Pte., R.F.C.

A. FOWDEN, Cpl., Welsh Regiment.

H. D. JEANS, Flight/Lt., M.C., R.A.F.

A. W. PHILLIPS, Captain, Oxford and Bucks Lt. Infantry.

ERNEST FAWCETT, Gunner, R.A.F. (1915).

REG. RIX, 17/21 Lancers.

O. C. BARRETT (A.S.C.) 1/5 Lancs. Fusiliers, 2½ years' active Service.

E. BRADLEY, North Staffs Regt., 3 years' active Service.

H. BURNETT, R.A.S.C., 2½ years' active Service.

J. J. McCLERY, R. Engineers, 5 years' active Service.

F. W. ANTLEY, 32nd Battalion A.I.F., 2½ years' active Service.

F. HASLAND, M.M., 53 Coy., M.G. C. Lancs Furbs., 4 years' active Service.

G. E. BOWES, Segt., R.O.D., R.E., 4 years' active Service.

B. TALLET, H.M.S. Brittainia, 3½ years' active Service.

R. L. F. ROBERTS, R.A.M.C., 6 years' active Service.

W. C. WILLIAMS (with two sons detained)—R.W. Kents, 16 years' active Service.

A. E. STONE, Trooper, E.R. Yeomanry, 3½ years' active Service.

J. A. RUSSELL, R.F.C., R.A.F., 8 years' active Service.

B. L. HONE, Pte., Gordon Highlanders, 4 years' active Service.

A. THOMAS, R.A.F., 4 years' active Service.

W. H. SHIPPAM, Queen's West Kents, 4½ aeyrs' active Service.

A. EDWARDS, Royal Navy, 5 years active Service.

C. RILEY, Manchester Regiment, 5 years' active Service.

E. TURNER, Captain, M.C., Suffolk Regiment, 11 years active Service.

G. R. MERRIMAN, A.B., M. Navy, 6 years active Service.

J. DUCKWORTH, R.A.F., 4 years' active Service.

W. PENNELLS, Cameron Highlanders, 4 years' active Service.

W. S. BOGLE, R.N.T., 4 years' active Service.

H. BROCKLEBANK, Norfolk Regiment, 3 years' active Service.

H. BURNETT, R.A.S.C., 3½ years' active Service.

F. A. ANTHY, 32nd Battalion A.I.F., 4 years' active Service.

C. F. HOPKINS, 8th Middlesex Regiment, 4 years' active Service.

E. A. HEATH, A.S.C., M.T., 5th Div. H.Q. Staff,

T. W. VICTOR-ROWE, M.T. (A.S.C.) Sig.

P. W. RAFFS, R.A.F. 60872.

R. SMEATON-STEWART, Capt., R.F.A., 2 Sigs.

WM. EDWARDS, C.P.O., E.A., R.N., 3 Medals.

J. PRESTAGE, Sgt., R.E., R.C.S.—Mons Star, Victory, General Service.

J. M. MACQUEEN, London Scottish—2 Medals.

J. ELLIS, O.S., R.N.V.R.—3 Medals.

D. W. MASH, L/Cpl.; R.A.M.C.—2 Medals.

C. RILEY, Cpl., R.A.S.C.—3 Medals.

FRANK PENNA, Lt., E.Y.R.—2 Medals.

A. W. C. I. SYMONDS, C.P.O. Writer, Royal Navy—4 Medals, 1903-25, 1939-40.

W. BATEMAN, Flt. Staff Sgt., R.F.A.—2 Medals.

A. SMITH, Pte., R.A.S.C., 172T—3 Medals.

F. J. BURGESS, Pte., Liverpool Regiment—2 Medals.

E. A. DUNN, Lt., R.F.A.—3 Medals.

I. A. WONFER, Sgt., 78th Canadian Battalion—2 Medals (Dis. Pension).

F. E. MANICO, Captain, 20th London Regiment—2 Medals.

S. N. BARRON, Major (Late R.E.), O.B.E. (Retired) M.C.

F. V .FRITH, Flying Officer, D.F.M., M.M. (R.A.F.) —3 Medals.

A. CREASER, Dr., R.A.S.C., M.T.—3 Medals.

R. JONES, Corp., M.M., Infantry—4 years' Service.

C. CROSBY, Corp., East Yorks.—4 years' Service.

H. SIMPSON, Pte., 6th Battalion N. Fusiliers, 4 years Service.

J. J. DAVIES, 23rd Squadron R.F.C., 2½ years, active Service.

S. ALLEN, 5th West Yorks, 4 years' Service.

R. A. LOMAX, King's Own Royal Lancs., 7 years' Service.

J. WYNN, Lt., R.F.C., R.W.R., 4 years' Service.

BRYAN SMITH, Lt., R.A.S.C., 3½ years' Service.

H. T. BROCK-GRIGGS, 2/Lt., R.F.C., 2 years' Service.

D. EVANS, 2/Lt., R.A., 2½ years' Service.

W. W. DICKSON, King's Liverpool Regiment, 4 years' Service.

D. C. GORDON, Royal Artillery, 3 years' Service.

J. SHARPE, 10973, R.A.S.C., M.T., 5 years' Service.

JOE BECKETT, 1914-18.

LUTTMAN JOHNSON, Captain, Indian Cavalry.

F. C. FANE, Lt., Royal Navy.

G. SURTEES, M.S.M., M. in D.

ALEXANDER HAMER, Lt. (arrested on Active Service).

TOFTS, Capt. (arrested on Active Service).

H. O. CRISPE, Military Medal.

A. FERRIS, Capt., Military Cross, R.F.C.

JAS. HUMPHRIES, Sqdn. Commander, R.F.C., D.S.O., Military Cross, Croix de Guerre.

RUTLAND, Sqdn. Leader, R.A.F. Not certain, but believed is a D.S.O.

NOT FIT TO RUN CATS' HOME

M.P.s ATTACKED AT OXFORD BY DUKE OF BEDFORD

The Duke of Bedford addressed a meeting in the Friends Meeting House, Cambridge, on Wednesday, January 27 last. He spoke in Town Hall, Oxford, on Monday, February 1.

CAMBRIDGE MEETING.

Dr. Alexander Woods presided over the Cambridge meeting. This meeting was reported in the "Cambridge Daily News."

Dealing with the question of peace negotiations, the Duke said that two main conditions should be observed in any negotiations, namely that every nation should recognise the duty of treating other nations in the way they themselves would like to be treated were they in the position of the other nations, and a fair share of the world's economic resources should be assured according to the number and needs of a people.

The chance of a country starting a war depended on the possession of arms, the possession of a grievance and the possibility of statesmen being able to convince their people that the grievance was so serious that it was the people's duty to risk their lives in righting it. He was convinced that no dictator could ever start a war merely in pursuit of his personal ambition if there was no grievance to take hold of as a means of gaining the support of his countrymen.

The Duke developed his argument along the lines of the essays that have been published from his pen in our columns.

OXFORD ADDRESS

At Oxford he spoke in similar terms and then developed his views of post-war reconstruction. His speech was reported in the "Oxford Mail."

The Duke made an attack on Members of Parliament. In his opinion, he said, about 300 of them were "not fit to run a cats' home, let alone a country."

As between the planners and the individualists he preferred the individualists.

"We need more wise and really honest men," he said. "We need more character power, and the only really effective means of gaining more character power is by true Christianity."

There was also a need in those who led the nation for a better and wiser understanding of human nature. Another essential was a finer type of politician.

He said that a government should order and direct as little as possible, but it could perform a valuable service in an advisory capacity. He also advocated the reform of the monetary and economic system.

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"The Truth About Religion in Germany"

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The Four with a copy of "The Vanguard" for 1/6d. postal order from B.P.L., 2 Endrick Drive, Bearsden, near Glasgow.

THE VICTORY OF FASCISM

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Fascism is winning fast. I do not mean on the battlefield, for there the issue of the war still appears to be doubtful; nor do I mean that there is any strking increase in the membership of any political party bearing a Fascist name. The victory of Fascism is more widespread and more sinister, for Fascism, using the term in the bad sense in which it is commonly employed in this country, is becoming more and more apparent in the hearts and minds of many men of various schools of political thought—just as the opponents of war have always foreseen and foretold that it would.

In the Administration, Fascism is already firmly established. We have the ugly, lawless tyranny of Regulation 18B, which renders any citizen liable to imprisonment without trial, for an indefinite period, at the mere whim of the Home Secretary, who has only to plead the requirements of national safety to evade any question asked in either of the Houses of Parliament. We have the persecution, by fines and imprisonment, of large numbers of conscientious objectors of both sexes whom the feeble and inadequate machinery designed to secure for them a measure of justice, has, in actual operation, failed to protect. We have military conscription, industrial conscription, and requisition orders galore. We have the regimentation of everybody and everything, together with an unofficial, as well as an official, censorship. Police threats and warnings are issued to private citizens with reference, not only to what they say or write, but even with reference to the people with whom they associate. Too frank criticism of the Government in public places may result in a sentence of imprisonment, and when open action is felt by the State to be inadvisable, indirect and underhand methods are resorted to for the further suppression of freedom of speech or writing.

It is also becoming apparent that State tyranny is not to be confined to the period of the war. Politicians both of the Left and of the Right are beginning to speak quite openly of the need for continuing, in post-war days, not only the worst of all forms of Government tyranny — military conscription — but even some kinds of industrial conscription as well. An immense amount of bureaucratic interference, in the interests of so-called "Planning", is also in contemplation.

Proposals of this kind seem to evoke comparatively little protest, showing that the mass of the people are being most effectively broken-in to a Fascist régime and are losing even the strong desire to break their chains.

It is not, however, only in the Government that Fascist tendencies are appearing ever more plainly. An increasing horde of persons with the typical tyrant mind clamour for the arrest and imprisonment of all who differ from them on political or even on strategic issues, and demand the suppression of their writings, often applying the abusive epithet "Fascist" to those who have never had the remotest sympathy for, or connection with, Fascism, and are in reality far less Fascist in outlook than themselves.

Communists figure somewhat prominently in this unpleasant company of pots calling the Fascist kettle black. I have no quarrel with Communism as such; its doctrines are as much entitled to a fair hearing and to careful examination as those of any other political movement, and a friend whose judgement I trust tells me that she has seen at a Communist gathering young men and women of a really fine type.

I do, however, condemn many Communists for their weathercock warmongering. Of what value are professions of belief in the Brotherhood of the Workers, if these same workers are to be slaughtered in war the moment they are persuaded, or compelled, to change their political outlook? Such a policy shows a devotion, not to humanity, or to any section of humanity, but to the barren orrthodoxy of a political creed which sets itself above human lives and human feelings, just as Fascism subordinates the individual to the State.

I have also no hesitation in saying that the decent element in the Communist movement would do well to exercise more control over their less scrupulous fellows, and especially over their Press. Spite, rancour, exaggeration and falsehood are weapons which may replace one tyranny by another, but certainly will never usher in Utopia: neither will the slogan "Keep the rats behind prison bars", uttered in reference to political rivals, restore Freedom to her throne from which she has been driven by war.

By all means let Communists attend the public meetings of other organizations and put fair questions, as searching as they can make them, to show up any weaknesses they may believe to exist; but a settled policy to smash and wreck every other reform group or political party, regardless of its intrinsic merit, just because it does not happen to be Communism, shows a mean and jealous spirit. When so much dirty fighting, physical and mental, is going on around us, the reform movements, at any rate, might fight clean and observe the essential virtue of consistency. If they claim to be haters of tyranny, let them remember that any tyrant can be lenient to those who think as he does, and that the acid test of a love of liberty is the freedom which you are prepared to grant even to those with whom you differ most strongly. Once you decide to muzzle your opponents even in what you suppose to be the public interest, you are already half-way down the slippery slope of Fascist totalitarianism.

One of the saddest and most disturbing features of this war, is the increasing callousness displayed by British people towards acts of injustice and cruelty perpetrated by their own Government. Even when these acts are pointed out to them, they often consider "Think how much worse things are in Germany!" to be a sufficient answer. Would they, I wonder, accept from Hitler, as an adequate defence of concentration camps and the liquidation of political rivals, the exhortation "Think how much worse things have been in Russia!"?

CHARLES RODEN BUXTON

The "over forties" in the Bradford I.L.P. will well recall one of our best-loved though least rhetorical week-end speakers at the Morley Street meetings; Charles Roden Buxton. He found his way into the I.L.P. during the last war, and he passed what we considered to be a high test of the sincerity of a convert of his kind and tradition—he would take on street-corner meetings, three or four a day, doing the real spade-wark of international socialism. Here is Arthur Ponsonby's account of him. (*Peace News*, 15th January, 1943):—

"Only those who knew Charles Roden Buxton personally can fully appreciate what his loss means. Some of the causes he supported so generously and indefatigably were traditional in the family, such as the welfare of native races. But it was not causes, or even his political work, which stood out and attracted me to him during the many years I knew him. It was his character and personality and the way he accepted defeat and disappointment without a trace of animosity or resentment.

"He had such fair judgment; he was so ready to help and to listen; never inclined to push himself forward; even prepared to take on the most difficult job; never expecting praise or credit; and pursuing his course at so lofty a level that those who could not reach him were bound to admire a disinterested figure from whese noble countenance the light of spiritual evidence so clearly shone. In the turmil of a political life of seme forty years, for me Charlie Buxton will always stand out as a model."

JOHN S. CLARK

We have received the following letter:—

Lindsay. Orr, MacCalman & Co.,
Solicitors.

Hugh T. MacCalman, B.L.
J. Lindsay Orr, B.L.

Tel: Douglas 3454 (2 lines).
55 Bath Street,
Glasgow, C.2,
5th February, 1943.

The Publishers,
The Strickland Press,
104 George Street, Glasgow.

Dear Sirs,

We have been consulted by Councillor John S. Clark with reference to an article appearing on Page 81 of your publication of February, 1943. The portion of the article complained of is the paragraph commencing with the last sentence on Column 1 of said page.

We would point out to you that there are two "John S. Clark's" who are members of the Corporation. You eliminated Mr. John Clark of Maryhill and referred to our Client who is Mr. Clark of Govanhill. The paragraph is completely inaccurate in respect that our Client is not a Police Judge. It is also inaccurate in respect that he never attended the meeting referred to or addressed the Court at the time. Our Client takes very strong exception to the phrase that the I.L.P. boosted his as a "Socialist."

Our Client is a public man who is very sincere in his Socialist views and he very greatly resents the innuendo contained in the article. We are instructed to apply to you to make a complete withdrawal of the article in question in your next issue and to submit a draft for approval on behalf of our Client.

Without prejudice,
We are,
Yours faithfully,
LINDSAY ORR, MacCALMAN.

HTM/LE/C.Mis.

We have replied to this communication stating that, of course, we withdraw the statement that John S. Clark of Govanhill is a police-judge, since it is untrue. Any criticism based on the assumption that he was a police judge, falls to the ground. To our mind there is no need to make further reparation and we are not prepared to publish any such statement, or to submit any such draft, as that requested by Messrs. Lindsay Orr, MacCalman & Co.

Whether Mr. John S. Clark is a Socialist or not is a matter of opinion and subject for discussion. This question stands entirely apart from the police-judge issue, in which, of course, we were in error. We are glad to acknowledge our error because we object to Socialists functioning as police judges.

Mr. John S. Clark, if he objected to our comments, should have written direct to us and not have written through lawyers. To our mind, this method of correction is very strange Socialist conduct indeed, when criticised, rightly or wrongly, in an organ of the Socialist Movement.

We concluded that the John S. Clark, was the one mentioned in the newspaper from which we culled the report, because John S. Clarke, formerly M.P., spells his name differently. As a matter of fact, Councillor John S. Clarke, ex-M.P., has written us a long letter, in which he refers to our error as follows:—

By the way, there is a mistake in the current "Word." "Police Court Musings"—John S. Clark, I.L.P. man, is not a Police Judge and never was. There must be a third J. S. C. in the city.

As we go to press we are endeavouring to discover the truth of the matter.

CHRIST AS WELL HAD NE'ER BEEN BORN.

Still two classes, rich and poor,
Those who prosper, those who endure,
Those who sweat, and moan, and toil,
Those who fatten on the spoil.

Still two classes, those who reign,
Those who slave, and starve in pain,
Those who cringe, and those who scorn—
Christ as well had ne'er been born.

JOE CORRIE.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy Aldred,—I should like to take this opportunity of thanking you for "The Word." Although I am no Pacifist, I marvel at the courage and fearlessness and high principles of the Duke of Bedford and yourself. Would to God we had more Bedfords in the Lords.

To my mind our present leaders seem to overlook (or indeed have overlooked) the old and obviously true maxim, prevention is better than cure. The youth of our country are now paying the price for the follies of pre-war capitalist policy.

The friends of Fascism are not to be found in the ranks of the working people. The very men who are to-day clamouring for retribution against the German people are those who a few short years ago tumbled over themselves to whitewash Hitler's crimes. Even the most misguided and ignorant amongst us cannot fail to see the rottenness and corruption of our present political set up.

I am solidly opposed to Hitler's Fascism but I am equally opposed to the secret friends of Fascism, whoever and wherever they are.

Yours Fraternally,
WILFRED H. HARBIGE.

Manchester 11.

Dear Friends,—While I was in prison the September issue of "The Word" was published and a friend of mine saved it to show me that I am not the only Cole, as you published an account of the news of C. H. Cole.

I note that he is an ex-service man; so am I. Also, that he, like myself, has a purpose in life. Although we may move in different circles the objective is the same. I ask you to convey to him my best wishes, that is from one Cole to another, although there is nothing in a name other than what a name stands for.

I have been to prison twice and met fellows whom I would not have met by normal events; yes, even fellows who thought that their way to the Ideal was the only way. I did not expect to find many in agreement with me but we all found that one helps another best by work in the circles in which he individually moves, since the circles overlap one another. It may surprise some people to know that I found friends among J.Ws, although their direction is different to mine. We all have an urge and we each express that urge through the channel of words peculiar to the faction through which our own guidance comes.

I met many fellows who believe in one language over the World. So do I, but my belief of what shall be the base is entirely different to any I have met and yet I still believe that base is better than the introduction of a new language, which will also mean another alphabet which unhappily means two different alphabets in each country all over the world.

What grieves me most, and has done for the last twenty years, is that although countries can agree to hear one anothers expression of music through an agreed piano, so that who ever may be playing it he can express exactly the same sounds as another by way of the piano, but when speaking he is not only another person but looked upon by the majority as coming from a different world.

I believe that each language should have one sound per letter and one sound only. This would mean a phonetic alphabet and a larger alphabet, but this larger alphabet would cover many of another country. Let us all place upon the key of the "piano" our incription for that sound. I agree that each key would be a very long one to hold all the incriptions of all countries for that one sound, but it can be agreed so as to shorten the key, that that sound equals (?) inscription. I may be wrong, but I find within this language, that we express nice things and comments of nice values in a soft tone, and hard values, such as the word "hard" by hard expression, and set out opposite expressions of the letter K—one—too kind; and its opposite value, To Kill.

I think this is enough for now.

Best Wishes to all
ARTHUR L. COLE.

Wanstead, London, E.12.

Dear Comrade, I strongly urge increasing the price of the journal as a means of liquidating the debt. I am sure every reader would be glad to help in this way as (in my own case) many are unable to send a decent sum.

Yours fraternally,
J. T. KENNY.

Liverpool 4, 11/1/43.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—A guid new year to you and yours and I trust that the "upholder" of the planets ("someone" must be holding them up,) will spare and strengthen you for many more years yet to open the eyes of the blind.

I remember meeting you in Hyde Park many years ago and I recollect how much you impressed me with your tolerance towards my Christian viewpoint. I wish more "Christians" were as kind as you!

All the best.

Sincerely yours,
J. DUNCAN.

Romsey, January 8, 1943.

Dear Sirs,—I have to-day received by post and have been enjoying a quiet read of "The Word." My wife and I appreciate and enjoy the splendid articles written with such commonsense.

Wishing you every success.

I remain, yours fraternally,
P. J. BATES.
(A Welling, Kent, war resister.)

Welling, Kent, January 9.

Dear Comrade,—Regarding your recent appeal for subscriptions to raise £1,500. You mention if it cannot be raised, the necessity of increasing price of "The Word." I think a lot of us would gladly pay a shilling a copy. I'm bothered for money myself and it bothers me to see an effort like yours hampered for lack of it. The time and money I've wasted on the Labour Party! It's on my mind to help you! I'll have to try and be true to the frame of mind I'm in and study how to help.

Fraternally,
ISAAC W. BRAITHWAITE.

Dalton, Yorks, January5, 1943.

Dear Comrade Aldred, — Thanks very much for continuing to send my "The Word." The current issue is splendid, particularly the cartoon from "The Spur." Most of my back numbers I am passing on to a friend in Bermondsey, and hope to get him and others interested in your fine publications.

Yours fraternally,
ROBERT CHAPMAN.

Walworth, S.E.17, January 6, 1943.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I sincerely appreciate the way you uphold Pacifism, and the help you give to the CO.s. Your paper is a great comfort in these days I admire your exposing of the evils of war.

I look upon all war as evil, and when one reads of the terrible calamaties that come of war, I realize that instead of it being a way to obtain justice, peace and freedom (as so many believe) it creates a Hell that no man who is a true believer in our Dear Saviour and the teachings of the Gospel would partake of. It beholds us to remember that one day we shall all have to give an account of the deeds done in the mortal life. Resorting to war never has and never will remove existing evils. It only adds fuel to the already consuming fire. As soon as man uses force he employs the same evil as he is out to destroy.

The teaching of the Gospel condems the use of force (the carnal weapon). Did not Jesus rebuke His disciple for using it? He brought the Law of Love, not of force, and if we profess to be His followers we are under that Law. The word distinctly teaches us to leave that which is evil alone; and war, strife, or turmoil is evil. Peace will only be established by obedience to the Word of God.

I enjoy reading the "letters." The one by Mr. E. S. Danes, of Birmingham, is a great article. What he says re. the Church is perfectly true. Does it not say in scripture that abomination and desolation should stand in the place where it ought not. Isn't the Churchto-day steeped in Militarism?

Yours faithfully,
W. H. BAGULEY.

East Kirkby, Notts.

Dear Comrade,—It seemed to be a very happy idea to devote a little space in the November issue to the Editor's reminiscences. You refer to your challenging attitude. I wonder if it is not your fearless advocacy of integrity in politics, and your humane outlook on every question which arises, which has helped you in many Causes! Perhaps these build up the challenging attitude, but it seems to me that these come first, and have given the challenge something to stand upon! It would be very interesting to know more of your grandfather's rather wonderful outlook, if you could devote some space either in "The Word" or in a pamphlet. His penetration into the intricacies of Truth, and his tolerance and wisdom regarding the guiding of youth in these matters seems to me extraordinary.

The article by C. H. Norman is wonderfully instructive, and that by Rev. R. H. Le Messurier is better than "Punch" in my opinion, good though "Punch" is as a rule. I feel very much indebted for its inclusion in this number, for it just seems to be the ingredient that shows up the other articles artistically. You have something of everything which makes the reading such a tonic as well as a duty and privilege. I wonder if it is worth while recording an incident brought to mind by the letter of Sorabji. Having no political, only missionary interest, in India, my sister and brother-in-law, perhaps because at the place of landing, entertained Mr. Paul of the Round Table Conference some years ago. As he was being shown his room, the best, because he was an Indian and stranger (it was in a wing) he said with a gentle smile to them, "It is very far away from the rest of the house." The relations, as I saw from writing on a presentation book to them had been most cordial, but the sentiveness of the subject race, etc., etc., came at once to view, showing perhaps too, a little of the difficulties of the British, because of mistakes in the past, and still not remedied.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
AGNES W. MACKAY.

Liverpool.

My Dear Friend,—I passed a recent number of "The Word" on to a schoolmaster. He had never heard of "The Word" before. He has since told me he was delighted with it. Thanking you for your efforts for peace, and hoping you will continue to have the courage to write such splendid articles. I remain, with all kind thoughts,

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) DOROTHY HOBSON.

Stockport.

Dear Sir,—I herewith enclose subscription for "The Word", as I would like to obtain it regularly. I also would like to congratulate you on your outspoken views on war.

As David Jordan once said, "To-day is your day and mine, the only day we have, the day in which we play our part."

What our part may signify in the great whole we may not understand, but we are here to play it, and now is our time. This we know. It is a part of action not whining. It is a part of love not cynicism. It is for us to express love in terms of human helpfulness. This we know for we have learned from sad experience that any other source leads towards decay and waste.

With best wishes.

Yours truly,
M. ROBERTSON.

Cowdenbeath.

Dear Sir, — I wish you every success in your endeavour to put down this awful murder and destruction campaign now being enacted throughout almost the whole of the world. When we realize how wonderful God in His mercy, through nature, has so wonderfully provided abundance, enough and to spare, for both man and beasts, and but for greed, malice and hatred there is no need for any war, of any description. What fools the leaders of the governments are, and also what fools the people are to be led by them! The question is, will ever men learn more sense?

I only wish I could place one of the copies of "The Word" in the hands of every working man, and also every one of the Government, and get them to sit down and carefully study its contents.

However, as I go in and out among the people, and I come into contact with a good many, I find that they are beginning to think for themselves. They are getting tired of the clap-trap that is being doled out by the politicians, the papers and the B.B.C. and are beginning to heartily wish the war would end, in the only sensible way it can end. By conciliation and negotiation.

Yours faithfully,
H. GOOD.

Nuneaton.

Dear Sir,—I wish to express my thanks for the specimen copies of "The Word." I am very pleased at the daring in those days of stress.

I also am very pleased to make contact, through "The Word", with the Duke of Bedford, especially his writings on money. I have been interested in him for a long time. Of course the Editor is also outstanding.

(Councillor) DIL THOMAS.

Briton Ferry.

Dear Mr. Aldred, — Thank you so much for the wonderful parcel.

Someone appears to have been selling "The Word" outside the Caxton Hall. John Jenkins of Glasgow writes to "Tribune" this week, also the barrister Phelps and L. A. Wheeler rightfully annoyed by remarks in last week's "Tribune" which insinuate that Pacifists are Fascists or/and Fascists Pacifists. The original article was by L. Bern.

I have sold "The Word" and also the Geese outside Hyde Park this afternoon. Two men, the brothers Kay, asked after you, also an enthusiastic Scotchman, who had heard you speak at Edinburgh. It is very nice when people come and talk. Quite a number had already seen the Geese pamphlet.

Yours in the struggle,
CLARE ANNESLEY.

London, W.C.1., January 23.

Dear Guy Aldred,—During last summer, when I lived with my wife's people at Boston, Lincs., I was very interested in your excellent paper "The Word." Whilst on a short visit to them a fortnight ago, I did little else but read the bound copy of "The Word" which you sent to my mother-in-law, Mrs. M. Howard.

The least I can do is to let you know how much I enjoy reading this truly inspiring volume and what a pleasure and source of inspiration it is to me.

I was in the Civil Service before the war, but left because of my objection to helping the war effort. My wife and I are now working on the land "for the duration" at any rate!

My wife and I wish you the best of health to continue the struggle against war and its inevitable consequences, and we look forward to the monthly appearance of your paper with great interest and enjoyment. Best wishes and warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT BENTLY.

Newark, January 26.

My Dear Aldred, — Amid the mass of printed material which pours in from all sides these days, I really look forward to "The Word" and read it with real interest from cover to cover. I believe it is the best paper published in this country to-day—not even excepting our own!

Wishing you every success, believe me, yours very truly,

GORDON STOTT.

Monifieth, Angus.

Dear Guy,—I must thank you for and congratulate you on, the continued fearless opposition to the war which you maintain, and your refusal to prostitute your ideals and beliefs. I buy no other paper but "The Word" because I think it the paper most worth supporting.

Best wishes and all support in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,

E. V. WILLIAMS.

Rugby, January 24, 1943.

To Comrade Aldred,—Please accept 2/6 donation for "The Word." Wish it was more, but I am not a war worker.

Yours sincerely,

COLIN TURNER.

Glasgow.

Dear Guy Aldred,—My brother J. H. Charles of Stoke-on-Trent introduced me to your paper and paid last year's subscription fee for me. I found the monthly issues so uniformly good that I am most anxious to keep on receiving them, for they are fountains of strength to those who try to preach and practise Socialism-without-War.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

H. R. CHARLES.

Beaconsfield, Bucks.

TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Dear Sir,—I do not know whether this is the proper way to address a duke, but I think we have much in common. Your only trouble is, that you have not been on my side of the fence. I am a miner and have, therefore, experienced all the trials the miner has had to undergo since the last war. I have had and still have, in most cases a lively contempt for what are commonly known as my "betters." I think we are looking for the same thing, i.e., honesty of purpose and fair play for everyone. Frankly having studied closely the average British workman I think we are on a "dead horse."

You cannot build a new house with rotten materials. The working class of this country, like their "betters", think money is the beginning and end of everything.

I may say that, for Mr. Morrison, and my or all other Government "yes men", I have a feeling of disgust. They have allowed themselves to be beaten by our rotten economic system. When I hear of these people shouting about "right" I have to laugh. They haven't the "guts" to fight for their own rights let alone for others.

If you or any other man can alter our system you can rest assured that, at least, one British workman is going to back you to the limit.

Respectfully yours,

F. W. READ.

Pontefract.

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THE BIBLE

Dear Mr. Aldred,

It is pleasing to find you open-minded enough to publish the statements of the Reverend R. H. Le Messurier in regard to those important writings which we persist in miscalling "The Bible." Whether a man is a "Christian", or not, it is important to him that there should be in the English language, a pure Version of these Scriptures, simply because they are used for propaganda purposes of various kinds, and this propaganda always finds a response. Especially is this the case amongst those who are called "Pietists" . . . good-hearted souls, whose minds are, so often, ill-informed. We suffer from widespread sanctimonious complacency and stark superstition! As an instance of the latter, I would refer to the widespread misuse of the three Occasional Services—Baptism, Marriage, and Burial. The misuse of the first is, probably, due to the inescapable implications of the rubric at the end of the "Publick Baptism of Infants." Infants who are baptized before committing actual sin are said to be "undoubtedly saved." What of the millions, all over the World, who die unbaptized? The Theology is monstrous! And the passage Mark X, beginning at verse 13, is deliberately mistranslated, in support of such Theology. Yet it can be found that a "Reader's Guide" to the "New Testament" (another objectionable term) dismisses the passage as needing no comment! The children blessed by Jesus were not Infants! He was distressed: Not displeased. And he did not say that no one could enter the Kingdom of God except as a child, but "like" a child. Most of those who bring Infants to baptism do not join in the worship of God; they have no intention of doing so; nor do they mean to keep the vows they so lightly make. Similarly, with the Marriage Service. The Burial Service has no spiritual meaning for most who attend it. And, like the other Services, it needs drastic revision—beyond that of the 1928 Book!

I see that a Captain Acworth "proves" that the Social Security Section of the Beveridge Report is "The Beast" of "Revelation." The three letters S (initials) represent three figures 6. And 666 is the "Mark of the Beast." But it has, in the past, been proved (!) that the Pope is the beast, that Charlemange was the Beast, that Lenin was the Beast, that Mussolini is the Beast, that Stalin is the Beast, and that Hitler is the Beast. And it will be proved that Winston Churchill is the Beast, and that Rooseveldt is the Beast. What a waste of time and ingenuity!

Why this recurring nonsense?

Because the King James I. Version of the Holy Scriptures is a dishonest Version.

Anyone who possesses a copy of the Holy Scriptures of the Jews will see that (as our own Theological students have been taught for many years), these writings are divided into three groups—The Law, the Prophets, the Writings. "Daniel" is in the third class, with Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Chronicles, etc.

"Daniel" is not one of "The Prophets." A prophet was not a foreteller: He was a forth-teller. Often, in his farsight, he saw what must transpire, eventually. He saw that God must become known better and that Truth must prevail. But he saw an Age, rather than an individual. The King James I. Version (the "Authorised Version") deliberately takes "Daniel" from its place amongst "The Writings" and sandwiches it between the Three Greater and the Twelve Lesser Prophets! This is utterly dishonest. It has led to simple and to cunning folk going to "Daniel", as they go to Old Moore's Almanack—for fore-tellings of events of their own time. But "Daniel" like "Revelation" is not fore-telling of a distant future. Both are apocalyptic. They were "Tracts for the Times, especially for Bad Times." It was not until 250 A.D. (roughly) that "Revelation" was generally accepted by "The Church" and included in its List of Sacred Writings—writings useful for instruction and discipline, and helpful in the search for God.

In the New Testament quotations from the Old Testament are from the Septuagint (Greek) Version —not from the Hebrew. These passages are, in almost every case, twisted, in order to prove a literal fulfilment, Thus the real, spiritual filling out of the Past by Jesus is lost in the attempt to prove a petty and magical fulfilment..

Matthew has one in chapter I. and two twisted passages in chapter II.

We must press and press and press until we get a single pure Version of these wonderful and useful writings in our language. People can not afford to purchase The Concordant Version, Torrey, Ferrar Fenton, Weymouth, The Twentieth Century New Testament, The Book of Books, McFadyen, Moffatt and other translations, and compare them with the Authorised Version of 1611 (made before ane of the Uncials were available) and the Revised Version of 1880-1881.

Dr. Kilgour, Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, admitted to me, years ago, that the Society had long seen the need for a revised Authorised Version; but that, owing to the Society being interdenominational, it could not get going. That was when the Society was printing for me my translation of St. John into the Makuchi Indian language of British Guiana. Makuchi (Guiana) and Mawken (Burma) were two unwritten languages which I committed to writing; in which I translated Gospel accounts. Hence my intensive studies, ever since.

Yours faithfully,

W. GRAINGE WHITE.

P.S. Had I the funds I would put out a book, or booklet, giving several passages needing correction, with general Notes upon the crying need. Unfortunately, I am a poor man.

BOOK REVIEW

"INSIDE THE LEFT."

Fenner Brockway has written his reminiscences of 30 years' struggle for international socialism ("Inside the Left", Allen and Unwin, 15s.). The story of the socialist movement in these years is a pitiful tale of change and decay, and after a life's work in the movement Brockway has little left but his faith in the socialist ideal. Brockway has above all else integrity as a socialist, and this integrity is the measure of his failure as a politician. The great tragedy of the Left has been that its leaders were (and are) careerists rather than socialists, MacDonalds, Snowdens and Allens rather than Brockways, Brailsfords and Jowetts in the I.L.P. alone. "Inside the Left" points many morals; but none more urgently than this:—because socialism embodies the aspirations of the dispossesed of the world, those who serve it must put away their own interests; private ambition is a capitalist ethic, and to carry it into socialism is to destroy the essence of the ideal.

In his references to Parliamentary life during the term of the Second Labour Government, Brockway shows how easy it is for the "Left" politician to succumb to constitutional comforts. He writes:—

"More and more (Labour) members settled down to a life of inertia. They descended after question time to one of the lounges and smoked, gossiped, drank, according to their tastes, or slept until the division bell rang. Then they would make their way upstairs, enquire of the Whip at the entrance to the division lobbies which was the Government side, and often enquire whilst voting what the division was about. Automatic machines would have filled the part just as efficiently.

"The inevitable deterioration of their existence was obtained. The Houses of Parliament are classed as a Royal Palace and accordingly there are no licensed hours; drink can be had all day and night. I do not wish to exaggerate the drunkenness which occurred at the House, but it was rare during my period in Parliament for one or more members not to be intoxicated after nine o'clock at night; the temper of the debates always rose after this hour and unseemly interruptions were common. One Member had the habit when he drank too much of maintaining an unceasing "hear, hear" like a small machine-gun. There was one occasion when the Cabinet Minister responsible for winding up a debate on Unemployment could stand only with difficulty."

Power corrupts, and so does this kind of lazy privilege which so many Labour and Trade Union leaders have gotten themselves. That is one lesson that Brockway's readers will learn. They will learn something else that the author only half reveals. They will learn that there will be no socialism until socialists can think clearly and act corporately. The disintegration of the I.L.P. is due to its equivocal foundations; its teaching has always been a bastard progeny of moral intuitionism and materialist determinism, of humanitarian reformism and Marxist revolutionism, of libertarianism and etatisme. This muddle-headed discord is apparent in Brockway's own personality, and although he achieves some kind of reintegration towards the end of his story, the inherent contradictions of his general principles remain. His 1941 Lancaster by-election address, not included in this book, was a model of the irrelevant and the illogical, and, on fundamental issues, was evasive to the point of being deceptive. Remembering that, I cannot rate Brockway's contribution to socialist thought very high. But I believe him to have been sincere, steadfast, and honourable to a degree. Of how few eminent men "inside the Left" can one say this!

MAURICE CRANSTON.

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CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

By Pastor J. RIGBY
(Stour Valley Mission, Blandford, Dorset)

To me, Christian Pacifism is the description of a way of life; it describes a way of thinking, feeling and doing. "Christian" because it is influenced by the living Christ; "Pacifism" because it describes a reaction to the fact of war which is different from that of other Christians (who, for sake of a name, have called themselves "Non-pacifists").

Christian Pacifism is a way of Christian living which becomes **more distinct** from the rest of Christian living, under the challenge of war, but, of course, it is a way of thinking, feeling and doing during a **cessation** of war as well as during a **resumption** of war,—a way of living **all the day and every day** as well as on those occasions when the challenge of war becomes more direct (e.g., when one's country is actively engaged in war, when one is conscripted for war service, or when the issue of war in any way enters into the relationship of life).

Now the ways in which a Christian Pacifist will think, act and feel under the challenge of war are partly conditioned by the **nature of the challenge** presented by war; that is by the outward circumstances. To describe Christian Pacifism, one could take a series of situations, each containing some challenge of war, describe how a Christian Pacifist would react in those circumstances, and then say: "That is Christian Pacifism." Or one might recall incidents in one's own life, or that of another person, and say: "That happened because I was a Christian Pacifist", or "because he or she was a Christian Pacifist."

But while, as a result, it might be quite clear how a Christian Pacifist would think or feel or act under selected circumstances, one might still be mystified as to **why** he or she did so.

It would be as well, therefore, to look behind the observable facts and ask: "What are some of the causes for this activity which, under the challenge of war, is defined as Christian Pacifism?" Let us attempt to understand the psychology of Christian Pacifism.

In the first place, it is a way of life resulting from contact with the living Christ. It is a unique direction and quality given to human thought, feeling and action derived from a deepening fellowship with the Christ of to-day—whether that fellowship be recognized as such, or not.

We instinctively copy the activities of those whom we love, and a Christian Pacifist acts in the way he does because he loves the living Christ, — because to him, Christ is the most wonderful person in all the world and the greatest in all history,—and because, as he absorbs into his own being the outlook, the spirit, the unnamed principles of living possessed by his living Lord, he can do no other than act as he does.

At this point our inquiry can divide into two channels. First, let us ask the Christian Pacifist: "Why do you love Christ?", and then go on to ask "Who then is this Christ?"

In answer to the first question, "Why do you love Christ?" we come immediately to one of the fundamentals of Christian Pacifism: "We love Him **because He first loved us.**"

We cannot compel ourselves to love. Love is a response of the whole heart to someone who is lovable.

Now the living Christ is lovable for one or both of two reasons:

(1) **Because His life is lovely, true and of good report.** He fulfils in practical living our ideals of beauty, truth and goodness. That in itself would cause us to absorb into our own way of life some of His attitudes and methods of action. But that love could better be described as "admiration." We accept His outlook and way of life because we admire Him.

But when Paul says: "The love of Christ constraineth us", he means more than "The admiration of Christ constraineth us."

For we must remember that many people do not admire Christ. They abhor Him; they persecute Him; because, instead of being a confirmation, He is a **contradiction** of their own principles and ideals of living, their own ideas of what is proper and needful. Such a one was Paul, for when, as Saul the Pharisee, he first came in contact with Christ and His followers, he did **not** admire them; he **detested** them.

This brings us to the second and deepest reason for loving Christ:

(2) **"We love Him because He first loved us."** As we have said, Paul did not admire Christ; he detested Him. But the love of his heart was won by Christ **first loving him**—while he was still unlovely, while he was still an enemy.

And we, along with Paul, absorb into our own lives the thoughts, feeling and actions of Christ because **He first loved us;** because He did not wait until we were good and pure and true before serving us.

I am not now referring to the action of Jesus of Galilee 1,900 years ago. I mean the living Christ of to-day: the Christ who lives in and works through the lives of those who have opened their hearts to Him. I am a Christian, because the Christ who lives in the hearts of at least half-a-dozen people whom I could name, approached me in different ways, cared for me, bore with me, even when I was most rebellious and self-centred, and eventually, by His persistent, selfless service and activity towards me, won my love.

For me, the heart of the Gospel is that Christ, acting through human agents who have absorbed His nature, loves His enemies. God is love, and it is a love that is not limited by the fact of enmity.

That is the basis of my love for Christ, and therefore of my Christian Pacifism. If I am willing to forgive others, it is because the living Christ has so greatly forgiven me. If I am willing to serve others and count not the cost, it is because during the past 27 years, the Christ of this generation has served me and counted not the cost. If I believe that Christ's active love working through me can change the hearts of those who are now His enemies, and who despise both Him and those who belong to Him, it is because Christ's active love, working through others during the past 27 years, changed the whole of my outlook and course of life.

That, to me, is the essence of Christianity, the "unexpected goodness" and practical activity of the Gospel,—and what makes Christian Pacifism the thing that it is.

To re-iterate: **Because, while we were still enemies of Christ and His purpose** — enemies either ignorantly or consciously—**He has loved and served us,** when we were at our blindest and most degraded, — **therefore we love Him;** and because we love Him, we absorb into our lives His own nature, His own ways of re-acting and thinking and feeling. Furthermore, what His attitude and actions were towards **us** (working through those who served Him), those attitudes and actions are now ours towards **others.** We are literally "in Christ", part of Him and being used by Him.

So that, if a Christian Pacifist is asked why, under the challenge of war, he acts and thinks and feels as he does, his fundamental answer is: "Because the living Christ loved and served me while I was still unlovely" (or as Saul the crucifier was led to say of the Christ of his own day: "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us").

From this point we are bound to go on to ask: **"Who then is this Christ?"**

I would say that His first and most striking characteristic is that of active love for the unlovely, for his enemies, for those who oppose Him: that is how He is continually extending His Kingdom.

Wherever that characteristic attitude and activity is found to-day, there is the living Christ.

I make no apology for saying that the activity to-day of, for example, **half-a-dozen different people** (who love the unlovely in half-a-dozen different ways) is the activity of **one Person.** For one reason: such attitude and activity is distinctive and it has a history: it can be traced back in the history books; and it began in Galilee 1,900 years ago. The distinctive attitude and activity which we are considering in the world to-day—this redemptive activity — is derived from the attitude and activity of one Jesus, who was a carpenter in Galilee. Something new broke into history 1,900 years ago, and it cannot be explained away.

It began by one Jesus actively loving those who were still unlovely—even while they were whole-heartedly opposing Him as an enemy,—a fact which persuaded them to love Him, and as they loved Him, to absorb into their own way of life His characteristic outlook, approach and reaction to life. All that we know of His life and teaching is a filling in and a working out of this central active attitude.

For another reason, I attribute these separate but distinctive activities of to-day to the activities of one living Person because they hang together in a way that seems unique. After 9 years of awakened observation and deliberate personal experiment, the explanation that seems to fit most of the facts and gives promise of further development, is that these separate but distinctive activities are the activities of one living Person, and that that Person is somehow bound up with and further explained by the historic figure of Jesus of Galilee.

(To be concluded.)

STALIN'S POLICY

Wickham Steed, the famous capitalist journalist, former editor of the London "Times", and an outstanding figure in the realm of politica intrigue and diplomacy, contributed a significant article to "The Evening Times", Glasgow, for Tuesday, February 16 last.

Under the heading "Nazi Scarecrow of Bolshevism", Steed denounces the Anti-Bolshevick tirades of Goebbels and Co., and proceeds to narrate a discussion he had with **"a man whose name is almost as well known in this country as it is in Soviet Russia."** This man was despondent as to the future from fear that Britain and the United States might tend, under cerain influences, to create an "Anti-Bolshevick front" during the resulting peace. Steed continues:—

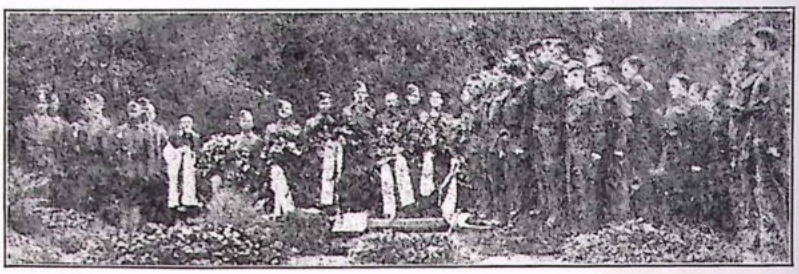
I gave him my personal reasons for thinking his despondency unwarranted.

"Joseph Stalin", I said, "has shown himself to be a great leader of the Russian people, and a military commander of genius. His wisdom in rejecting the policy of Trotsky—which was to form branches of the Communist International, or 'Comintern', everywhere and to use them to foment revolutions in all countries—has been more than justified by the development of Russia in the past 15 years.

"I think it highly improbable that Stalin will depart from that wisdom after a victorious war and revert in practice, if not in theory, to a policy of revolutionary international Communism such as Trotsky would have favoured. . . "

My interlocutor brightened up. "You are right about Stalin", he said. "He will not revert to the policy of Trotsky. He will want to lead Russia forward, and he will welcome British help."

GAVE LIFE IN BID TO SAVE GERMAN



The above is one of two pictures published in the Aberdeen "Evening Express" for February 10, 1943. It shows a German military firing party who fired a salute over the grave of a British soldier, who was a prisoner of war at a camp in Poland. Some Aberdeen prisoners of war are among those at the graveside. The dead British soldier gave his life in trying to rescue a German from a well. The picture was sent home by an Aberdeen soldier.

Our contemporary published another picture, sent home by the same soldier, a close-up of one of the wreaths, with the Swastika and Iron Cross expressing the German tribute.

The picture reproduced is sufficient to illustrate the fact that the dead soldier, in his death proved himself a hero of humanity. His sacrifice will help to cement the bonds of friendship which should unite the human race and hasten the day when all mankind shall dwell in harmony and a commonweal of living brotherhood. In the midst of the sorrows of war let us pay tribute to a soldier, who would have died on the battlefield, but died instead on a nobler battlefield, the battlefield of social service and common humanity.

FOR "THE WORD"

I want to say a word or two
About "The Word." It speaks to you
Each month, as would an honest friend
'Tis straight for truth, and will not bend.

"The Word" still strives to inculcate
Sincere, kind thought that combats hate:
No damning dope, but mental good.
"Cause and effect" are understood.

While propaganda's shrewd deceit
Makes most succumb to "war defeat."
"The Word" shows how the world could be
Saved from "the sword", and sane and free.

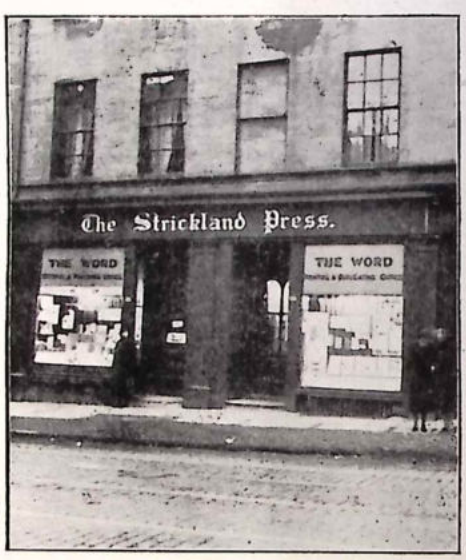
I often sang in days gone by
A hymn—"Kind words can never die."
Shall this wise "Word", and kind withal,
Fall sick, and fade beyond recall?

Now, readers, think: and say with me,
"Such tragedy must **never** be."
Anon enrich your souls, and give
"The Word" some "food", that it may live.

Guy Aldred's pen is mightier than
The bombs: though they do all they can.
With such an editor as Guy,
"The Word" **shall** wag, or we'll know why.

E. E. BRISCOE.

"A LAVISH PRESS"



"The Daily Worker", with its usual "Communist" love of falsehood, has described the Strickland Press, as "a lavish press." For the interest of readers in all parts of the English-speaking world, we publish a picture of this "lavish press."

The Strickland Press is situate in the heart of Glasgow slumdom. Comrades come from all quarters to this unpretentious shop, in search of Socialist, Pacifist, and Freethought literature: indeed, in quest of heresy and wisdom.

Underneath and at the back of this small double shop is the press: quaint, proletarian, and incessantly working.

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Order your radical, revolutionary, and heretical literature through the Strickland Press. When in Glasgow visit its shop. Make it your centre.

EDITOR'S PLAIN TALK

It may be necessary to increase the price of "The Word" to 3d. in May. We will not do so if readers respond thoroughly to our appeal this month. We believe that 2d. is a sound price and 3d. too much for popular circulation. And we **enjoy a popular** circulation, **a very popular one.** Only we take no paid advertising. We pack the paper with articles, poems, etc. We print on the best paper we can obtain. So we produce at a loss. The interested reader **must** help us.

Last month we acknowledged the receipt of £459 15s. 10½d. of the £1,500 needed. The balance required was £1,040 4s. 1½d. Readers have donated £91 8s. 9d. since then. The sum required is £948 15s. 4½d. We have enough single subscribers alone to secure this sum in one post, if each one made a small sacrifice. Will **you? It ensures a good paper at 2d. per copy for another year and relieves the press of all current debt.**

We have had a response to our folding machine's appeal and hope to make an announcement at an early date.

Each comrade, to secure his or her paper, ought to become an annual subscriber. Send now. Annual subscription 3s. Address subscriptions and donations to **The Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.**

Printed and Published in Great Britain by the Strickland Press, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

"THE ONE THING NEEDFUL."

Little wars make big wars:
And fools are found to fight 'em.
The big wars make bigger wars:
And so ——— ad infinitum?

Not when the fools, who are the "tools"
For wrongs that blear and blight 'em,
Join with the schools, and plunge in pools
Of thought to clear and right 'em.

Not when the women know, and **feel**
Those wrongs to be for **their** concern:—
That life **outside** the home is **real:**
And even **they** can live **and** learn.

E. E. BRISCOE.

The writer was one of the fools in 1914-1918 but "experience teaches" and **some** learn.

Every Thinking Man or Woman ought to read

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"Eighty-seven years of Bernard Shaw: The Philosopher.

„ 14—**Prof. G. KEETON, M.A., LL.D.:**
"Some Makers of Modern England — (6) Gladstone and the Liberal Traditions.

„ 21—**S. K. RATCLIFFE:**
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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

Vol. IV. No. 9 APRIL 1943. Price: TWOPENCE.

"HOPELESS"!

"NO USE TROUBLING ABOUT US."

WILLIE GALLACHER'S VERDICT ON HIMSELF AND HIS "COMMUNIST" COLLEAGUES.

"Ritchie and I and our colleagues are hopeless; there is no use troubling about us."

—William Gallacher (now M.P.), in "The Worker," Glasgow, September 22, 1922.

Last month we quoted the remarkable article contributed by Wickham Steed to the Glasgow "Evening Times" on the question of Stalin's policy. The famous British capitalist journalist averred that Trotsky favoured a programme of International Communism and that Stalin stood for a programme of Russian co-operation with the capitalist nations in the coming post-war years. This is the view also of the great American capitalist newspaper, the "New York Times," which is the soul of the American bourgeoisie manifesting itself in print.

SOVIET "COMMUNISM" NO MENACE.

In its issue for December 20, 1942, the "N.Y. Times" published an editorial, headed "Post-War World," in which it depicts the place assigned to Stalin and his "Communist" henchmen in capitalist history, and pours scorn on Laval's attempts to parrot Hitler's battlecry against the menace of "Communism," as coming from the Soviet Union.

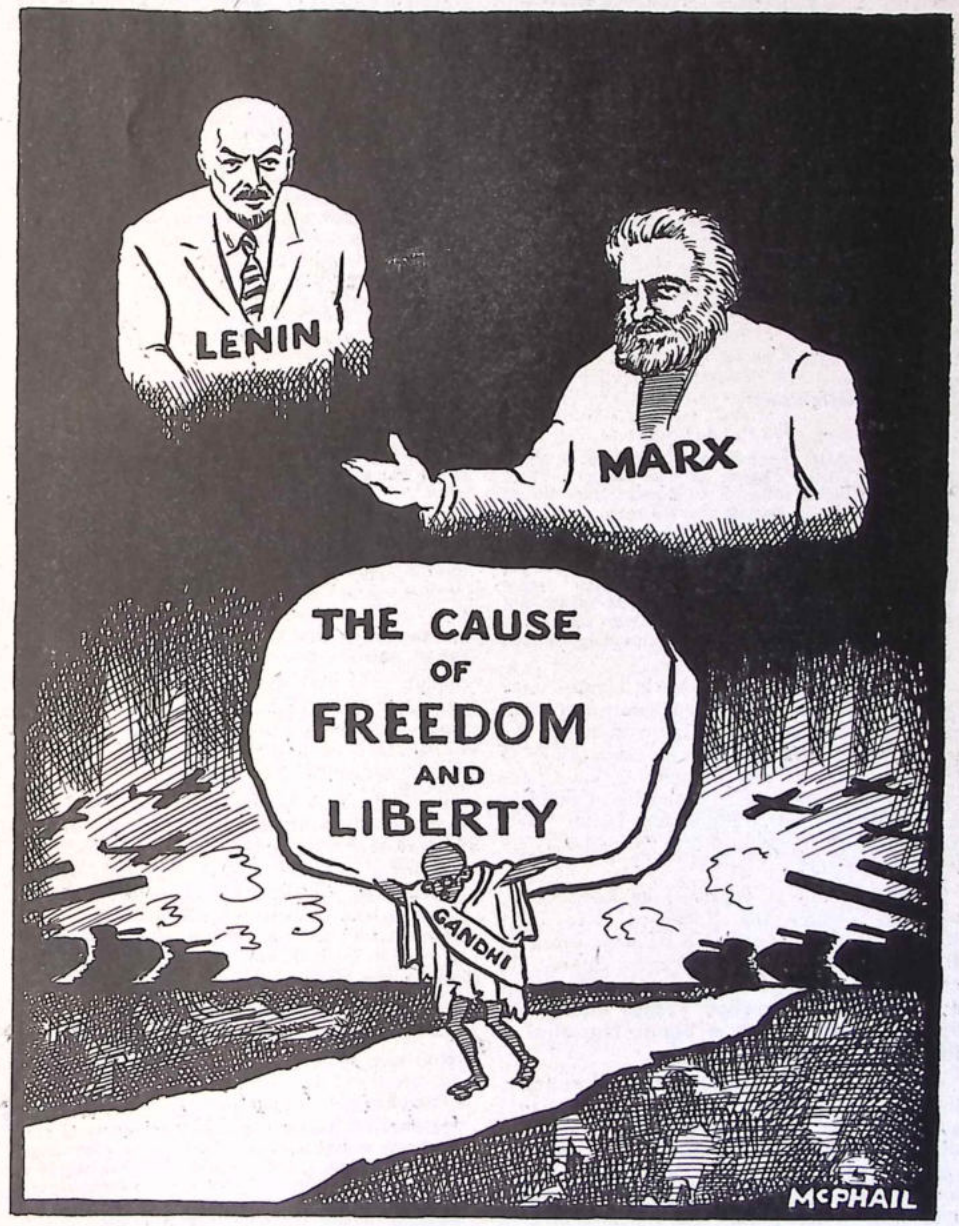
Our New York contemporary leaves its readers to understand that the struggle between Communism and Fascism was very real at the time of Hitler's rise to power, but that the danger of Communism is a thing of the past, thanks to the wisdom of Stalin, and the liquidation of the Russian Revolution step by step, from Anarchism to Trotskyism. The New York journal gives no heed to slanders like those to be found in Joseph Davies "Mission to Moscow," in which the ex-Ambassador labours to prove that the Moscow fake trials were genuine, and that the Bolshevik old guard members were traitors to Communism. Indeed, Joseph Davies' falsifications are unwanted liabilities at the moment and the time has come to face the truth, that the Bolshevik leaders were "liquidated" for believing in the social revolution to which their lives had been devoted mostly from their youth. The "N.Y. Times" refuses to camouflage the real nature of the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism. Trotsky, it avers, stood for the proletarian world revolution; Stalin, for the turn-away from that goal towards Russian nationalism.

Says this most interesting editorial:

"But Laval dons the armour of the anti-Communist crusader too late. Because of the subversive and, in the result, suicidal activities of a Communist International guided by the Trotskyist ideology of the proletarian world revolution, Hitler could still raise an issue which frightened many Germans into his camp and won a following for similar crusaders elsewhere, including the United States. BUT WITH THE 'LIQUIDATION' OF THE TROTSKYISTS IN RUSSIA, THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION BEGAN TO TAKE A BACK SEAT, ON WHICH SAT IN THE MAIN THE COMMUNIST DUPES IN OTHER COUNTRIES, whom the Moscow rulers despised as tools and liquidated first wherever Moscow itself took over, as in the Baltic States. The state of Stalin became more and more a nationalist state, and the Communist International became the tool of Russian power politics. And this nationalisation of the Bolshevist Revolution is now being completed and solidified in the fires of the Russo-German war."

It is, of course, nonsense to assume that the post-war world is going to be controlled by Stalin and a "Communist" world bureaucracy, in the interest of capitalism. Socialism is a fact and will make itself heard. The struggle of the masses against oppression is inevitable and will result in social victory, the victory of commonwealth and liberty. But the editorial shows the approved part that the Stalinists aim to play and are expected to play in the post-war world. Can these people be considered the friends of the people, the champions of the oppressed working-class?

Winston Churchill directed the counter-revolutionary interventionists against the



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "McPhail."]

"YOU SEE COMRADE, THEY DON'T ALL QUIT."

Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, and spoke of the Red Army as the Jewish Anarchist followers of those two leaders. On the 24th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, he spoke of Stalin as the great warrior, at the head of the Russians. In the London "Times," beneath a large hammer and sickle, a commercial firm advertised: **"Salute to an Ally."** Lord Beaverbrook, now comrade Beaverbrook, recovering from his past attacks on Communism and denunciations of Lenin and Trotsky, **and as anti-Socialist as ever,** told a group of war-workers at Manchester, concerning Stalin: **"I put my faith in that man's leadership."** Stalin responds to this Imperialist war-mongering by referring to Churchill as **"the old warrior"** and celebrating the 24th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution by describing the spectre of revolution as a trick of Hitler's. What did Marx write about the spectre of Communism? Perhaps Willie Gallacher and Harry Pollitt will tell the puzzled proletariat!

WILL HITLER BE CRUSHED TOO SOON?

The spectre of Communism, of International Socialism, haunts capitalist society. This fact explains the eulogies of Stalin, the capitalisation of regard for the hammer and sickle, and the "N.Y. Times" editorial of December 20, 1942, from which we have quoted. Exactly a month earlier, on November 20, the same paper published a cryptic paragraph at the conclusion of its chief editorial, which was headed: **"The Test of Hitler's Power."**

This amazing editorial concludes:

What the African expedition precipitates, in short, is a test of Hitler's power all over Europe. There are signs of uncertainty in the German plans, delays and waverings that suggest that the master strategist is taken by surprise and is improvising moves with counters he is not sure of. This is an opportunity for the Allied forces, BUT IT IS A PERIL, TOO, FOR IT SUGGESTS THAT THERE MAY ALREADY BE GREATER WEAKNESS THAN WE REALIZED UNDER THE FACADE OF NAZI POWER. The decisive battle may develop, in fact, before we are ready to fight it.

Why should the "New York Times" fear that Hitler might be crushed before the allies are prepared to come to grips with him? By whom is he to be crushed? By the workers of Germany—by the revolutionary action of the masses of Europe and by elements of the Red Army who may not be Stalinist? Is the "New York Times" more afraid of Socialism than it is of Fascism?

Stalin's policy is approved by Lord Croft, who has assured the House of Lords that Britain intends to maintain its possessions in Malaya and Burma, and as regards democracy, pursue a policy of gradualism. **Lord Croft was a supporter of Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War and of Benito Mussolini at the partition of Abyssinia.**

The **revolutionary** defeat of the Hitler army, leading to a Socialist Europe, and a world commonwealth, is impossible without the help of the German workers themselves. Stalin's policy—and the eulogy of him and the Soviet bureaucracy by Allied Capitalist statesmen more notorious for their reaction than famous for their liberation—tend to prolong the war and make it an imperialist war of fight to a finish. This policy is in marked contrast to that pursued by Lenin and Trotsky in 1918. The latter made every effort to win over the German army of occupation by means of revolutionary propaganda. The Brest-Litvosk negotiations were delayed and dragged out to the very end in order to give Bolshevik propagandists time in which to spread their ideas among the German soldiers. Fraternization—this was the method of the founders of the Soviet Union. And this method resulted in the moral disintegration of the German army and led to the uprising of the German people at home which overthrew the Kaiser's regime and put an end to the first World War. But for the parliamentary reactionaries and opportunists the German revolution would have liquidated itself in a commonwealth of peace-loving peoples of the earth, each enjoying a system of Socialism.

Fraternization is not the Stalinist method. We have American reports of the visit to the United States of Ludmilla Paylichenko, a girl member of the Red Army. She is reputed to have killed 309 Nazis in sniping operations, and as a reward has been given the highest Soviet citations.

During an interview in Washington, in September, 1942, she said:

Every German who remains alive will kill women, children and old folks. Dead Germans are harmless."

This is the philosophy, and the unwisdom of capitalist patriotism, dividing the working-class into camps of hatred that profits might continue and the poor be oppressed for ever. To-day, the "Communists" have no conception of Socialist thought or struggle.

EARL BROWDER'S POLICY.

On July 2, 1942, Earl Browder returned to his "Communist" comrades at the Independence Day Rally of the Communist Party at Madison Square Gardens. Israel Amter, the party's candidate for Governor, was chairman of the meeting. The other speakers included: James W. Ford, William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Robert Misior, who introduced Browder.

Hailed as a hero, Browder termed his fourteen months in jail as

"an incidental by-product of the desperate effort of world reaction, headed by Hitler, to prevent by all means the realization of the United States-Soviet alliance which I, as spokesman for my party, had long advocated as essential to the national interests of our own country and to the whole freedom-loving world."

Browder proceeded to praise Labour leaders and industrialists for their patriotism and their co-operation in war production. He applauded Roosevelt as "the Nation's Commander in chief" and concluded:

"Everything for the destruction of the Nazi-Fascist Axis!"

What "everything" means Browder has made clear since in his "Victory and After," a book of 256 pages, published by International Publishers, New York, at 50 cents, to celebrate his release from jail, we presume.

Browder's book is described as a **"systematic presentation of the point of view of the Communist Party of the United States."** It will make interesting reading for British workers as defining the programme which commands the support of Gallacher and Pollitt. The book was written for the purpose of alleviating all uneasiness about **"the menace of Communism."**

Chapter V is entitled: **"Is Communism a Menace?"** Browder says it is not.

Here are some paragraphs, which tell their own story, defining capitalism in all its inequalities and injustices:

Mr. Hoover thinks the capitalist system is such a delicate organism that if it has any competition with a socialist system anywhere in the world it will simply curl up and die of a bellyache, and, therefore, to save capitalism, we must kill off socialism by war wherever it might appear.

Mr. Hoover's judgment upon capitalism is worse than anything which I, as a spokesman for the Communists, have ever uttered against it. For I firmly believe that Mr. Hoover's theory is a slander against capitalism. I believe that it is possible for capitalism to continue in the United States even if there is socialism in the Soviet Union. (Pp. 76-77.)

Secondly as a practical matter, national unity in the United States is above all a problem of ADJUSTING CLASS INTERESTS without the severe struggles by which this has usually been accomplished. (P. 83.)

Any attempt to interpret literally the phrase "equality of sacrifice" would of course, not help prosecute the war to victory, but would hopelessly sabotage it. There is not, and cannot be, any literal equality of sacrifice as between workers and capitalists in this war. The workers must make the main sacrifices, and they have enough common sense to know, and enough patriotism not to object to it. (P. 86.)

The labour movement has not protested this generous allowance to the privileged classes, understanding that even in beseiged civilization such persons trained to luxury and idleness must be handled gently and indulgently. Even the Communists have shown no disposition to urge more drastic restrictions on the upper classes. (P. 87.)

We must find a way to finance, organise, and fight this war through to victory, a way which is acceptable to the owning class (industrialists, financiers, bondowners with their most important hired men). . . . (P. 87.)

. . . The claims of property owners and coupon clippers . . . must be compromised with generosity in their favour. . . . (P. 88.)

Business executives have been so completely habituated to receiving incomes scales up to a certain equality with property incomes of the highest brackets that they will inevitably be favoured at the expense of the masses and of the total war effort. This may be deplored from abstract considerations, but it must not be rejected. . . . (P. 89.)

To the extent that they are prepared to subordinate their own special interests and ideologies to the needs of victory in this war, Tories and Communists can severally and jointly contribute to national unity, together with all others. (P. 124.)

And this is "Communism." This is the programme of Earl Browder, Willie Gallacher, and Henry Pollitt! This is the programme the Fife miners voted for in November, 1935, when Gallacher defeated Adamson! See Chapter XVI of "Socialism and Parliament; Pt. I ("Word" Library, No. 4). This is post-second-war "Communism," the promise of the Russian Revolution unto the second and third generation. Perhaps some of our readers will recall William Gallacher's most unfortunate challenge in "The Worker" for September, 1922, when he asks: **"What has Aldred ever done for the revolutionary movement?"**

What has Gallacher done for the revolutionary movement? What is he doing now? And what is Earl Browder doing?

In 1922, when Gallacher put this question, he identified himself with Ritchie, who was then a C.P. United Fronter, and subsequently became I.L.P. Parish Councillor, Labour Party Town Councillor and Bailie; and twice charged and finally convicted, sentenced, and dishonoured corruptionist in office.

Eulogising Ritchie at great length, at our expense, Gallacher shrieked with exasperation:

Ritchie and I and our colleagues are hopeless; there is no use troubling about us.

Which was true, as time has shewn. The workers remained in their slums and Ritchie climbed to bailieship and then went to gaol. The slums remain and Ritchie has returned to them, probably. The much-boosted organisation served no purpose other than that of transient corruption under capitalism. More fortunate than Ritchie, Gallacher sits in Parliament, applauding Churchill and Beaverbrook. He is the Earl Browder of politics in Britain.

In the "Evening Times," Glasgow, for Saturday, February 27, William Gallacher, M.P., contributed an article under these flaring headlines:—

Work Disputes Delay Victory
STRIKES HELP HITLER:
SO DO BAD "BOSSES"

But the real emphasis, in the article, was on "Strikes"! It is good to know, however, that "Communism" distinguishes between "good" and "bad bosses."

Yes, Stalinist Peace Convention Gallacher, Comrade Facing-all-ways, was right in 1922. Gallacher and Co. are hopeless. There is no use troubling about them. This phrase should be their epitaph.

WOMEN'S STOP-WAR MOVEMENT.

PUBLIC MEETING.

CENTRAL HALLS, Bath Street, Glasgow
SUNDAY, 4th April, 1943, at 3 p.m.
Doors open at 2.30.

Speaker—
JAMES MAXTON, M.P.
Subject—"What Are The Prospects?"
Chairman—Sir HUGH ROBERTON.

Donation Tickets or Silver Collection.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

III. GLASGOW (1921) TRIAL ECHOES

(Continued from page 89.)

II.—THE NUNEATON VICTIM.

This is the story of the colliery under-manager.

In "The Freethinker", for February 13, 1921, we inserted a page-advertisement of the publications of the Bakunin Press. Half of this page was devoted to an announcement of the Slav-folklore translations made by the late Sir Walter Strickland. Russian fairy-tales cannot be deemed seditious or blasphemous. The rest of the page announced various Freethought and Socialist pamphlets written by us, the bound volume and also the then current issue of "The Spur", and "The Red Commune", which the Anti-Parliamentary Group was preparing to publish as its organ, independent of our activity and the work of the Bakunin Press.

The advertisement was answered by a Mr. W. H. Hunt, of Nuneaton, who was **not** interested in Socialism, but was interested in Freethought. He ordered Sir Walter Strickland's translations, our own Freethought pamphlets, and a bound volume of "The Spur." He did not even order "The Red Commune", although no one could tell, **in advance,** that the paper would be prosecuted, or anticipate its contents. The title simply did not appeal to him. He had never written to the Bakunin Press before and, it is safe to assume, would not have written when he did but for the "Freethinker" advertisement.

At the beginning of March, 1921, there occurred our arrest in London, and that of our three comrades in Glasgow. These arrests have been detailed fully already and need not be referred to here. Following the arrests, and the raid on Bakunin House, came the victimisation of Mr. Hunt. His victimisation is even more shameful than that of the police-constable, Magill, dealt with in the previous chapter.

Chapman Cohen told the story of Hunt's victimisation, in an excellent series of comments published in "The Freethinker", for May 15, 1921:—

Some time ago we received an advertisement of certain publications issued by the Bakunine Press, of Glasgow. The advertisement was duly inserted, and there, so far as we were concerned, the matter ended. But that advertisement had a curious sequel for one of our readers, the particulars of which we take from his letters and an account published in the Nuneaton "Observer."

This man, Mr. W. H. Hunt, was employed at the Haunchwood Colliery as under-manager. Seeing the advertisement, and wishing to know something of the topics discussed in the advertised publications, he sent for some of them. Mr. Hunt is, we understand, neither a propagandist, nor a member of any political organization. He was simply desirous of reading something about the Soviet system and kindred matters. Soon after sending his money for the publications the Glasgow office was raided by the police, and immediately after that Mr. Hunt was called into the manager's office, a copy of the letter he had sent to the Glasgow Socialist headquarters read to him, and he was forthwith dismissed.

That appears to be a plain unvarnished statement of the facts of the case, and I do not think it possible to conceive anything of a more infamous character. The action of the colliery officials is bad enough, but worse than that is the fact of their being in possession of the letter. How did that happen? There seems only one of two ways possible. Either the letter must have been opened by the postal officials, or it must have been seized by the police when they raided the Socialist headquarters, and one or the other must have sent a copy of the letter to the man's employers. For the authorities to open a man's private correspondence is bad enough. But that is now so common that we have almost ceased to notice it. But that, in addition, copies of these letters should be sent to one's employers, and his discharge secured, not because he had done anything wrong or illegal, but merely because he wished to read something which the authorities think he ought not to read, is a position of affairs that is a disgrace to any country in the world. If the facts are as stated nothing that we can say can add to the infamy of the situation.

If we had a House of Commons different from the one we possess we should hope to see the matter taken up there. Fifty years ago if this had occurred that would have been done and with some effect. But this House of Commons, with its self complacent inefficiency and self applauding impotence, is beyond hope. It cares nothing for liberty, and consequently does nothing for it. And bit by bit, under one pretext or another, one guarantee after another of public liberty is restricted or wiped out. Each of the political parties, the Labour Party not less than the others, seems to strive for political power with the aim of curtailing the freedom of individual members of the public.

We have won the war, and we have, as a result, annexed some of the German colonies and almost the whole of the spiritual possessions of Prussia. A huge army of officials sit directing all the details of our life, and officialism once established is one of the most difficult of all forms of social parasitism to remove. To-day it is becoming a literal truth that no man's personal liberty is safe. The question is how much farther will matters go before there arises a body of men and women sufficiently devoted to freedom to say, without regard to any political party or theory, that this sort of thing must stop? At present we see no sign of any such development. It is a case of which party shall have the chance of playing the Prussian.

An account of another case that reaches us illustrates further the degree to which in this country personal rights are being threatened by the reactionary wave which at the very beginning of the war we warned our readers was bound to come.

In March last Mr. Guy Aldred was arrested in London and taken to Glasgow on a charge of sedition. On the justice of the charge we desire to make no comment. That is clearly a matter to be settled in the courts. The thing that does call for comment is that Mr. Aldred is not to be tried till July, and during all that time he is retained in prison, bail being refused.

Now there seems no justification for this, short of the desire to punish by imprisonment whether a conviction is secured or not. It is a case of heads I win, tails you lose. There is no question, either, of the accused man failing to appear if bail were allowed. We believe we are right in saying that in none of these cases where bail has been allowed has there been any default. Remand on bail, with an undertaking not to repeat the offence until after the trial, would have met the case, and is all that can reasonably be required.

We do not accept Communism, and we hold no brief for it. But we are concerned, the "Freethinker" has always been concerned, with the right of every opinion to expression. It is that which appears to be in danger at the moment, and that concerns all men and women who have any regard for freedom and public decency.

We remember the late W. T. Stead saying at a Freethought meeting, that he stood up for the right of Freethinkers to commit blasphemy, and championed their right the more heartily because he did not agree with their opinions. And that is the real test. A worm will wriggle if it is trodden on; but the test of whether it is a super-worm or not is whether it will wriggle when another worm is trodden on. And one cannot avoid the conclusion that at present the authorities appear to be engaged in a campaign against particular opinions to which they have an objection. And we Freethinkers value the right to free expression too highly not to feel perturbed when we see it threatened in any direction.

John S. Clarke, then editor of "The Worker", the Glasgow organ of National Workers Committees, reproduced most of Chapman Cohen's commentary in his paper for May 21, 1921. Referring to Sir Basil Thomson, then chief of the C.I.D., as the successor of Sir Melville Leslie Magnaghton, who had died a short time before, Clarke added:—

"However, tracking murderers was the principal business of the late police chief. His successor, Sir Basil Thomson, is composed of less ambitious and less heroic clay. Helping to distribute forged copies of "Pravda"; organising gangs of mean spies, engineering frame-ups, and persecuting political opponents, are more in his line. The police department in this country never sank so low as it has done since this poor puffed-up imitation of Trepoff or Von Plevhe got the job of bossing it. Here is an eye-opener to those never-be-slave Britons who imagine that the police administration of this country is the property of democracy instead of the watchdog of private capitalists. From the "Freethinker" of last week.

And then Clarke retold the story of the victimised Nuneaton colliery under-manager—a disgraceful story!

Among those interned under 18B are many who read of this injustice and ignored its implications. They did not see the menace to civil liberty in our 1921 prosecution and the arising persecution of perfectly innocent people who had not the remotest connection with our propaganda. The cry of "sedition", the clamour of ruling class interests, the sense of personal security, conquered their scruples and damaged their interest. Injustice ought never to be tolerated, and the discussion of political opinion, the struggle of ideas, should not be suppressed. Those whose silence wronged us in 1921 wronged themselves. Some, to-day, are paying the penalty of not being alive to the outrage of civil liberty.

(To be continued.)

CARLILE (with an 'I')

By HAMILTON FYFE.

[Hamilton Fyfe paid two tributes to the memory of Richard Carlile. One he contributed to "The Literary Guide" for February 1943. This we will reproduce next month. The other is reprinted below. It is reproduced from "The Daily Herald" for February 14.—Ed.]

"Ever heard of Carlile with an 'i'?" I asked an American newspaper man a few days ago.

He looked puzzled. "I've heard of Thomas Carlyle", he said. "Even read some of him. But Carlile with an 'i'—no, never."

"He was a man", I said, "who did a great deal for that freedom we were discussing. He stood up to Cabinet Ministers who were determined to kill it, if they could.

'They found they couldn't, and that was mainly due to Richard Carlile, who died just 100 years ago—on February 10, 1843. There's going to be a little commemoration of his long struggle at his grave in Kensal Green Cemetery on the centenary date.

* * *

"Not many people know about him now, but he was such a headache to the Government, and to all who wanted to keep things as they were, that a society was formed to stop his activities.

"I suppose that's the only time such a thing ever happened—I mean forming a society to stop the activities of one man.

"It didn't stop them though. Its subscription list ran up to £6,000 and was headed by the Duke of Wellington, but the publications it aimed at suppressing went on being sold.

"They sent Carlile to jail for three years, fined him £1,500 in the hope of ruining his business as a printer, jailed his wife when she carried on for him, jailed his sister for helping him, jailed his loyal salesmen.

"But nothing could stop the circulation of the books he published—Tom Paine's among others—or of the weekly paper he edited, even while he was in prison.

"When he had served his three years, the Government got him another three for not paying his fine, but he came out as obstinately resolute as ever.

"He got a bad name with the highly respectable, for he was accused of publishing blasphemous pamphlets and he refused to pay Church rates. He was prosecuted again for this and for exhibiting in his shop window an effigy of a bishop collecting rates with the devil as his assistant. He got another three years for that."

* * *

"But he won out in the end?" my American friend asked anxiously.

He was thrilled by the pluck and grit of this Devon man who began life as an errand boy in Exeter, but beat the Ruling Class, and, in the words of the Dictionary of National Biography, "Did more than any other Englishman in his day for the freedom of the Press."

"Yes, he won all right", I said, "but he was only fifty-two when he died. He wore himself out in the service of humanity—that is, of you and me."

RICHARD CARLILE

Fighter for Freedom in the First Days of Capitalism

By

Dr. CHARLES BROOK

[The following essay is reprinted from "The New Leader", London, for January 6, 1943. It is the best Centenary tribute paid to the memory of Richard Carlile and merits wide circulation.—Ed.]

One hundred years ago—on February 10th, 1843—Richard Carlile died in Bouverie Street, London, at the age of 52. He had little to leave but his body, which he bequeathed for dissection.

A native of Ashburton, Devon, and the son of a cobbler, he was working as a journeyman mechanic in a tinsmith's shop in Holborn Hill when he first became interested in politics and in the Reform movement, which was then led by William Cobbett and "Orator" Henry Hunt. In 1817 he left his trade to become publisher of an advanced political journal, "Sherwin's Register." This he later acquired and changed its name to "The Republican."

PRISONER OF FREEDOM.

He was soon in trouble with the authorities and was imprisoned for eighteen weeks for selling Hone's "Parodies." Although faced with indictments on further charges of blasphemy, he was present at the Peterloo Massacre and his "Liberty Flag" was taken from his Fleet Street shop to Manchester and figured prominently at that great demonstration. Avoiding arrest, he escaped to London and publicised the whole affair in "Sherwin's Register", following this up with open letters to the Prince Regent and to the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth.

He was apprehended fo seditious libel, but, through fear of adverse and hostile publicity, the Government ordered his release. But soon afterwards, at the instigation of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which was led by William Wilberforce, alternative proceedings were taken against Carlile on the several indictments of blasphemous libel. For, despite warnings from the authorities, he had repeatedly and persistently published and sold cheap editions of Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Plihu Palmer's "Principles of Nature."

After a long trial in which Carlile defended himself with great ability, he was convicted, sentenced to three years' imprisonment, fined £1,500, and ordered to furnish substantial sureties.

THE IRON DUKE.

Carlile flatly declined to pay the fines or furnish the sureties, although he had many well-to-do and influential supporters including Jeremy Bentham and Francis Place. The poets, Keats and Shelley, protested against the sentence; but the Duke of Wellington considered the penalties too lenient and demanded, in the House of Lords that Carlile should be outlawed and transported for life; while the Czar of Russia forbade any mention of the trial in the newspapers of his country.

For six years, until 1825, Carlile remained in Dorchester Gaol, but from his cell he organised one of the most audacious and best-planned campaign of passive resistance ever recorded, and, what is most important, his efforts were completely successful. No fewer than 150 of his shopmen and shopwomen in all parts of the country wer prosecuted, and many, including his wife and his sister were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

But volunteers were never lacking. The "Republican" and other Carlile publications appeared with unfailing regularity, and at the end of 1825 he emerged from gaol triumphant", with his fines unpaid and his sureties abrogated.

WELLINGTON ROUTED.

He had not only successfully defied and utterly routed the Government, Wellington's Constitutional Association and Wilberforce's Vice Society, but he had made good use of his long incarceration. He read widely and wrote prolifically. He developed to the full his greatest and most outstanding gift, perhaps not surpassed by any Englishman before or since, of being able to focus on any problem the spotlight of plain commonsense.

To give an example at random: Carlile objected on principle to oath-making, and of sworn evidence given at trials he wrote:

"If the oath were valued as giving weight to the evidence, cross-examination would be a very great presumption; for it proves that the oath has not given weight to the evidence and that it cannot give it weight."

CHAMPIONS THE WORKERS.

During his stay at Dorchester his views on politics and religion underwent great changes. He turned his back on the Reformers.

"I write for the poor", he proclaimed, and he not only wrote for the poor but published for the poor and sold to the poor at prices the poor could pay. That was his real crime in the eyes of the ruling class.

His desire to serve the proletariat is well shown in his masterly and devastating exposure of the exploitation of the operatives in the Manchester cotton mills, which he wrote in 1827.

Not many to-day could better Carlile's indictment of industrial Capitalism of a century and a quarter ago, when he wrote—in 1827—of the plight of the operatives in the Manchester cotton mills:

"The human beings are worked with less care than is shown to the machinery, as the latter is expensive and the former costs the masters nothing for renewal."

SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

He lashed out with fury at Wilberforce and other reformers.

"It is astonishing that our public professors of humanity should have kept up a clamour about slaves in another part of the world and that they should be blind to this, the worst kind of slavery that was ever inflicted on any portion of the human race, upon any portion of the animal world. Oh! how this religious humanity of Wilberforce and others stinks of hypocrisy. Men and women subscribe money for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but forget to include their own species, the animal man, in the common benefit."

Carlile was prophetic when he discussed the future of the cotton industry, for he expressed the opinion

"that the end of the century is very likely to see many of the huge and hell-like cotton mills emptied of human beings and the refuge of bats and owls."

SOCIAL REPUBLICAN.

At that time the Parliamentary Reformers were holding out promises of the millennium, but Carlile, the Social Republican, boldlly proclaimed:

"There will never be any serious attempt to improve the conditions of the working people but among themselves. They must begin it, carry it on, and end it."

In 1831 Carlile was sentenced to his third term of imprisonment. This time it was 32 months for sedition, for having encouraged insurgent agricultural labourers to continue their strike. He argued that as they were in a state of war, and that in war all destruction of property was lawful, therefore they were, under the circumstances, justified in destroying farm produce. On this occasion Carlile was imprisoned in the Compter in Giltspur Street, and, in reply to a message of sympathy, wrote:—

"It may seem strange, but whether from habit or what else, it is no less true that in the course of our great political struggle, I like a gaol, and am more happy here than I can possibly be anywhere else until the time of our political triumph."

THE "DEVIL'S CHAPLAIN."

Carlile never complained about his own privations, but to others similarly persecuted he was always ready to offer sympathy, wise counsel, and encouragement; as, for example, when he wrote from the Compter to his collaborator, Robert Taylor, "The Devil's Chaplain", who was then in Horsemonger Lane Gaol and had complained to Carlile that the gaoler had insulted him.

"It is not in the power of man to insult me. Assult is one thing, but insult is another, and there can only be insulting when there is a disposition to court it. Human nature is capable of a dignity that will not leave room for the word insult."

Carlile was a notable anti-militarist writer and publisher, and, in defiance of the Press Acts, he published an unstamped and anonymously written pamphlet characterising militarism as a monster and advocating its boycott by all decent people.

During the last decade of his life he was dogged by ill-health, probably aggravated by his nine-and-a-quarter years' imprisonment, but his pen was active to the end, and only a few months before his death he wrote to Sir Robert Peel announcing his intention to provoke prosecution as a protest against the imprisonment of G. J. Holyoake.

Carlile was consistently abused during his lifetime, and after his death the "Times" referred to him as "this notorious individual."

Almost a century later the Director of Talks of the B.B.C. expressed the opinion that Richard Carlile was not sufficiently eminent to justify a special centenary programme! Perhaps a more accurate reason for this decision is that the present time can scarcely be considered opportune for the average radio listener to appreciate the downright common sense of Richard Carlile.

The Duke of Bedford's great speech on conscientious objectors will be published in pamphlet form. We propose to publish, also, in full, the Earl of Glasgow's speech, sneering at the working class movement. The speech will be on sale this month. But we advise our readers to order the House of Lords Report for Tuesday, March 2, 1943, direct from Sales Publication Department, H.M. Stationery Office, York House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, or any of its other addresses. Enclose 8d. to cover cost of postage.

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JUSTICE UNDER 18b.

C. H. Norman's articles will be resumed next month. Meanwhile we draw attention to two letters from his pen that have been suppressed by our contemporaries.

The following letter was addressed by Norman, dated from his office, 84/86 Chancery Lane, London, W.C., January 30, 1943, to the editor of "The New Statesman and Nation":

Sir,—May I question the statement of your legal correspondent that Parliament cannot examine into the action of the Executive in connection with the persons detained in wartime without trial or accusation. The evidence given in the case of Arbon and Others v. Anderson and Others tried by Lord Justice Goddard in December last would certainly merit the closest examination by a Parliamentary Committee representing all parties, as would also the conditions under which persons are examined by questionable methods (certainly unlawful under the Bill of Rights and the Act of Parliament) at Latchmere House, Ham Common

In the Arbon case, the statement was given in evidence that a German detained under 18B, who had also (ironically enough) been detained in the Dachau Camp in Germany, declered that the conditions of British detention were worse than those at Dachau. It is curious how silent "The New Stateman" is on these grave matters, though exceedingly angry at the abuses committted by foreign governments against their prisoners.

Yours faithfully,

C. H. NORMAN.

This letter was not published!

Nor was the following letter, sent by Norman, on February 11, 1943, to the editor of the "Daily Herald," dealing with the treatment of the 18B prisoners:

Sir,—The evidence given in Arbon and Others v. Anderson and Others, tried by Lord Justice Goddard in December last, hardly bears out the optimistic statements of Mr. O. Peake (on behalf of the Home Office) concerning the treatment of these unfortunate persons. I heard given in evidence the statement that a German, who had also been detained, ironically enough, in Dachau Camp in Germany, said the treatment and conditions in the English prison where he was detained were worse than at Dachau.

One would also like to know what methods are adopted to compel recalcitrant persons, who are examined at that curious place, Latchmere House, Ham Common, who refused to answer questions, to answer eventually. This is a matter eminently suitable for inquiry by a non-Party Committee of the House of Commons.

It must also be pointed out that, as most of these detained people had never committed any offence against the laws of the country, indeed many had given distinguished service, it is highly unlikely had they been tried and convicted on some trumped up political charge, that they would have received sentences covering anything like the period they have already been detained. Not even in the Napoleonic wars were methods adopted of this character. Had they been men like Fox, Sheridan and Hazlitt they would have been held untried for fifteen years under 18B by the Home Secretaries of that period. So would Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman for their acts and speeches in the Boer war.

The fact that Sir Norman Birkett is presiding over the Advisory Committee and dealt with the case of Sir Oswald Mosley adds to my personal witnesses, as I happen to recall that Sir Norman Birkett acted as Counsel against Sir Oswald Mosley in the trial of "Mosley v. Daily News," in which that paper was cast in £5000 damages at a special jury trial presided over by Lord Hewart, then Lord Chief Justice. There were some remarkable passages in that trial, of such a nature as to lead one to legitimate surprise that Sir Norman Birkett should have felt himself fitted, in the sense of freedom from bias, for undertaking the onerous task of deciding whether undefended persons holding certain opinions should or should not be detained indefinitely and without trial.

The legal position of these persons appears to be this, as they are unconvicted, they are not entitled to the protection given by the Prison Act from illusage as prisoners. As they are never intended to be brought to trial, they have not the rights of prisoners on remand awaiting trial. While the "instructions" of the Home Secretary, not being made under any Statute or Order in Council, is a mere pious scrap of paper of no protective validity in the case of abuse. Could the Gestapo, or the Ogpu —(one is not told so much of the activities of that body in these days!)—have designed anything more ingenious than this scheme for denying untried persons the protection of the law contained in the unrepealed Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement?

Yours faithfully,

C. H. NORMAN.

We reproduce these suppressed letters because we feel, with comrade Norman, that it is really scandalous the way the Press boycott is kept up on this subject.

"NOBLE FANATIC"

Beneath this heading, our contemporary, "The Evening Standard", London, devoted its leading article, on February 10, to Richard Carlile. The Beaverbrook journal said, in words that bring credit to the editor, and reflect an unusual luster on a mundane, reactionary, and much tarnished press:—

We dip freedom's banners to salute one of freedom's grandest sons. Richard Carlile died one hundred years ago to-day. He was among those who defied Lord Sidmouth's Gagging Acts, routed the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which was the hated Common Informer of that time, and drove the Press Censor out of Fleet Street. He was a noble fanatic for the right of free opinion.

Carlile, a Devon tinplate worker, died at the age of 52, a victim of the asthma aggravated by imprisonment which covered nearly ten years of his adult life. In prison and out of it, he launched and edited at least 11 newspapers and wrote 24 books and pamphlets. A confirmed individualist, he was in fierce and constant controversy with those fellow rebels who sought emancipation through trade unions and political organisation. Always, he kept open his shop in Fleet Street for the sale of literature which Authority chose to brand as "seditious" and "blasphemous." The shop was raided time and again. It never failed to re-open. Carlile was gaoled. So were his wife, his sister, his shopmen. But the shop never put up its shutters for long.

The tinplate worker set up in business in 1817, republishing works which had been withdrawn by other publishers on threat of prosecution. His second struggle with the law, involving the famous "Mock Trials", came in 1819. After witnessing the "Peterloo Massacre", when cavalry rode down a popular demonstration in Manchester, Carlile wrote an account of the affair in "An Open Letter to Lord Sidmouth" and, at once, was charged with sedition.

As is usual when Authority goes on the warpath against freedom, makeweight charges were thrown in. They related to "blasphemy" in connection with the publication of Tom Paine's "Age of Reason" and other banned books. Carlile came into conflict with the judge by reading the whole of Paine's essay in open court. A new trial was held at the instance of the Vice Society, at which the charge of sedition was allowed to drop. On the make-weight charges Carlile was sent to prison for two years and fined £1500.

Carlile was in and out of prison several times thereafter, but he neither paid fines nor provided securities. His unconditional release in November, 1825, marks the date from which the "Age of Reason" and other writings long proscribed were permitted to circulate freely.

The man who opposed political union offered himself as Radical candidate for Ashton-under-Lyne when the Reform Act was passed. The man who went to prison for the right to criticise Christian doctrine was himself devoutly religious and became a licensed preacher. These contradictions characterise all great rebels. What Carlile bequeathed to us besides freedom from censorship in ordinary times was an example of how freedom can be preserved—by each man being prepared, if necessary, to stand alone against injustice, whatever sacrifice his courage might require.

"The licensed preacher" story has been dealt with in our "life" of Carlile, and also in Cole's recent short biography. Cole overestimates and actually falsifies the incident. He draws a conclusion which is untrue in fact. This apart, the "Standard's" editor tribute is an excellent piece of writing, and a severe historical censure on the trials and imprisonment of Carlile, upheld and defended at the same time with so much popm and ceremony.

The "Standard's" editor also broadcasted a tribute on the B.B.C. overseas and service programme. But why not the Home programme?

CARLILE'S ROTUNDA

Our comrade, Dr. Charles Brook, former L.C.C. Member for North Southwark, sent the South London Press the life story of Richard Carlile. Our contemporary summarised and published Dr. Brook's letter in its issue for Tuesday, February 9, beneath a three-lined heading, which read as follows:—

RICHARD CARLILE AND HIS "FREETHOUGHT COLISEUM" AT THE BLACKFRIARS RING.

Our contemporary is in error, because "The Ring" was formerly Rowland Hill's chapel, and was situate farther down Blackfriar's Road. The story of The Rotunda is given in Chapter XXV. of our "life" of Richard Carlile; and in more detail, in our "life" of Robert Taylor, Chapter IV. and Appendic I.

"The South London Press" summarises Dr. Brook's letter as follows:—

CARLILE'S CENTENARY.

To South Londoners, and especially those in Southwark, the events should be of particular interest, for it was on May 30, 1830, that Carlile, in association with the Rev. Robert Taylor, "The Devil's Chaplain", established a Free-thought Coliseum" in the Rotunda at the southern approach to Blackfriars Bridge.

The Rotunda had previously been in turn a natural history museum, a literary institute, a music hall, a circus, and a home of panorama.

In the theatre Taylor delivered his famous orations, which were published weekly by Carlile under the title of "The Devil's Pulpit."

The Rotunda was also used for political meetings, for Carlile intended it to be "a capitol of public virtue, the nucleus for a reformation of abuses, the real house of Commons—in the absence of a better —the palladium of what liberty we have."

The Government of the day became alarmed and attempted through the military to stage a riot, but this was foiled by the coolness of Carlile, who ordered the doors of the building to be locked.

It was not long before both Carlile and Taylor were in prison. Carlile was sentenced for sedition, while Taylor was convicted on a charge of blasphemy.

Until their release their place at the Rotunda was taken by Eliza Sharples, daughter of a Bolton manufacturer. She was a brilliant orator and was known as "The Lady of the Rotunda."

Carlile bequeathed his body for dissection, and it was taken to St. Thomas's Hospital, then in Southwark. An oration was delivered by Richard Dugard Grainger, F.R.S., a distinguished anatomist, who had formerly been the proprietor of the Webb Street School of Medicine.

Richard Carlile was undoubtedly the genuis of his age, and it is a matter of regret that the B.B.C. should have declined the offer of a broadcast on the superb master of plain English commonsense by the eminent writer, Mr. G. D. H. Cole.

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HITLER'S FRIENDS ATTACK THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

The Duke of Bedford's Critics Answered

On Tuesday, March 2, the Duke of Bedford moved the motion in defence of conscientious objectors which was stated in full in our February columns.

The press reports of the Duke's speech and its reception make interesting commentary on the wisdom of our legislators and the insanity of our times.

The Duke's speech was the fourth that he has made in the House of Lords since he signed the roll and made an affirmation, having declared that he had a conscientious objection to taking the oath, on Wednesday, December 3, 1941. He is thus the first Duke to affirm instead of taking an oath.

The Duke's third speech was made on Tuesday, July 21, 1942. On that occasion Lord Gainford moved that he be no longer heard. This motion was made when the Duke had reached the point where he was dealing with the scandal of the American Armament firms as revealed in the official Truman Report.

Lord Mottistone supported Gainford's protest, and argued, somewhat absurdly, that **the bad practices of American armament firms had no relation to the well-being of the British Empire.**

This ridiculous argument was applauded in the conventional daily press. The pen day labourers omitted to point out that **Lord Mottistone was a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship** as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Air League of the British Empire. The press applauded Lord Mottistone's opposition to the Duke of Bedford but failed to recall the speech made in the House of Lords on October 22, 1935, by Lord Mottistone in defence of the Italians. Here is an extract from Lord Mottistone's speech, which was reproduced and applauded in the very press that demands that the Duke of Bedford be silenced for his opposition to war and his defence of the conscientious objector. Their Lordships, the same folk as abhor the Duke of Bedford to-day, approved of the following observations made by Lord Mottistone:—

> On the one hand were millions of bloodthirsty tyrants to whom it was proposed to send arms, on the other the honourable and humane army with 100,000 or 150,000 mouths to feed and boldly stating that those who came under their protection should have their share of food. . . . It was a wicked thing to connive at sending arms to these cruel, brutal men while denying them to others who were playing an honourable part.

The "honourable part" faction being the Italian invaders, now expelled by British arms! To-day Mottistone applauds the Abyssinians and denounces the Italians!

The reception accorded to the Duke's fourth speech was not much better than that accorded to his third speech.

"The Evening Standard", London, for March 2, heads its report:—

BEDFORD PLEADS FOR OBJECTORS.

The letter-press begins:—

> The Duke of Bedford demanded in the Lords to-day that the right to conscientious objection to fire watching and to work ordered by the Ministry of Labour be recognised.

It summarises, not unfairly, part of the Duke's speech, and proceeds to reproduce Viscount Elibank's reply under the sub-heading:

"HELPING THE ENEMY."

Viscount Elibank said that the Duke of Bedford's speeches were directed to what he frankly called helping the enemy. His speech on conscience had been devoted to trying to assist section of community to evade their civic duties.

The "Standard" quoted four passages from Elibank's speech:—

> The Duke of Bedford's attitude towards this war is one that every patriotic man and woman deeply resents and I might almost say despises.
>
> It would seem that conscientious objectors were trying to create a position for themselves by which they would have a fully-fledged Beveridge scheme of their own responsibility.
>
> They wish to be pampered darlings of the community, he said.
>
> From the cradle to the grave they would bear no responsibility. Like the lily of the field, they would toil not, neither would tey spin.

But when did Viscount Elibank toil or spin? And is not the passage a slight perversion of the words as used by Jesus of Nazareth in whose divinity Viscount Elibank is supposed to believe? Does not the reference to the Beveridge scheme indicate the class opposition of Viscount Elibank to the common people who make the mass sacrifice in all wars? As to pampered darlings, and the resentment of patriotic men and women, might we not call the working man's and woman's attention to a book written by G. H. Perris in 1914, entitled "The War Traders."

The present Viscount Elibank succeeded to the title in 1927. Perris quotes from a report published by a Committee of the House of Lords in the case of his father the following conclusion:—

> We think it within our province to express our strong opinion that there should be henceforth an inflexible rule to preclude those who hold any public office from entering upon speculative transactions in stock and shares.

Does this report not suggest the existence of pampered darlings of patriotism, or of political finance; an attitude calling for patriotic resentment; scheme without responsibility; and a slight suggestion of the lily that toils not neither does it spin?

G. H. Perris, in his book "The War Traders", already quoted, pages 91-92, wrote:—

> The tongue of scandal wags if a Minister sells a piece of land to the Government in which he holds a place. . . . But the purchase of warships, guns, ammunition, and other supplies from companies in which friends, relatives, and supporters of Ministers are managers, directors, or shareholders is part and parcel of the British governing system. . . . It is, apparently, quite in order for a director of one of these companies to demand, from his place in the House of Commons, greater expenditure, some of which will go into the pockets of his firm. It is not simply in order, it is a proof positive of patriotism, that the leaders of a great Party should set themselves to create a cloud of panic which will presently burst in a blessed rain of dividends among their followers.

Viscount Snowden, then plain Philip Snowden with no idea of ever becoming a member of House of Lords, speaking in the House of Commons in 1914 of M.P.s who were directors or shareholders in armament firms, said:—

> "Now, who are the shareholders? It would be too long for me to give more than a very short selection from the list, but I find that honourable members in this House are very largely concerned. Indeed, it would be impossible to throw a stone on the benches opposite without hitting a member who is a shareholder in one or other of these firms."

And these are the people who condemn the Duke of Bedford for being a Pacifist and defending conscience in war-time!

In 1939, Victor Gollancz published "Tory M.P." by Simon Haxey. This work was boomed at the time by the Communist Party. Now, we presume, they want to intern everyone who dares to read much less circulate this intriguing exposure of the racket of militarism and war. The third chapter of this work, pages 62-69, is an amazing indictment. The author asks:—

> How far has the position changed since 1914? Among the most important Conservative M.P.s interested in armaments to-day are the following:
>
> Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson (Conservative M.P. for Scottish Universities), Director of Vickers (until his promotion to the Cabinet.
>
> Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery (Conservative M.P. for Sparkbrook), Director of Cammell Laird.
>
> Sir Eugene Ramsden (Conservative M.P. for North Bradford), Director of B.S.A.
>
> Sir Patrick Hannon (Conservative M.P. for Moseley), Director of B.S.A.
>
> These are only a few examples of directors of the most important firms. The number of Conservative M.P.s are directors of concerns very closely inttrested in armaments.

Concerning Vickers and Sir John Anderson, the author remarks:—

> Sir John Anderson, it is interesting to note, was first elected for the Scottish Universities at a by-election on the 21st of February, 1938. At the seventy-first Annual General Meeting of Vickers on April 1st, 1938, it was announced that he had been "elected during the year", and his directorship was confirmed for the first time by the shareholders ("The Times" report, April 2nd, 1938).

Amery, of course, is now a member of the House of Lords — one of the Anti-Bedford Majority.

On August 11, 1929, the City Editor of Lord Beaverbrook's "Sunday Express" wrote:—

> The four big British railway companies have altogether eighty-nine directors. There are twenty-five who are either earls, viscounts, or baronets, and thirty who are knights or have some other title which may justify an ercellent West-End drawing-room reputation, but does not appear especially suited to the control of our big railway companies.

The peers among these will have inevitable war-interests. If they are not fit to control a railway, why should they be deemed fit to decide the critical policy of an empire? But when they silence the Duke of Bedford they are grand fellows, far-seeing, intelligent, statesmen, patriots, eh! What logic!

With these facts in mind let us turn to the reports.

Here is "The Daily Mail", London, for March 3. Bold display headlines and the opening paragraph in heavy type read:—

"I DESPISE DUKE'S ATTITUDE."

Retort in Lords.

> The pacifist Duke of Bedford received a firm "No", and some strong criticisms last night when he tried to get the House of Lords to agree that conscientious objectors should be able to claim exemption from fire watching.

Then follows a very brief summary of the Duke's speech, Elibank's retort, and the Earl of Munster's declaration that **"the duke's allegations about prison conditions were 'completely untrue.'"** Everyone who has been a prisoner knows that the Duke was right and the Earl wrong. Even the Communist Party knows this. Even Gallacher's experience must contradict his suddenly emerged capitalist patriotic prejudice in this matter.

"The News Chronicle", London, heads its report:

PACIFIST DUKE TRIES AGAIN BUT FINDS LITTLE SUPPORT IN LORDS.

Its report opens:—

> For nearly an hour yesterday the House of Lords listened in silence to the Duke of Bedford, pacifist, pleading that conscientious objectors . . .

The report concludes:—

> A motion by the Duke embodying his plea was rejected with what appeared to be an overwhelming majority, without a division.

"The Times", London, published an excellent summary of the speech but made no effort to cite the cases instanced in the Duke's speech. In its review of Parliament it said:—

> Earlier, the House listened to a long argument by the Duke of Bedford in support of his motion to extend the right of conscientious objection to fire-watching and compulsory work ordered by the Ministry of Labour. The motion had the support of the Bishop of Birmingham and Lord Ponsonby, but Lord Elibank condemned in unsparing terms the Duke of Bedford's general attitude to the war.
>
> Lord Munster . . . flatly contradicted allegations made by the Duke of Bedford about prison conditions.
>
> When the motion was put the voices against it were overwhelming, and a division was not challenged.

"The Daily Herald", London, headed its report simply:—

LORDS REFUSE C.O. PLEA.

Our contemporary should have added that the Lords rejected the Reform Bill, and before that, refused Lord Byron's plea in defence of the Luddites. But Byron was right and the

Reform Bill became law.

"The Liverpool Post" headed its report:—

C.O. TRIBUNALS ACCUSED OF PREJUDICE.
Duke's Fire-Watching Plea Rejected.

The report opened:—

A plea by the pacifist Duke of Bedford . . .

It proceeded to report part of the Earl of Glasgow's speech:—

The Earl of Glasgow said that tribunals consisted of men of integrity who carried out their duties conscientiously. Some 70,000 religious objectors had received recognition.

This statement is incorrect and opposed to the figures issued by the Ministry of Labour. We shall show that accuracy is not the Earl of Glasgow's strong point. Nir is consistency.

"The Eastern Daily Press", Ipswich, headed its report:—

C.O.s WANT TO BE "PAMPERED."

"The Birmingham Gazette" headed its report:—

FIREWATCHING EVERYBODY'S DUTY—
Dr. BARNES.

Beneath this underlined heading, its letterpress stated:—

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent.

Dr. Barnes, the Bishop of Birmingham, in making a plea for an end of the cat-and-mouse treatment of conscientious objectors, in the Lords yesterday said firewatching was everybody's duty.

He was speaking in the debate on a motion by the Duke of Bedford. . . .

Once again the Duke of Bedford treated the Lords to a long and dreary recital of his views, and once again he was warmly repudiated—and. indeed, given to understand that some of his statements were untrue and his accusations unfounded.

The summary of his speech was fair enough, but none of his factual statements were given.

"The Aberdeen Press and Journal" also summarised fairly without giving instances. It headed its report:—

Civil Defence.

EVASION OF DUTY A CRIME.

"The Cambridge Daily News" headed its concise but unbiassed report:—

C.O. FIREWATCHERS.
Duke of Bedford's Demand.

"The Northants Evening Telegraph" used the following headlines:—

HE WANTS PEACE WITH HITLER.

Duke of Bedford's "New Fire-Watching Plan."

Beneath these unfair headlines a completely fair report was published.

"The Nottingham Guardian" published a leader upholding the Earl of Glasgow's figures, which are not correct, and eulogised Viscount Elibanks "pampered darlings" remarks.

"The Yorkshire Evening Post", Leeds, published an excellent brief report beneath the heading:—

PACIFIST DUKE'S PLEA FOR C.O.s

"The Liverpool Evening Express" headed its report, which was scrupulously fair, but omitted, like the other reports, cases instanced:—

DUKE'S PLEA FOR C.O.s.

"The Daily Telegraph", London, published a sober and impartial report. It summarised the general factual statement but omitted the instances given.

"The Daily Telegraph" commentary, however, oozed bias and headed "Slow Motion", it said:—

The Duke of Bedford who has had previous experience of addressing an obviously unsympathetic House of Lords, underwent it again yesterday, when he sought to secure recogniton of the right of conscientious objectors to fire-watching and work ordered by the Ministry of Labour.

Several of their lordships were observed to have relapsed into the condition recently described in the House by the Archbishop of York, when he admitted that he had sometimes been present in body but not in spirit.

After a debate of over an hour and a half the motion was rejected without a division.

"The Manchester Guardian", true to its great radical traditions, and to some of the traditions of Manchester, published a sober report. It did not give the Duke's instances but it published a leaderette the following day, March 4, which explained part of the Duke's argument. This editorial reads:—

Regarding the imprisonment of some Quakers who have refused to register for firewatching, which was a point in the Duke of Bedford's speech yesterday in the Lords, probably a score of men and several women are concerned. These objectors do not object to changing their job to do other civil work or to do firewatching, but will not do so under the forms prescribed for all by the Employment Order, and will not register as firewatchers. That, they consider, would be taking part in the national total mobilisation for war.

One Quaker woman, Dr. K. Lonsdale, who has completed a month in Holloway, is the mother of three children and an X-ray research worker. Several women Friends or attendants at Quaker meetings who are in prison are under twenty. Some have been in Strangeways Prison, and have been allowed to attend there the Quaker meetings for men conscientious objectors.

"The Birmingham Mail" headed its excellent report:—

PRISON TREATMENT OF OBJECTORS.
PROTEST BY DUKE OF BEDFORD.
"MIXED WITH CRIMINALS."

Its lengthy summary of the Duke's speech cited, without names, two of the cases he instanced.

"The Glasgow Daily Record" headings were:—

C.O.s WOULD MAKE THREE DIVISIONS.
THEY HELP HITLER.

The Glasgow "Bulletin", in a splash heading said:—

DUKE'S SPEECHES HELP ENEMY,
PEER DECLARES.

"The Manchester Daily Dispatch" heading was spread over 3 columns and consisted of italicised caps, which read:—

PEERS ATTACK DUKE OF BEDFORD'S C.O. PLEA.

"The Daily Express", London, published a sneering summary of which we give the headings and opening paragraph:—

C.O.s ARE "PAMPERED DARLINGS."
Duke Fails to Free Them From Fire Watch.

By WILLIAM BARKLEY.

A grotesque motion—or notion—by the tall, ascetic, grey-haired, bullet-headed Duke of Bedford, advocate of peace by negotiation, to permit conscientious objection to firewatching was laughed down in the House of Lords last night.

It might seem absurd that a fairly full House should have considered such a question for nearly two hours.

The report concluded:—

SHOUT OF DISSENT.

In point of fact, when the debate was over the duke said nothing. and by a general shout of the Lords' formula of dissent, "Not content", this motion that fire-watchers should have a conscience was defeated without calling any further vote.

The episode gave peers the opportunity to say what they think of conscientious objectors in general.

In another column, Thomas Driberg, M.P. (William Hickey) publishes an account in his column under the heading **"Noble talk."**

Describing how he was squeezed in the tiny gallery next to a young soldier from Alberta, who wanted to hear Lord Bennett speak, Driberg added:—

Instead, he heard the Duke of Bedford deliver, in faint, plaintive monotone, a long speech in defence of conscientious objection to fire-watching.

I explained in a whisper that the Duke was a pacifist. "Blasphemy", muttered the Canadian. . . .

"What a wonderful country we are!" said a woman coming out (meaning, obviously, to allow such talk as Bedford's).

And how perversely we react to rhetoric. Bedford was in a minority of two or three; yet two gusty, blimpish specches (of the put-'em-up-against-a-wall-and-shoot-'em variety) which followed his were in their opposite way just as distasteful.

"In other countries they would be shot", said another onlooker.

"That's one of the reasons why we're fighting Other Countries", said a third.

A syndicated editorial, entitled **"The Pacifist Case",** appeared in the "Oxford Mail", "Yorkshire Observer", and "Nottingham Journal." This essay complained that the Duke overstated his case, objected to Dr. Barnes for believing that the early Christians were conscientious objectors, but concluded reasonably on this note:—

There is substance in the Bishop's protest against the "cat and mouse" treatment of sincere objectors. The position of authorities confronted with people who persist in refusing to do any public service whatever is difficult. But there must be some better way out of the difficulty than that which now seems to be followed. Once a man has established to the satisfaction of a competent tribunal that he is a really "conscientious" objector, need he be harried by perpetual arrests and re-arrests? Who gains by this process?

"The Yorkshire Evening Post" headed its leader, **"Moral Defeatism"** and placed the Duke's "defeatism speech" on the same "footing of importance with a war worker's absenteeism." It said of his motion:—

The shirkers' charter proposed by the Duke of Bedford is a product either of sheer irresponsibility or of moral surrender.

To crown the attack on the Duke, "The Times", London, maintaining its prestige of reaction, published the following letter in its columns for March 5:—

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The Duke of Bedford speaks of "conscientious objectors" being sent to prison. Surely this is a misnomer in the case of persons whose claim to be so recognized has been rejected by a competent tribunal. I think a more accurate designation would be "conscientious pretenders." Yours faithfully,

A. HOLLOM,

Rolvenden, Hook Heath, Woking, March 3.

The Duke replied very effectively to this biassed nonsense in a letter to the editor, which our contemporary published in its issue for March 17:—

Sir,—I wonder how your correspondent Mr. A. Hollom, who has such a high opinion of the fairness of tribunals that he terms all conscientious objectors who are turned down by them "conscientious pretenders", would explain the fact that, although some of the appellate tribunals are themselves by no means free from unfair bias, in 8,131 cases out of 16,264 which came before them the appellate tribunals altered the decisions of the local tribunals, almost always in favour of the objectors?

Yours very truly,

BEDFORD,

Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtonshire, March 13.

"The Forward", Glasgow, for March 6, published the following query from a reader, concerning the Earl of Glasgow, who was the Duke's most bitter opponent:—

"Is the Earl of Glasgow, who has just been telling the House of Lords that 'conscientious objectors play into the hands of Hitler', the gentleman who went to Nuremberg to the Nazi Congress and was one of General Franco's most prominent supporters in this country?"

The answer is in the affirmative. The Earl of Glasgow was a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship and brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Inskip, formerly M.P., and now sitting in the Lords as Viscount Caldecote.

The Earl of Glasgow asked in the House of Lords, on May 18, 1938, concerning the Fascist invasion of Spain:—

Why this country should insist on the withdrawal of the Italian troops from Spain before they had finished the work they were sent there to do.

The Earl of Glasgow objected to the British Government's request to Franco to abstain from acts of vengeance on his entry into Barcelona. In February, 1939, a motion, in his name, for a Lords' debate, averred that the message was **"unnecessary and not in the interests of the British Empire."**

The Earl of Glasgow's Hitler's flirtations were exposed in "The Word", for August, 1940. In this issue we indicted, also, a number of peers who were definitely the friends of Hitler in Britain. A few copies of this issue can be obtained still and should be circulated. Here are listed some of the friends of Hitler, the men who built up Hitlerism, who betrayed Socialist Spain, and who shout down the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords. Above all, they hate conscience and so affect patriotism after having pursued a policy which has entrenched Fascism in Europe and sacrificed the youth of the world to the crime of power, war and totalitarianism.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr. Aldred,—You will be interested to learn, if this adds to your information, that The Secretary of State for Scotland seems keenly interested in the National Fire Service inasmuch that he represents the No. II region (Scotland. See "The Struggle of the A.F.S." (free) from The Fire Brigades Union, Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

My interest in Tommy Johnston being there is to find out whether he is interested in a new device that has been suggested for dispersing crowds whereby the people are drenched with water. The ground being wet, circuits would be made with electrical generators on lorries specially despatched to any district to "pay out" their copper wire ground conductors whilst a spray would be sent over the heads of the crowd. The voltage used may not be powerful enough to cause electrocution, but there certainly would seem to be some shocking times ahead if members of The National Fire Service could be brought to use this gentle means of maintaining established authority.

Whilst the writer was serving as a fireman it was always his policy to refuse to use a fire-hose for any other purpose than fire extinction. Some M.P. (Labour! ! ! ?) should insist that this means of assembly dispersion should be made illegal.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. DUNCAN.

Romsey, February 10.

Dear Sir,—I wish you could see you way clear to publishing your paper every fortnight as a month is a long time to wait for a further copy of such interesting and illuminating matter. Papers containing dope and lies circulate daily, and it seems a pity such papers as "The Word" are only able to appear monthly. Such is life!

Best wishes.

I remain, yours truly,

(Miss) A. E. DRAPER.

Newquay, Cornwall.

Dear Comrade,—I have been unable to obtain paper since last August and miss it very much. Although "The Word" does not have the sting of the old "Herald of Revolt" it helps a lot in argument against the blood bath.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

W. H. TAYLOR.

Blackfriars, London, S.E.

Dear Comrade,—"The Word" is very encouraging and a real tonic in these times of insanity and strife.

Whilst such papers as the "News of the World" can boast a circulation round about four millions it offers little hope for reason and goodwill. It is indeed surprising that people do not learn from past experiences and that history teaches them nought. As ever in wartime much capital is made out in exploiting the tragedy f war especially in recent bombings. When Mr. Churchill talks of making the enemy bleed and burn, which incidentally stiffens the enemies resistance thereby prolonging the hideousness of the war, he is knowingly or unknowingly as much responsible for the tragedies which occur as everyone else who urge for "victory" by long drawn out military methods. Let us rid ourselves of cant and hypocrisy and stand foursquare for God's truth.

Demonstrative Christianity would solve the wreckage of human life both in peace and war. To start with ourselves is the main problem, a difficult job but well worthy, for truly the kingdom of heaven is within. The Source of Life is God, and life abundant is here for all peoples without thns insane scramble, fear and selfishness. He who would be free himself strike the blow.

Yours sincerely,

BERT BREWER.

Hillingdon, 18/2/43.

Dear Guy,—If I recall to your attention your old battle ground of Marble Arch perhaps you will recollect a young and impetuous speaker with Trotskyite opinions, by name John Webster.

In those days you made a great impression upon my immature ideas, your scepticism of logmas, hatred of tyranny and personal integrity, have many times helped me when I have been tempted to take the line of least resistence. Now our paths cross again, united in a common struggle against those forces occult and known, who to-day conspire to enslave the individual with their regimentation and totalitarianism.

Sometimes it seems centuries since I first carried the Red banner, a stooge for the conspiring careerists of the Marxian camp. I have not escaped fortunes of battle; branded as a Fascist by the hordes of the third international whom you have good cause to know have always used the weapon of slander in the hope that some of their filth might stick. Since 1940 I have had to report under Defence Regulation 18A. Perhaps I had better tell you something about the conditions that lead up to this in order that here will be no misunderstanding.

My first break with the Stalinist clique, as you will understand, made me the centre of the C.P.'s most vicious attacks. It did not take me long to understand the nature of the Trotskyist opposition, and to realise that the nature of things went much deeper, and so I broke with the Marxist and Leninist authoritarians. I then brought a group together, which was called the Libertarians based upon a Socialist Individualist outlook. This, in its turn, was broken by its own contradictions. During this period I was still speaking on the platform expressing myself free of all party dogmas. Irish Freedom, Christianity and Slave Morality, the High Priests of Finance, all were dealt with to the confusion of the party dogmatists, I had already incurred the hatred of the various Marxist parties. Now the Jewish Board of Deputies began to take a hand; I was denounced for not attacking Hitler. Through the connivings of these creatures I was hauled along to Marlborough Street several times, on the charge of using insulting words. These charges were dismissed, time and again, by the magistrate, Mr. Sandbach, to the chagrin of my accusers. Then there came a time when I was accused of having said that **"the bombs (I.R.A.) in London were as morally justified as the bomb in Munich."** Of course, I pointed out that both were morally unjustified. Only, if one believed in violence, and the retributive power of violence, bombs in opposition to Imperialism were in the same category as bombs directed against Dictatorship. However, a police inspector and the public prosecutor demanded the maximum penalty. The magistrate kept some sense of proportion, minimised the alleged offence, and finally gave me one month in Wandsworth jail.

When I came out of prison, my face was seared by barber's rash, due to the poisonous and unclean penny blades which must have been in use for about three months. I left London for Cambridge to recuperate. Here I was accused of sketching in the vicinity of some aerodrome or other. I was detained for many weeks under appalling conditions and then released under the 18A restrictions. I have suffered this restriction since August, 1940.

My ideas are more mature now and less limited by a purely economic or political straight jacket. The last two years have been as intensely lived intellectually as all previous years put together. My political persecution has been followed up by an economic ostracise.

Sometime, maybe, I shall be able to come to Glasgow to speak. It is a pleasure I look forward to. I am glad to feel that I have been able to renew what was one of the most important contacts of my early youth. Guy, although you may not know it I was one of the boyish hooligans who broke up your meetings in Walham Green many years ago. (Don't get the impression that I am now an old man. My age is 29) at the instigation of the Y.C.L. My short contact with you at Marble Arch was of the utmost importance to me. Friendship is in my opinion the very lifeblood of Revolutionary action and I should like to feel that I as a young man had the friendship of an older and trusted fighter.

Yours in the fight for Individual Liberty,

JOHN ALBAN WEBSTER.

London, W.C.1., February 10.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Just twelve months ago I received my first issue of your splendid paper. At this time I was an adherent of the so-called Communist Party. As a matter of fact I was just beginning to think.

Many things have changed since then, including, of course, the attitude of the "Communists", who, whilst they believe in freedom and democracy, seem to think that "The Word" should be suppressed for not falling in line with most other political parties in the war effort. If their propaganda department works hard enough Mr. Morrison may see their point and accordingly oblige.

Wishing you every success in the struggle that lies ahead.

Yours fraternally,

C. McDERMOTT.

Bryn, near Wigan, February 5.

Dear Mr. Aldred, — After reading this month's "Word", lent to me by a friend, I have decided to become a regular reader of your grand journal.

I was greatly impressed by your attack on the Communist Party. You were correct when you said:—"The Communist Party is the most disgracteful and most corrupt episode in world politics."

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES C. HERVE.

Cranbrook, February 4.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I appreciate your journal. May it go from strength to strength, spreading truth and the reality without fear or reserve.

I was glad to notice the remarks of one of your correspondents, on the evils of vivisection and kindred experiments on the "lower" creation. The whole system is based on falsity, the worship of false values which ultimately will lead to the degradation of humanity. The "research" is a pretence, a cover for unspeakable cruelties practised upon helpless animals. The only way to health is to live in harmony with nature's laws. For over 40 years these pseudo-scientists have performed fiendish experiments upon millions of dumb and innocent creatures and caused dreadful suffering to find a cure for cancer, and they are as far from their goal as ever. Vivisection in any form is an abomination, a foul blot on our covilisation, a canker eating into the moral fibre of the nation. What likelihood is there of the spiritually minded oriental accepting a religion such as our professed Christianity which connives at and countenances such wickedness and cruelty?

The injection of toxic sera into the human body under the plea of "immunisation" cannot fail in the long run to have a most deleterious effect upon the health of the race. It is unnatural and immoral, for all the various sera are obtained by painful experimentation upon animals. The whole thing is morally wrong and is bound up with other evils which afflict our civilisation and "culture." Is a civilisation worth saving which countenances so great an evil? And war is but the eruption of all the pent-up evil forces created by man's perversity—by his idle thinking, his subservience to tradition and convention and tolerance of wrong, however specious the latter may appear to be.

A revolution in thought and action is certainly necessary to rid the earth of the monstrous evils and perversities which plague our society, and I wish you every success in your noble attempt to open men's eyes to reality and truth.

Yours very sincerely,

W. M. WILLOUGHBY.

Portreath, February 6.

WORD BOUND VOLUME, For 3 years May 1939 to July 1942. inclusive. Green Cloth, 12s 6d. Post Free, 13s 6d.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

THE ABSENT CHRIST by R. H. Le Messurier. Introduction by Dame Sybil Thorndike. 1/6d. Post 1½d. extra. New Vision Publications, 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

LET THE PEOPLE RULE by Robert J. Scrutton. 6d. Post 1d. extra. Andrew Dakers, Ltd., Pembury, The Drive, Rickmansworth, Herts.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE & CO., UNLTD. by A. Ruth Fry. 1d. Postage 1d extra. A. Ruth Fry, Thorpencess, Suffolk.

MUSLIMS OF INDIA AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE by Howard Whitten. 1d. Post 1d. extra. Peace News, Ltd., London, N.4.

WHY INDIA? by Reginald Reynolds. 6d. Post 1d. extra. War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

AND SO TO WAR. A satirical comedy by Joe Corrie. 1/- Post 1d. extra. Bone & Hulley, Publishers, 35 Dundas Street, Glasgow.

DOWNING STREET AND THE COLONIES. Report submitted to The Fabian Colonial Bureau. 2/- Post 1½d. extra. George Allen & Unwin & Fabian Society, London.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PEACE. Articles by various writers. 1/3d. Post 2d. extra. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

THE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC RECONTRUCTION by Professor John MacMurray. 4d. Post 1d. extra. National Peace Council.

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TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY by Lord Wedgwood. 8/6d. Post 6d. extra. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers), London.

MAGNA CARTA IN THE DUSTBIN by Jane Zedd with a Forword by Clifford Woodland. 4d. Post 1d. extra. 18B Publicity Council, 15 Woburn Square, London, W.C.1.

"ONE OF THESE LITTLE ONES . . ." by Vera Brittain. 4d. Post 1d. extra. Andrew Dakers, Ltd., London.

RICHARD CARLILE by G. D. H. Cole. 1/- Post 1d. extra. Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

PACIFISM AND POLITICS by George E. Ausden. Aylesbury P.P.U. Group. Obtainable from A. W. Page, 48 Regents Road, Aylesbury, Bucks. 2d. By Post 3d. 1/6 per doz. post free.

PRISON MEDICAL SERVICE. Report of an enquiry conducted by Roger Page into the Medical Services of H.M. Prisons. Published by Prison Medical Reform Council. Foreword by Compton McKenzie. Send 2½d. stamp to Roger Page, Prison Medical Reform Council, 12, West Park, London, S.E.9.

A QUAKER ADVENTURE by A. Ruth Fry. An account of the relief work of the Society of Friends following the last war. Of special interest to those concerned about post-war conditions in Europe. 80 pages. Clearly printed. Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. 1/- By Post 1/2.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

By Pastor J. RIGBY

(Stour Valley Mission, Blandford, Dorset)

(Concluded from page 95.)

I have attempted to answer the questions: (1) "Why do you love Christ?" and (2) "Who then is this Christ?" There we could finish, for that is the fountain head of Christian Pacifism; but, just as a stream may turn East or West at its source because of the presence or absence of early obstructions, so this stream of vital living can be deflected by early misconceptions or mistakes into other channels. I want to mention briefly three such obstructions.

The first I would say is **inconsistency:** the running of life in departments without real co-ordination.

You will remember that Christian Pacifism was represented as a way of thinking, feeling and action not only under the challenge of war, but for the whole of life: all day and every day. I think this proves its soundness, as compared with Non-pacifism, militarism, Nazism, and so on. If their ways of re-acting under the challenge of war were applied to the **whole** of life, the results would be more or less appalling; life would become more and more unworkable. If the Non-pacifist, the militarist, the Nazi, were to allow the spirit of their war-time actions to rule in every department of their life, I think there would be no doubt as to where the secret of successful living and the powers of God could be found.

Allied with this, I would mention **crooked thinking.** We are all guilty of this. There are some non-pacifists who would be pacifists if they could think straight. At the same time, there are pacifists who would become non-pacifists if they could reason soundly. But under the threat and persecution of war, the crooked thinking of the non-pacifist is likely to go unchallenged and encouraged, whereas the pacifist is compelled by both outward and inward challenges to have some comparatively clear and consistent reasons for acting differently from the great majority.

Not that the reasoning of our conscious mind should always limit or determine our actions. Our actions are governed not only by conscious reasoning, but by unconscious association of ideas — an association which may be either reliable or unreliable. Before such associations are raised to the level and light of consciousness, we are often compelled to accept them and act upon them by the sheer necessities of circumstance; and at such times we have only one rather faulty means of testing them: by feeling. We often **feel** a thing to be good or bad, reliable or unreliable, before being able to test it by conscious reasoning. Often our feelings are proved right, but occasionally they are proved wrong. In other words, our unconscious association of ideas are often shown to be sound, but occasionally they are discovered to be haphazard and unreliable. Therefore, every attempt should be made to raise such unconscious mental associations to the level and light of consciousness, — or, as Peter said: "Give a **reason** for the **faith** that is in you."

A third and surprisingly prevalent cause of the rejection of Christian Pacifism, and the acceptance of Non-pacifism, militarism, Nazism, etc., is **a shallow and unbalanced attitude towards sex.**

If the instinct of sex is looked upon as **essentially impure,** it has one of two effects. (1) With some people an attempt is made to banish every suggestion of sex activity from the mind in pursuance of a false "purity." (2) With others, thoughts upon sex activity are accepted, but still accepted as an inevitable impurity. The first become typical "Mrs. Grundy's"; the second, blatant "roues." But both these attitudes are impure, because both make the same false judgment: that sex activity is essentially impure.

Now one cannot make a false judgment about the constitution of one's own nature without causing inward frustration and resultant outward repercussions.

Owing to the economic limitations of present society, the widespread misunderstanding of sex and the rarity of **successful** sublimation, the sexual side of our nature is often starved, or repressed, or perverted into unsatisfying channels. **One way** of giving expression to this instinctive compulsion is by cruelty; there is a strong sexual content in the perpetration of cruelty. People who, through repression or perversion, are unsatisfied in the realm of sex, get a "kick" out of being cruel.

The occurrence of war provides a degree of expression for all who have denied the sexual side of their nature its normal and satisfying course, or in difficult conditions have been unable to acquire a channel of sublimation. In war-time, hatred and cruelty become permissible towards another race—who don't matter **quite** so much. Thousands and perhaps millions of people who to a certain degree, in time of peace, were living out of harmony with their sexual nature, out of harmony with some of their fellows, find through a "legitimate" orgy of cruelty (of greater or lesser intensity) more satisfaction than ever before. Nevertheless, it is still a perverted means of expression.

To my mind, Christian Pacifism includes (by very contact with Christ) not only a consistency and clarity of living, but a right attitude to sex; a successful integration of sex into the art of living, resulting in inward composure and harmony of life, a life pervaded by the spirit of love and good-will—a life which, in its impact upon its surroundings shares its own peace and reconciliation and harmony—not conflict and discord and perversion.

To sum up, Christian Pacifism is acquired by being felt; it is an activity of love towards those who oppose us—because, while we still opposed Him, the living Christ of to-day loved us and gave Himself for us. **We love others who oppose us because that is a characteristic of Christ, which we have absorbed from Him; we have absorbed it because we love Him; and we love Him because the living Christ of to-day first loved us.** Just as His power of redemption, working through the lives of His servants, has been felt in our hearts, so we believe His power can be felt in the hearts of others with the same result, through our own activity. As more and more of His nature is absorbed into ours, thus He will be enabled to make a stronger and more direct impact upon the self-will of others.

This is our Gospel, our purpose, our distinctive activity; the activity that cannot be deflected or limited or frustrated by a **world-full** of evil wills,—and in fact, the activity by which the Kingdom of Christ is ever being extended, the activity which shall redeem the world.

IN DEFENCE OF CONSCIENCE

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PACIFISM, WAR AND SOCIAL REFORM

Dear Mr. Aldred,—In the December issue of "The Word", is an article, entitled "War—Three View Points."

The Non-Pacifist view point is admirably portrayed by excerpts from the Bishop of Chichester's book—"Christianity and World Order." The quotations are very pertinent and present, lucidly, the Non-Pacifist view, e.g., "No Christian can fight, as those serving with modern fighting forces are obliged to fight, save (as it seems to me) with extreme reluctance."

But, very respectfully, we would suggest that this statement ignores the fact that to be an efficient soldier one must, in battle, be ruthless. One cannot use the bayonet effectively, if one uses it "with extreme reluctance."

The Militarist point of view is admirably portrayed, too. The excerpts are taken from Dennis Wheatley's book—"Total War." "Expediency, not morality", he says, "is the sole criterion of human conduct in Total War."

No person, unless ignorant, or biassed, will deny the truth of this statement.

Now, what about the Pacifist position? In the article in question, the attempt is made to present the Pacifist attitude by excerpts from L. Housman's—"What can we Believe?"

But, quite obviously, the quotations, although admirable, are irrelevant. L. Housman, whose works we admire and appreciate, would we are sure be the first to acknowledge the irrelevancy.

It seems to us that M. L. Rowntree, writing in "Peace News" (December 25th, 1942) gives us, in a few words, the Pacifist position. He says:—

Is pacifism politically indifferent, In my view there are strong reasons for saying "no."

Pacifism I hold to be an attitude to, and way of, life which regards every human being as a person of value—not a means but an end. Consequently the pacifist will advocate whatever measures will promote the dignity and well-being of his fellow-men: he will strive for justice and the provision of fullest opportunity for all, so that everyone may be enabled to live a worthy and happy life.

The pacifist, in virtue of his respect for man, will contend for the human rights of all rather than for the special privileges of any: he will support oppressed individuals and groups everywhere in their struggle against the domination of power, property, race, or class.

Support by pacifist methods for the rights of the underdog is not class war: it is co-operation in the struggle for the abolition of class. Such co-operation is a natural outcome of the true valuation of every human being which is the essence of pacifism.

In advocating the changes essential to bring about this greater opportunity for mankind the pacifist seeks always to direct his appeal to the best in man. Since the appeal to the best cannot be made through use of coercion but only through persuasion, his method will be non-violent.

We are writing to you, Mr. Aldred, not because we desire to be unduly critical, but because we are anxious that the pacifist view shall be made unmistakably clear.

It is our uncompromising conviction that the spirit of Christ's teaching and mass murder are incompatible. It seems to us that we have two alternatives—either to reject the Nazarene or to follow Him. Thus the way of compromise lies between two courses, with neither the ruthlessness to be efficient in the world's ways and weapons, nor the recklessness to be constructive saints.

It is important to remind ourselves that the example of Jesus does not rule out the use of hallowed force. It is possible to hallow force "provided it is used in fulfilment of love's purpose and by means consistent with love's end."

But, obviously, by no argument can modern war be regarded as a hallowed use of force. Violence, whatever the circumstances, cannot be hallowed. We hate and renounce War. It is legalised totalitarian murder and, as a means of settling international disputes, modern war is the last word in criminal lunacy.

In conclusion, Mr. Aldred, we would thank you for "The Word." We should be sincerely sorry not to have it each month.

In the attempt to preserve one's sanity, one is helped tremendously, in these dehumanising days, by reading books and periodicals that refuse to come into step with the crowd.

Yours very sincerely,

GEORGE SHILTON EVANS,

(Vicar of Pontypridd.)

Printed and Published in Great Britain by the Strickland Press, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

JEHOVAH WITNESSES

Jehovah Witnesses are accused, often, by Tribunals and Courts in Britain of being cowards or Nazi agents because they adopt an attitude of uncompromising resistance to war. The absurdity of this charge is established by the fact that Jehovah's Witnesses exist in most nations and meet with similar experiences under all governments, because of their opposition to war. They have suffered persecution and death under the Nazi and Fascist dictators. Evidence of this fact is to be found in the following reports:

"Ludwig Curnaek, chairman of the International Bible Society in Germany, has been sentenced to death by a Dresden tribunal. Justifying the sentences, the tribunal said that their activities endangered the social and national welfare of the German people and hampered the war effort."—"Sunday Express," March 23, 1941.

"A peasant in a small Hungarian town has been sentenced to ten months' imprisonment for spreading the teaching of the 'Witnesses of Jehovah' sect.—"Cavalcade," May 2, 1941.

"It is not without interest to note that these same Jehovah's witnesses have been in evidence in Germany. A group of them were tried by a German Military Court. . . . Ludwig Zyranck, their leader, was sentenced to death. Sentences passed upon the others ranged from three years to five years hard labour."—"Eastern Daily Express," October 31, 1941.

"Several members of the International Bible Searchers movement, which is prohibited in Germany, are now on trial before a Munich special court, it is reported. The movement is described in a legal paper as one which 'spreads pacifist ideas, thus endangering the nation.' For this reason, it is added, it must be suppressed without mercy." — "Manchester Guardian," July 13, 1939.

"On September 16, 1939, for example, the following report was broadcast from Hamburg: 'August Wigmann has been executed for refusal to join the ranks. He was a member of the Bible Society, and said that being 'Jehovah's witness' he could not take part in warfare.'"—"Eastbourne Gazette," February 28, 1940.

"Leading members of Jehovah's witnesses have been arrested in Hungary and are to be court-martialled say Hungarian newspapers reaching Zurich. It is alleged they were 'subsidised by British Jews to undermine the determination and discipline of the home front.'" (Reuter)—"Birmingham Gazette, October 29, 1942.

We do not agree with the theology of the Jehovah's Witnesses, but at least these facts should be considered when their opposition to war is discussed.

IMPRESSIONS OF "PUNCH."

"Punch", the famous London journal, in its issue for March 10, 1943, reviews the proceedings in the House of Lords on Tuesday, March 2nd. Our contemporary observes:—

The Lords were showing at their best as guardians of that most cherished of British possessions, free speech. Gaunt, greying, inexpressibly grim, the Duke of Bedford stood there to move a motion in favour of the recognition of conscientius objection to fire-watching.

Probably hardly one noble Lord present agreed with a single word of his speech, but he was given a quiet and uninterrupted hearing. The speech lasted for most of an hour, and there was silence the whole time, even when his Grace advocated putting out incendiary fires by a negotiated peace. It was a patently sincere plea for freedom of conscience, and the Duke, sitting alone, gave his critics as silent a hearing as they gave him.

Lord Elibank accused the Duke of trying to aid a section of the community to evade their civil duties. Lord Glasgow, apropos of nothing in particular, mentioned that it was "from the Party opposite" that "all cranks and conscientious objectors come."

The term "the Party opposite" traditionally means the official Opposition, which seemed a bit hard, since fifty per cent. of the Opposition Peers then present were in Army uniform and the other fifty per cent. had had distinguished Navy careers.

Colonel Lord Nathan, just then leading the Opposition, laughed good-naturedly with the rest of the House—except Lord Glasgow (who did not seem to see the joke) and the Duke of Bedford (who apparently does not laugh). Lord Ponsonby having mentioned the case of a man who appeared in Army uniform, explaining that he had not the courage to be a conscientious objector, Lord Munster, for the Government, remarked that everything in official circles was correct, that any statement to the contrary was inaccurate, and that there was no need to do anything about anything.

Then the motion was negatived, not even the Duke voting for it.

WILLIAM HONE'S TRIALS.

We reproduce photographically the top two columns of the subscription list published by William Hone in 1818 at the back of the report of his three famous trials. This is the beginning of the Richard Carlile period of successful resistance to crown prosecution for sedition and blasphemy and the attempted destruction of the Freedom of the Press. The subscription list extends to 8 pages and there are over one hundred acknowledgments on each page. The reader will see that the name of the Duke of Bedford heads the list, closely followed by that of the Marquis of Tavistock. The Duke and the Marquis, true to the Russell tradition, took a firm stand in defence of the Free Press.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford	£105	0	Whiston Powell	£2	0
The Marquis of Tavistock	50	0	Wm. Lawrence, M. D. College of Physician-	5	0
The Earl of Darlington	105	0	— Powle	1	1
The Earl of Sefton	105	0	F. P.	5	0
A Member of the House of Lords —an enemy to persecution, and especially to religion persecution, employed for political purposes	100	0	J. Pearson, Rutland wharf	2	2
			Joseph Hurcombe, St. Paul's Church yard	2	2
Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.	100	0	Robert Carter, Minories	1	1
Lord Cochrane	100	0	H. Dibbing, Basing lane	1	1
25 one, and 5 five pound notes, from a Lady unknown	50	0	T. B.	1	1
Robert Waithman	10	0	James Hoppe, St. Paul's Church yard	1	1
			Robt. Kirby, Kennington	2	2

WILLIAM HONE'S DEFENCE FUND LIST.

First two columns William Hone's Subscription List, published by him in 1818, at 67 Old Bailey, London. Can be seen in the British Museum.

DEFENDING CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE RUSSELL TRADITION.

Bertrand, 3rd Earl Russell, who does not use his title, is the son of the famous Viscount Amberley, who died in 1876, and sacrificed his political career because of his Freethought and philosophical integrity. Lord Amberley was one of the greatest Freethought writers England produced and desired that his sons should be reared Freethinkers. Although the Courts upset his will and repudiated his wishes, his sons, the 2nd and 3rd Earls became Freethinkers and Bertrand Russell is, as everyone knows, the outstanding Rationalist writer of our time.

Viscount Amberley's father was Lord John Russell, afterwards the first Earl Russell. He was the third son of John Russell, the 6th Duke of Bedford, who supported William Hone at the time of his 1817 trials for publishing his famous parodies.

The sixth Duke succeeded his brother, Francis, in 1802. As pointed out in these columns for November, 1940, this Duke, on January 25, 1795, moved a resolution in an hostile House of Lords, in opposition to the war on revolutionary France. He defended the French Revolution. This is the Duke whose statue was defaced by some stupid vandals in November, 1941. Persons who oppose rightly the defacing of the Lenin Memorial in London made no protest against the earlier vandalism. We do not believe much in statues or memorials in wood and stone, but we are opposed to all vandalism. The mentality of the vandal is the same whether he is attacking a memorial or ripping up a cinema seat. In any case, it should be remembered that Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, supported only by Dr. Watson, the celebrated Bishop of Llandaff, defended the French Revolution in the House of Lords. A very brave gesture to make in those days in opposition to the coalesced fears and interests of the peers. In 1803, Charles James Fox paid a tribute to the Duke's public affection and belief in civil and religious liberty in one of his most famous speeches in the House of Commons.

Like his brother, the sixth Duke stood for the reform of Parliament and defended vigorously the Freedom of the Press, supporting Hone publicly against his prosecutions for his immortal parodies. He was also a member of the Society of Friends of the People.

The period during which the fifth Duke defended the French Revolution and opposed military war on ideas, and the sixth Duke upheld parliamentary reform and pressed the propaganda of the Society of Friends of the People, has been covered in our "life" of Richard Carlile. To further understand the tremendous iniquities of that time imposed on the common people in England by laws and customs, one ought to read "The Village Labourer" by J. L. & B. Hammond. For Scotland, the period is covered by Thomas Johnston in his work, entitled "The History of The Working Classes in Scotland." The strain and starvation endured by the common people in England was insupportable. Bands of protests arose, and these social protestants were knowns as Luddites. And so, over a period of time, Chartism developed, to make way, in the forties of last century, for Socialism. In 1812, Lord Byron made to an intensely opposed House of Lords his famous speech in defence of the Luddites, which survives as one of the masterpieces of eloquence uttered in defence of the poor and outraged against the callousness of their exploiters. The sixth Duke of Bedford approved of Byron's protest and identified himself with his sentiments.

The sixth Duke was asked to serve on a Lord's Committee of enquiry into the Luddite disturbances of 1816. He replied, in a powerful letter to Lord Grenville, in which he stated that his Irish experience in 1806, had forced him to the conviction that the ordinary law, and not strong or repressive measures, were sufficient to quell the disturbances. He suggested, also, that grievances must be redressed. Against his advice, the Bill to suspend the **Habeas Corpus Act** and **"for preventing seditious meetings"** became law and so the Richard Carlile period of struggle opened.

The sixth Duke encouraged his son Lord John Russell to return to politics, which he had abandoned, and to the House of Commons, on February 26, 1817, to speak against the proposal to take away, **even for a short time, "the rights and liberties of Englishmen."** Across the lapse of over a century, this sounds like a vigorous protest against 18B.

Attacking the Government mover of the Bill, Lord John Russell said:—

"Without waiting to ask if they had been loyal, if they have been reticent under suffering, and enduring in the depths of misery, he turns to them and says: 'Because you are starving, you shall be deprived of the protection of the ordinary laws, your only remaining comfort.'

"We talk too much of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. Anxious as I am for reform, I am still more anxious that the House shall preserve the respect of the people."

The present Duke of Bedford, in his defence of conscience and civil and religious liberty in the present House of Lords, seeks to imitate the courage of his ancestors.

Sir Francis Burdett followed Lord John Russell, and stated that the name of Russell was associated with the struggle for liberty, "in defence of which his revered ancestor lost his life."

As everyone knows, the appeal was made in vain and the reactionary measures became law. To-day, no one defends them.

EDITOR'S FUND APPEAL.—Response fell away this month, although there were some unexpected donations. Full report next issue. Announcement as to whether the price of "The Word" is to be increased will be made then. A last opportunity remains to keep the price at 2d. Send your subscriptions and donations to: THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C.1.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

By

The Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.
Minister, Southampton Unitarian Church, and Minister-to-be of Cross St. Unitarian Chapel, Manchester.

[The following article is the text of a sermon delivered by our comrade Micklewright, at Southampton, on Sunday, February 7, 1943. By the time this address is printed, Mr. Micklewright will have taken up his duties at Cross St. Chapel, Manchester. This famous chapel was founded by Henry Newcombe, an ejected minister, in 1672. The present building, much blitzed, dates from 1693. The first M.P. for Manchester, Mark Phillips, was a member of this chapel. Its ministers included the prominent radical reformers, Dr. Barnes and Ralph Harrison. One of its most famous ministers was the Rev. William Gaskell, husband of the novelist, who occupied the Cross St. pulpit for 56 years—1821-1884. Under Amphlett Micklewright, the pulpit will become a sounding board of progress, culture, civil liberty, and radical thought.—Ed.]

Unitarianism has stood historically for the liberty of the individual. It has contended that he has a right to his own views on religion without reference to some preconceived authority and that he has a right to civil liberty; the duty of the state is that of the protection of the liberties of the individual citizen. These views are an historic evolution; they had their rise with John Locke in the Seventeenth Century and represented the best side of Puritan development. We find them proclaimed during the Eighteenth Century and influencing some of the broader thinkers of the time; they formed the background of the group of scholars and divines who welcomed the coming of the French Revolution. Nearly a hundred years ago, they shaped the doctrine of J. S. Mill and the Victorian Radicals. The individual should be free to do as he will provided that he does not so use his liberty that the freedom of others is imperilled. It is not too much to say this dogma of liberty lies at the root of English democracy. It is more than a particular Unitarian expression; it forms the vital element of the conception of the free man in the free state.

At the moment, we are in the midst of an awful war. We were assured by the late Prime Minister—like Brutus, an honourable man—that it is a war for freedom and democracy. Every effort has been made to contrast the attitude of the Western democracies with that of the Axis powers. We have been reminded without ceasing that, whereas opinion is free in England and America, it is tied in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. We have been told of the horrors of the concentration camp, of the rubber-truncheon, of the S.S. Men. The menace of the dictator hangs over Europe and the call has gone forth that he should be defeated. Such a war is a war of ideologies; it is a battle between those who believe that the individual should be free and those who want him bound. Democracy as a political belief involves the freeing of the individual, it regards him as at liberty to profess what political or religious opinions he will, it protects his liberty to criticize the state as it exists, it permits him to advocate changes of government and creed. Above all, it insists that conscience shall be free; no man shall be forced to profess any opinion or undertake any course of action which lies contrary to his conscience.

The issue is brought to the fore in Unitarian Churches by the imprisonment of the Rev. Sidney Spencer, minister of Hope St. Unitarian Church, Liverpool. Mr. Spencer is one of the best-known of ministers—he is also, at this moment, a convict in gaol. On February 5, at Liverpool Police Court, he was convicted for the third time for the same initial offence—a refusal to register for fire-watching. Mr. Spencer had been fire-watching for many months but he refused as a pacifist to recognise the legal right of the state to assist the war-effort by compelling him to do so. As there is no conscience clause in civil defence matters, Mr. Spencer was twice fined—an unknown person paid the fines against his will. Upon being convicted for the third time, he was sent to prison for one month. Honour and law were vindicated by taking away a minister who is well-known for his social work and lodging him in gaol as a common criminal. The press has been silent for the most part; the incident has been passed over and Mr. Spencer languishes in his cell, a victim to his conscience which does not recognise the corporate state and the war method.

The state is the organ for the protection of individual liberty of conscience and action; I therefore feel the imprisonment of Mr. Spencer as a shame, a scandal, and a disgrace, to all save the minister whom the law has imprisoned. There are certain things to be said about the legal action and they are very relevant to civil liberty in England. Certainly, there is a war on—it is the same old war for freedom and democracy! But it will be lost in spirit and effect if there are many incidents of this kind to blot its record. We are fighting for high ideals; the ignoring of their practical effects by the persecution of Mr. Spencer and those who think like him means a defeat in the realm of the spirit which any amount of military victories will never compensate. The political views antagonistic to the corporate state which Mr. Spencer urges are not those of a fanatic or a crank; they have a long history and are maintained by some of the higest political philosophers. A disregard for the corporate state is characteristic of a well-known textbook, "Roads To Freedom," by Bertrand by Mr. Bertrand Russell. It is found again in the writings of Lord Ponsonby or Mr. Lowes Dickenson. The anarchist views of the well-known critic and man-of-letters, Dr. Herbert Read, leave no room for it. Mr. Hilaire Belloc once wrote a book entitled "The Servile State," in which he deplored an excess of state-action. The Mahatma Gandhi is a modern staint and thinker who has no use whatever for state-control of thought and conscience. Our long Unitarian tradition revolts against it. One may also suggest that antagonism to an all-powerful state is not unlike the view of Jesus of Nazareth when he urged that, whilst Caesar should receive his own, so too should God be accorded his due. The teaching of the Gospels is in flat contradiction to the attitude that the state may regiment any man's thought, conscience, or opinion. Lord Halifax and various church leaders have regaled us from time to time with stories that the war is a war for Christianity. I have no doubt at all, that, if Mr. Spencer had been a Pole, a Dutchman, or a Norwegian, we should have been entertained by the press and the B.B.C. with accounts of his noble stand for Christian ideals of liberty. Yet, it is for the offence of adopting and acting upon views not unlike the teaching of the Gospels that he is a convict. In wartime, it is still a shocking thing to the conventional mind that anybody should deny with their lips the worth of the teaching of Jesus. It is an even more shocking thing to the same type of mind when some isolated individual takes it seriously and insists upon acting in its light.

There are two aspects of the Spencer case to which I desire to call attention. The one is that the civil defence regulations include no form of conscience-clause. As is well-known, in the case of service in the armed forces, it is permissable to register conscientious objection and to appear before a tribunal where one's claim is sifted. Many persons have done so and, on the whole, it may be said that they have received fair treatment so far as the law is concerned in spite of the fact that some people, inspired by methods of petty spite, have insisted upon disregarding the verdict of tribunals and have dismissed from their employment persons whom the legal tribunal has exempted from service. But in the case of civil defence no such permission or concession is given. One is called upon to register for state service and has no alternative. The result is that citizens holding the views of Mr. Spencer have no exemption, however much they are able to prove that their claims are of long standing and that they have always acted upon them. They have no sort of alternative save to act as Mr. Spencer has acted and to suffer fine or imprisonment. In the midst of a war for liberty, such a legal blockade to freedom of conscience is an open scandal; it should be ended at once by the insertion of a conscience-clause and the hearing of the objection before a properly constituted tribunal. Until this reform takes place, it will be difficult to claim that the state meets its war-time responsibility with a full measure of democracy. Till then, the atmosphere of state-compulsion will continue to suggest the shadow of the dictator. It is all very well to urge that the law is only for wartime and that it will lapse as soon as the war is over. The corporate state is a creation which has arisen out of the bosom of modern Europe. It is marked by many undesirable features and suggests various of the political troubles of our time. It is not the especial invention of Hitler or Mussolini but is one of the marked trends of modern history. If a war for freedom of conscience is to be won, the progress of a bureaucratic state-control must be resisted at every turn or else it will linger on for long after the close of hostilities and will menace human freedom in every land for many years. In a particular detail, this question of the conscience-clause is a matter which arises out of the issue of the corporate state. It is the duty of Unitarians, and of all who possess the long heritage of liberty, to demand this freedom even it be for persons whose views they do not accept in every particular detail.

There is another matter which arises in this connection. Mr. Spencer has committed one initial offence against the existing law—he has refused to register for fire-watching. He has been fined twice and imprisoned once; there is no sort of guarantee that the sentence of one month's imprisonment closes the matter. Had he been a thief, a forger, or a swindler, his offence would have been purged by his first conviction; as his crime is one of conscience, the power to convict continues indefinitely and is acted upon by authority at regular intervals. Various persons throughout the country have suffered in the same way, some have received far longer sentences. This treatment is known as "cat-and-mouse." It militates against all elementary notions of justice which, in other matters, acts upon the principle of one sentence for one offence. The method, which can only be described as despicable, was first used during the suffragette agitations, when several women were treated in this kind of way. It came into prominence in dealing with conscientious objectors during the last war; a period during which such high-minded citizens as Bertrand Russell, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, and E. D. Morel were imprisoned through the prevailing fanaticism. At the opening of this war, we were assured that the method would not be used as it is unjust in principle and can lead to savage cruelty in action. The promise has been broken and, as in the case of Mr. Spencer, it has been used over and over again. It is high time that the government were called upon to carry out the promise and to stop prosecutions of this kind. Their continuance means an outraging of the elementary principles of the theory of justice; it means a free latitude of fanaticism and persecution; it means a slur upon the point of view expressed by Keir Hardie and George Lansbury, great Britishers whose greatness no person of goodwill would dispute. We shall be doing a real public service if, whatever our views on the war, we demand that no man, conscientious objector, anarchist, or anybody else, shall suffer this "cat-and-mouse" penalty which is so contrary to the highest notions of justice and equity. Unitarianism has the long tradition of civil and religious liberty as a part of its heritage; it is time that it became inspired to demand that it should be within public affairs. One of the most disappointing things about the case of Mr. Spencer is that, while strong protest has been made in responsible quarters and the matter is shortly to be raised in the House of Commons by the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, so little of protest has come from avowed Unitarians.

(To be concluded.)

CONSCIENCE IN THE LORDS.

(From Our Own Gallery Correspondent)

The Duke of Bedford made a great statement in defence of civil and religious liberty, and the right of conscience, in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, March 2 last. It has been pretended in the press, by his opponents, that he read his speech. Actually, he spoke from notes, and only read when some strict reference of detail was necessary. The point is of no consequence except in so far as it is part of the campaign to discredit a very bold and a very useful stand made on behalf of democratic rights and privileges. One day, the common people will thank the Duke of Bedford for his present stand.

As the Duke subsequently told the House, he was unaware of the practice of avoiding criticism of the Dominion governments. I cannot say that I felt any regret at his failure to observe the custom.

The New Zealand government richly deserves public censure for its callous and tyrannical behaviour towards pacifists. In the long run this is far more likely to harm the "structure of the Empire" than any failure by a member of the Legislature of Great Britain to avoid standing on the corns of certain statesmen in the Dominions.

Lord Elibank opened his reply to the Duke by an endeavour to create prejudice by a reference to the Duke's advocacy of a negotiated peace. The Duke's attitude towards the question of a negotiated peace has nothing whatever to do with the desirability of securing for conscientious objectors fairer treatment under the laws already passed for their protection; it has nothing whatever to do with the desirability of ending foolish sentences of imprisonment which deprives the country of the services which C.O.s are willing to render; and it has nothing whatever to do with the scandal of a government professing democratic and humane ideals and a hatred of State tyranny, persecuting with heavy fines and imprisonment, high-principled men and women whose conscience do not allow them to obey the orders of the State.

Lord Elibank's quotations from a speech of Lord Snell state the position of one who is opposed to recognising conscientious objection to any but military duties, but neither Lord Snell nor Lord Elibank put forward any arguments which could be regarded as adequate replies to those which the Duke used to indicate the desirability of allowing conscientious objection to industrial conscription and fire-watching. Lord Elibank and Lord Snell were themselves "devoting one conception of duty in a limited sphere to the right of other moral obligations to the community and to right itself", that conception of duty in a limited sphere being the duty of obeying a war government's direction in regard to industrial conscription and fire-watching. Lord Elibank said that he was sure that the country was quite prepared to see that any obviously unfair treatment meted out to C.O.s in prison was remedied. How much chance there was of remedying unfair treatment was later shown when Lord Elibank and the majority of the House accepted without question the Earl of Munster's statement that everything in he prison garden was lovely.

Lord Elibank's reference to the care taken by Lord Elphinstone to arrive at just decisions was no answer to the complaint made of Lord Elphinstone's abuse of function when he declined to recognise the existence of a right of absolute exemption granted by the Act under which he was appointed.

Lord Elibank again misrepresented the Duke when he said that the Duke claimed that the C.O. was unjustly treated by being moved from one part of the country to another. No complaint was made of injustice based solely on the fact that a person was moved from one district to another. Lord Salisbury expressed great concern lest at the end of the debate the Duke should ask leave to withdraw his motion and suggested the Duke should be prevented. The Cecil anxiety was groundless. The Duke had not the slightest intention of backing out!

The Bishop of Birmingham in the course of a friendly speech did not altogether help to secure the remedying of some of the greatest of existing abuses by expressing the opinion that tribunals were generally fair and prison conditions good, as far as his own personal observation went. What he said may have been correct within the limits of what he personally had seen, but we know both from C.O.s and political prisoners that atrocious conditions have existed in several prisons and the fact that even the appellate tribunals reverse about half the decisions of the local tribunals that come before them hardly looks as if the local tribunals were conspicuously fair!

If the Earl of Glasgow had possessed more Biblical knowledge he might have remembered that Jesus on one occasion quoted the commandment as "Thou shalt not kill." The suggestion that we alone are "killing those who are murdering innocent people" is nonsense. In modern war **both sides** "murder" innocent people. Do we not murder French as well as Axis civilians?

Lord Glasgow is incorrect in suggesting that C.O.s are shot as a matter of course in other countries. They are severely persecuted and imprisoned but are not usually put to death, although some have been executed.

Lord Munster, like Lord Elibank, indulged somewhat freely in misrepresentation. The Duke of Bedford did not suggest that a chaotic state of affairs existed in the fire-watching services due to the inability of watchers to discharge their duties in a reasonable manner. The chaos would appear rather to have existed in Lord Munster's mind when he was listening to the Duke's speech. Lord Munster went on to affirm that the Government is well satisfied with the treatment of C.O.s, which is only too obvious, but he made no attempt whatever to show why the grave evils to which attention had been called should not be regarded as intolerable by a civilised country claiming to be democratic. Lord Munster claimed that he knew a lot about prison conditions and believed them to be excellent and denied that any C.O. at a Borstal institution had ever been deprived of his full ration of food by an official at the Institution. On these questions most Socialists prefer to take the word of those who have suffered, and the evidence of the death of a formerly robust young man to whom prison conditions proved fatal.

MAY DAY MEETING

SUNDAY, May 2, 7 p.m.
WOODSIDE HALLS,
Clarendon Street, Glasgow, N.W.

The United Socialist Movement is preserving the spirit of May and Peace. Every reader who can should attend this meeting. Speakers will be announced later. Keep the night free. Doors open 6.30 p.m. Silver Collection.

ON HONESTY.

'Tis not that we should honest be
In order to be great,
But that our crimes
Should suit the times,
And not offend the State.

'Tis known to all that they who fall,
From stations so devout,
Is not because
They broke the laws,
But that they were found out.

JOE CORRIE.

AS THE WAR CONTINUES.

As the war continues its unlovely progress, its utter futility as a means of achieving the aims it was intended to achieve becomes more and more apparent.

In a recent article in "The Word", I called attention to the victory of "Fascism" in our own country. The hostile reception given to my recent plea in the House of Lords for fairer treatment of conscientious objectors, gives additional point to what I wrote. Although the majority of the members of the House are, in normal times and when in their right senses, quite kindly and fair-minded men, they remained completely unmoved by what I told them, even of the persecution of Quaker women and girls and the death of a young man after release from prison as a result of the gross inadequacy of the prison medical service. Just because there is a war on and because my views on the war happen to be unpopular, all I said rolled like water off a duck's back and the Government spokesman had only to say that everything in the garden was lovely for his word to be accepted without further investigation. We need not, therefore, wonder that the German people seem blind to the acts of cruelty and injustice committed by their rulers. What the eye does not see, the heart does nof grieve for, and in times of crisis or war the peoples of all nations are probably alike in being acutely conscious of the shortcomings of neighbouring governments and completely indifferent to those of their own.

Another very significant recent event has been the refusal of Russia to recognize our refugee Polish Government and promise to restore the territory taken from Poland. Thus our major initial war aim, not to mention the Atlantic Charter, goes West, and some of the leading organs of our Government-controlled Press virtually admit that we can do nothing about it! This is no more than the truth, for if there is to be an Allied victory at all, it is now obvious that, as far as Europe is concerned, it will be mainly a Soviet victory. It will be Russia, not Britain or America, who will dominate Europe after the war, and the Soviet Government sets no great store either by freedom or democracy.

Incidentally, the Poles in this country, as far as I have been able to ascertain from different sources, usually fear and dislike Russia even more that they fear and dislike Germany, believing that the Russian Government has been responsible for considerably more Polish deaths. A Polish soldier said not long ago to a friend of mine, "When we get back to our country, we will kill all the Germans and all the Russians and all the Jews." Apparently this Allied soldier has scant regard for yet another of our war aims—the restoration of the Jews and the punishment of their oppressors!

BEDFORD.

TO CHAMPION TRUTH

To champion Truth, and win one's share of bread
Is hard these days of avarice and lies.
With subtle cunning Mammon will devise
Some scheme to still the tongue. At first upbraid
With mocking laughter. If met unafraid,
Then fatherly will be the counsel given.
If still rejected, then by Hell or Heaven,
The spirit will be broken. They lie dead
In many a lonely place, who fought the fight,
Braved to the very gates of Mammon's fort,
No other armour but their faith, and art,
And few did protest at the bloody sight,
When from the leash the hungry hounds of Hate
Tore at the flesh of him who spurned the great.

JOE CORRIE.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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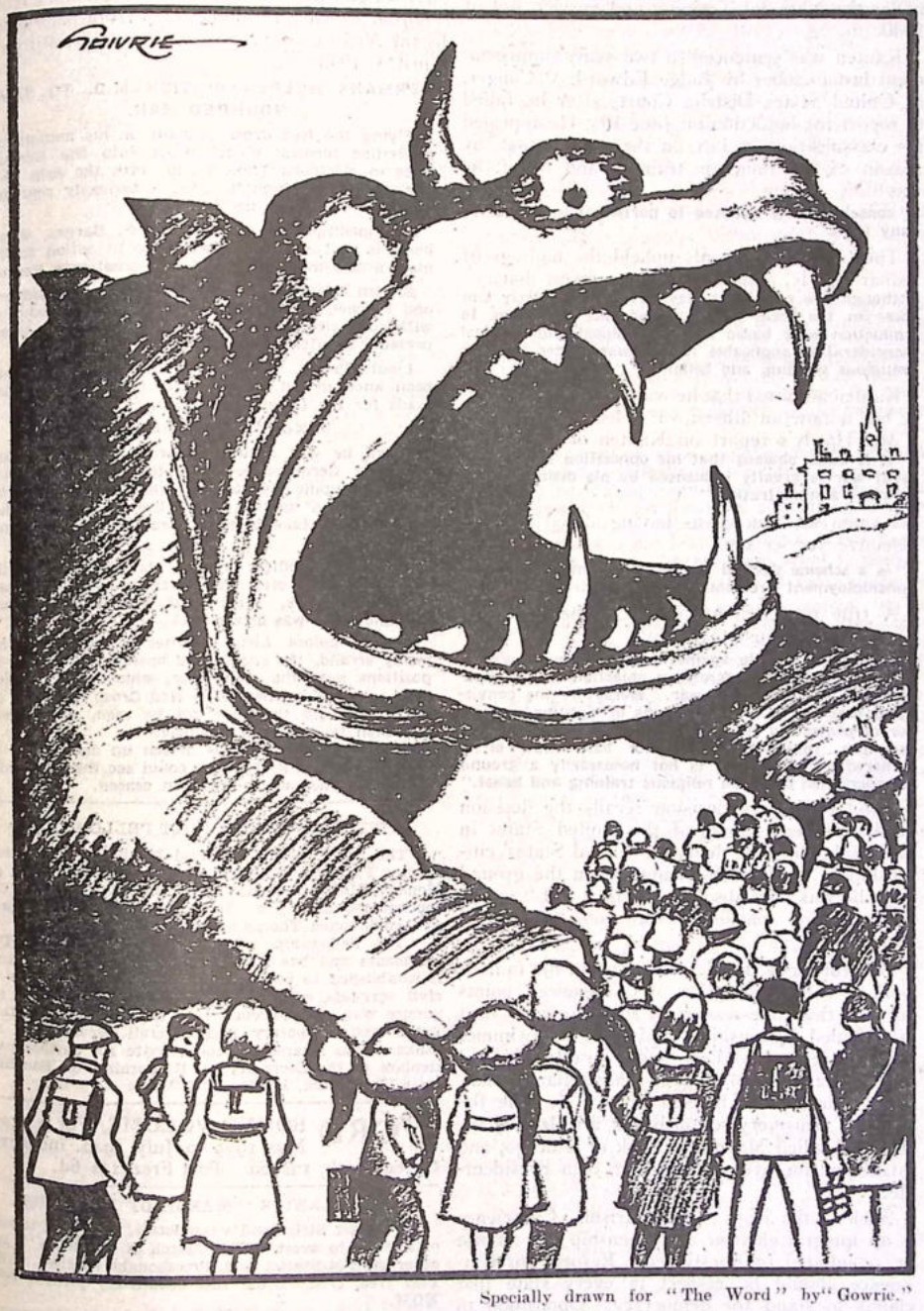

Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

THE MONSTER OF MILITARISM.

"THERE MUST BE A CONTINUOUS CALL-UP OF YOUTH"

—Daily Press, All Warring Countries.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT—MAY-SUNDAY RALLY!
Sunday, May 2, 7 p.m.
WOODSIDE HALLS, Clarendon Street, Maryhill Road, Glasgow N.
(Near St. George's Cross. Clarendon Street is at 100 Maryhill Road, car stop past St. George's Cross going North)

Speaker: GUY A. ALDRED. **Subject: "SOCIALISM AND WORLD PEACE."**

Admission: Silver Collection or Donation Ticket. **Questions.** **Discussion.**

Make this May Day Meeting a huge success. Uphold the International meaning of May Assembly.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE BALLYHOO?

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[The following article by our comrade, F. W. Jowett, is reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News," for Friday, March 19, 1943.—Ed.]

In the House of Commons last Thursday (March 11th) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Kingsley Wood, was asked to state what proportion of the Wings for Victory investments were from banks and insurance companies. He REFUSED TO GIVE THE HOUSE THAT VERY NECESSARY INFORMATION. Whereupon the Labour Member for Middlesbrough (E.), Alfred Edwards, made a good shot at the truth by asking the following supplementary question:—

"Would it not serve a very useful purpose if people realised that not more than 10 per cent. is genuine savings and all the rest is ridiculous ballyhoo?"

To Mr. Edwards' very pertinent supplementary question, Sir Kingsley could only weakly reply:—

"No Sir, and I do not know why he" (Mr. Edwards) "wants to decry these very successful efforts."

Although Sir Kingsley Wood and his predecessor in office (Lord Simon) have done their best to prevent disclosure of the real character and extent of the investments of banks and insurance companies during Warships Weeks, War Weapons Weeks and Wings for Victory weeks, Chairmen of Banks, Insurance Companies and City Editors holding orthodox views on financial questions have occasionally partially revealed some of the facts.

It is evident, however, that even these purveyors of public dope are getting more careful in what they say and leave unsaid; as the result of frequent exposures of the "ballyhoo" of War Savings Weeks.

This is what Oscar Hobson, City Editor of the "News Chronicle," said of the War Weapons Week of 1941:—

"If a bank this week subscribes for £1,000,000 of National War Bonds, what it really does is to REPLACE Treasury Deposit receipts carrying interest at 1¼ per cent. for Bonds carrying interest at 2½ per cent.—THAT IS WHY NO FRESH TREASURY DEPOSITS ARE CALLED FOR THIS WEEK. There might be legitimate reasons for the substitution, but it is very like "ballyhoo" to pretend that it is of the same order of assistance to the war effort as if you decide to forego buying two hundred cigarettes or ten gallons of petrol and put the money into Savings Certificates."

—"News Chronicle," May 19, 1941.

It is necessary to state, however, that the real character of the transaction is only partially revealed by the "News Chronicle's" City Editor. For he doesn't explain, as he surely could if he wished, that EXCEPT WHEN BANKS ARE MAKING INVESTMENTS AS AGENTS FOR THEIR CUSTOMERS, their conversions of 1¼ per cent. Treasury Bills into 2½ per cent. War Bonds are, in fact, buying 2½ per cent. War Bonds with 1⅛ per cent. Treasury Bills which have themselves cost the banks nothing but paper and ink, plus the expense of

book-keeping. Proof of the truth of this is the well-authenticated report of the Lord MacMillan Committee to the Government which says with regard to purchase of Government securities:—

". . . by granting loans, allowing money to be drawn on an overdraft, or PURCHASING SECURITIES, A BANK CREATES A CREDIT IN ITS BOOKS which is the equivalent of a deposit . . . THE CHEQUE WHICH IT" (the bank) "DRAWS UPON ITSELF IN PAYMENT FOR THE INVESTMENT is paid into the seller's bank account and creates a deposit of that amount in his name." (F. W. J.'s capitals).

As to the extent of these bankers' and insurance companies' investments during war savings weeks (big money conversions of 1½ per cent. investments into 2½ per cent. investments) one need do no more than quote what Sir George Barstow, Chairman of the Prudential Assurance Co., said at that company's 1942 Annual meeting. This is what he said:—

"In addition to the £10,000,000 we subscribed to the London War Weapons Week in March of last year, we have supported in all over 300 similar weeks throughout the country. We have since carried on the good work by committing ourselves already to supporting 1000 Warships Weeks, including £10,000,000 to the London Warships Weeks."
"Forward," March 28, 1942.

So now we know, on first-hand information, precisely how these big figures of war weeks are swollen to their huge dimensions.

Even on the real savings, the 10 per cent, or whatever the precise proportion of real savings there may be in this huge sum total of War Weeks investments, banks and stockbrokers have a special rake-off, for whilst the Government pays for all the splashed publicity concerning them, banks and stockbrokers get a commission of 2s. 6d. for every £100 that passes through their hands. "A few weeks ago," said "Forward" (February 14th, 1942)

"the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that £875,000 had been handed over to the banks AS COMMISSION for stamping applications for War Loan."

"Last week," "Forward" goes on to state, "in reply to Mr. Sloan, the Chancellor admitted that £696,000 had been paid in commission to stockbrokers who get 2/6 commission on every £100 that passes through their hands."

"A total of £1,571,000 in commission has been collected by banks and stockbrokers out of war loan since the war began."

But the main object of all this "ballyhoo" about war savings weeks is a two-fold one which far transcends in importance all the "rake-offs" and other extortions to which I have already referred. This two-fold object is

(a) to keep up the PRETENCE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO BORROW MONEY to get "Wings for Victory" or any other service or thing; for it is indeed the truth that a Government by creating its OWN MONEY TOKENS can get ANY THING OR ANY SERVICE TO THE LIMIT OF ALL AVAILABLE MATERIALS AND LABOUR; and

(b) to delude as many millions of working people as possible with the false idea that they will LOSE THEIR SAVINGS if they do not make common cause with the big financiers whenever, at long last, the war may end.

WHEN I THINK OF THIS LIFE.

When I think of this life, how short its span,
Uncertain seasons, and its ways obscure,
So little done by us that will endure,
I grieve me for the foolishness of Man.
How many ages now since Time began?
Our little lives are but a tick of Time,
And yet we wallow, worm-like, in the slime,
Blind to the beauties of this mighty plan.

Groping for wealth, and power, and fleshly lust,
Classes and races divided the whole world o'er,
Killing and maiming and gassing each other in war,
Forgetting that Caesar himself is long since dust,
Beauty, and Joy, and Peace all sacrificed,
Nailed to the Cross, Oh, Lord! like the martyred Christ.

JOE CORRIE.

ATHEISM AND CONSCIENCE.

REACTIONARY UNITED STATES APPEAL COURT DECISION

A most reactionary ruling was given by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on February 8, in the case of Mathias Kauten, the thirty-year-old artist conscientious objector of Tuckalive, N.Y. The Court declared that philosophical and political opposition to war, however sincerely held, was not sufficient grounds to secure exemption from military conscription under the National Training and Service Act of 1940.

Kauten was sentenced to two years' imprisonment last October by Judge Edward A. Conger, in United States District Court, after he failed to report for induction on June 19. He appealed his classification in 1-A on the ground that, by reason of his religious training and belief, he was

"conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form."

The Court of Appeals upheld the findings of Lamar Hardy, a special hearing officer, that

"though the registrant may have been entirely sincere in the ideas he expressed, his objections to induction were based on philosophical and political consideration applicable to this war rather than on religious training and belief."

Kauten admitted that he was reared as a Catholic but is now an atheist, or at least an agnostic.

Mr. Hardy's report on Kauten observed that **"it is quite obvious that his opposition to the present war is greatly influenced by his dislike of our present administration."**

Kauten was quoted as having stated that the Selective Service act

"is a scheme devised by the President to solve the unemployment problem."

A true conscientious objector, the Court of Appeals held, must maintain

"a general scruple against participation in war in any form, and not merely an objection to participation in this particular war. Moreover, the conviction that war is a futile means of righting wrongs, or of protecting the state, that it is not worth the sacrifice, that it is waged for base ends, or is otherwise indefensible, is not necessarily a ground of opposition based on religious training and belief."

This reactionary decision recalls the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1928, upholding the denial of United States' citizenship to Madame Schwimmer, on the ground that she was "an absolute atheist," and "an uncompromising pacifist," with no "sense of nationalism."

Our colleague, Dr. L. H. Coate, in his famous work, "The Conscription of Conscience," points out that the same session of the Supreme Court that denied citizenship to Madame Schwimmer for her refusal to bear arms, granted United States citizenship to a young Italian, named Zangarac, who agreed to bear arms. He took the belief in arms very seriously for, a little later, he shot and killed Mayor Cermack of Chicago, and threatened the life of Roosevelt, then President-elect.

Such is the irony of militarism. Conscience is an integral element of citizenship and cannot be repudiated or questioned. Respect for conscience should be respect in every state that claims to stand for democracy. Opposition to violence, and refusal to subscribe to ideas of violence, are vital factors in the progressive conquest of barbarism by civilisation, properly so-called.

An atheist, of course, if he really subscribes to his philosophy, and is not an indifferentist, is more likely to be conscientious and to possess genuine and deeply rooted scruples than the person who subscribes, without thought, to all the established dogmas of orthodox theology, miscalled religion.

November, 1942, "Word", referred to by Dr. Coate (p. 114). Few copies in stock, as this issue was reprinted. Post free, 3d.

HUMANITY IN WAR.

Midst the hatred of war, and as a corrective of utter desolation, it is urgent to record every act and incident that exhibits the spirit of humanity struggling through the devastation. In June, 1940, we pictured the women and children with flowers ready to place on the graves of the German airmen who crashed at Clacton-on-Sea, Essex. We recorded the brave and simple words of Mrs. Harry Coppin, a British soldier's wife, who went to the funeral. Last month we pictured the funeral of the British soldier, a prisoner of war in Poland, who gave his life to save a German guard. Below we reproduce a story from Tunisia, which was published as front-page news by the *News-Chronicle*, in its issue for Saturday, April 3, 1943:—

GERMANS HELPED BRITISH M.O. TO SAVE WOUNDED MAN.

Flying the Red Cross pennant on his ambulance, a British medical officer drove into the German lines in Northern Tunisia and, with the help of a German officer, brought away a seriously wounded man and two dead companions.

The medical officer, Lieut. G. F. Barnes, whose home is in London, was watching an action taking place a mile away, in the Medjez area, says Reuter.

British infantry forces had carried out a raid and had reached their objective. They were about to withdraw with prisoners when the Germans unexpectedly counter-attacked.

Lieut. Barnes, seeing that a Bren gun carrier had been knocked out, jumped into his ambulance and made for the German positions.

EXCHANGED SALUTES.

When he was about 20 yards from the enemy lines the Germans beckoned to him. A German officer, scrupulously correct, approached and, after an exchange of salutes, Lieut. Barnes indicated that he wished to take back the crew of the Bren gun carrier.

The German officer ordered his men to place the members of the crew on stretchers and carry them to the ambulance. With Lieut. Barnes at the wheel the ambulance was driven back.

Shortly before Lieut. Barnes drove off on his mercy errand, the enemy had opened mortar-fire on positions near the ambulance, which was standing head-on to their lines. The Red Cross markings on its sides could therefore not be seen, and it was mistaken for a military vehicle.

Another ambulance was driven up and placed in position where the Germans could see the Red Cross symbols. The mortar-fire then ceased.

"CIVIL SERVICE PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP."

"The Third Annual General Meeting of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship will be held in London on Monday, May 3rd, at Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2 commencing at 6 p.m. It is hoped that our speaker will be Stephen Thorne of the Society of Friends.

"The Fellowship, which has groups in many Departments and has members throughout the country, is established to provide fellowship and assistance to civil servants who, because of their convictions, renounce war. It welcomes into its membership established and temporary pacifist civil servants of all ranks. Thos interested should write for further particulars to the Secretary, S. G. Cornish, 38 Rancliffe Road, East Ham, London, E.6."

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SANDY URBAN COUNCIL.

As we go to press, we have received a special article from our Bedfordshire Correspondent, giving the full political history of every member of the Sandy Urban Council. This interesting record will appear in our next issue. Bear it in mind when reading page 111 of this issue. And order the June issue.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

How Bogus Public Opinion is Manufactured By The Communist Party

Much publicity has been given in the press to a resolution passed by Sandy Urban Council, Bedfordshire, on Monday, March 29 last. We have before us as we write reports from the following papers: *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Leeds; *West Lancashire Evening Gazette*, Blackpool; *Manchester Daily Dispatch; Western Daily Press*, Bristol; *Western Morning News*, Plymouth; *Birmingham Post; Evening Standard*, London; *Daily Sketch*, London; *Daily Telegraph*, London; *Nottingham Journal; Torbay Herald*, Torquay; *Daily Mail*, London; *News Chronicle*, London; *Aberdeen Evening Express; Manchester Evening Chronicle; Evening News*, Portsmouth. The report will have appeared in countless other papers, up and down the country.

Different only in size of type the *Aberdeen Evening Express*, the *Oxford Mail*, the *Manchester Daily Dispatch* and the *Torbay Herald* publish the report under the same double-line display heading, which reads as follows :—

COUNCIL WANTS DUKE INTERNED.

The report was the same in all these papers. It read as follows :—

A resolution asking the Home Secretary to intern the Duke of Bedford was passed to-day by the Sandy (Beds.) Urban Council.

The resolution "viewed with alarm the defeatist activities of the Duke which are arousing concern among the loyal citizens of Bedfordshire."

The text was the same in the following journals, but the heading was different.

The *Nottingham Journal* boldly headed the report :—

"INTERN THE DUKE!"

The *News Chronicle* and the *West Lancashire Evening Post* used the heading :—

WANTS DUKE INTERNED.

The *Portsmouth Evening News* heading read :

"INTERN DUKE" PLEA.

The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* headed its report :—

COUNCIL SAYS
"INTERN DUKE OF BEDFORD."

The *Daily Telegraph* made its heading very small :—

INTERNMENT ASKED FOR.

The *Daily Mail naturally*—being the organ that supported Franco, and once bitterly attacked the Soviet Union, and brazenly denounced Communism—used a bold heading :—

"ARREST DUKE" CALL.

The *Evening Standard* heading was :—

"INTERN DUKE," SAY COUNCIL.

The *Birmingham Post* carried the milder heading :—

"INTERN DUKE OF BEDFORD" REQUEST.

The *Western Morning News* and the *Belfast News Letter* used a dignified "Duke of Bedford" heading. The other papers published the statement without any heading, giving the paragraph the value of a small news item.

The *Daily Worker*, in its issue for March 31, reported the resolution in the same terms as the paragraph quoted from the other papers. It added :—

"Whether he be a Royal Duke or a working man," said Councillor Minhall, moving the resolution, "those who are not with us in this struggle are against us.

"In my opinion there is only one place for traitors to the common cause, and that is behind bars with Mosley and the jackals of the British National Party."

Councillor Minhall, a Labour man who lost a leg in the last war, added that he would not be a loyal citizen of the British Empire, or loyal as an ex-serviceman to the thousands of boys and girls of Bedfordshire in the Services to-day if he allowed the Duke's attitude to go unchallenged.

That this resolution arose purely and simply from Communist Party activity, and represented no genuine opinion, is evidenced by the fact that the *Daily Worker*, in its issue for March 23, published the following paragraph :—

DUKE'S OWN SHIRE SAYS "INTERN HIM."
From DOUGLAS HYDE.

That the Duke of Bedford should be interned for his pro-Hitler activities is the demand of a growing number of organisations throughout Bedfordshire.

Resolutions making this demand have recently been passed by the Shefford branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers and the Luton No. 4, Leagrave and Dallow Road (Luton) branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Perhaps someone will tell us when these organisations became patriotic and war-minded. Did any of the persons responsible for this resolution support the Stalin–Hitler peace pact? Did they support the Peace Convention? How patriotic were they prior to June 22, 1941? What propaganda were they promoting between August 23, 1939 and June 22, 1941? An answer to these questions is demanded.

In all these reports it is made out that the Sandy Urban Council demanded the Duke's Internment. Nothing is said as to the size of the Council gathering. Nothing is said about such political issues not being the legal or constitutional business of an Urban Council. Nothing is said about voting. The implication is that the demand was unanimous. We reproduce the report of the proceedings that appeared in the *Bedfordshire Times* for April 2 :—

The activities of the Duke of Bedford were commented upon at the meeting of the Sandy Urban Council on Monday night. The subject was introduced by Mr. J. Minhall, speaking on a recommendation of the General Purposes Committeee that no action be taken on a letter received from the South-East Midlands District Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. Minhall moved a resolution calling attention to the Duke of Bedford's defeatist activities and Fascist propaganda, which were causing great concern among the loyal citizens of Bedfordshire, and asking the Home Secretary to intern him, along with others who had been interned for their Fascist sympathies, before further harm could be done.

Mr. Smith seconded, and Mr. Crawley supported.

Mr. Cope did not agree with the motion. He did not think the Duke would mind if he were locked up. It was true he was not following in the footsteps of his father or of the Russells, but he was not afraid to express his opinions.

Mr. Blackler was distressed that a man in the Duke's position should be allowed to go about expressing such views.

Mr. G. E. Western said he admired a man who was prepared to champion an unpopular cause. He had moral courage.

Mr. Allison considered the Duke a menace.

In the end the motion was carried by five votes to four.

Note the facts, concealed from its readers by the *Daily Worker*, and not mentioned in any general newspaper :—

(1) The internment of the Duke of Bedford was raised in a letter by the Communist Party.

(2) Only nine people voted.

(3) The majority was one vote.

We would make no comment on this Tooley Street voting brought about by Communist Party machinations if only the Communist Party had held these views honestly since the outbreak of war. But no party has engaged in more mischievous and more unprincipled defeatist propaganda than the Communist Party. No persons have deserved internment more, if internment is merited, than William Gallacher, Harry Pollitt, D. N. Pritt and Co. That these persons should arrogate to themselves the right to take possession of the keys of the dungeon, and to intern according to the interests of the Soviet Union and its foreign relations, is a scandal never before suffered or endured by the common people in Britain. Let the reader consult the *Daily Worker* for 1939-1941, and note the attacks made on 18B and Herbert Morrison and Sir John Anderson by our contemporary. Then let him consider this Bedfordshire demand *by a majority of one*. Democracy! Patriotism! What impertinence.

18B DETENTIONS.—We have received considerable correspondence on this subject. All published next issue.

EDUCATING GERMANS

The following letter to the editor from the pen of our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., was published in the *Manchester Guardian* for April 6 :—

Sir,—I am as profoundly opposed to Nazism as a form of government as any who have written or spoken on this subject, but I am alarmed at the arrogance, ignorance, and self-righteousness of those who support this preposterous proposal to re-educate the German people, more particularly the youth, when peace is restored.

Stalin will apparently have none of this; he is too much of a realist. He has made it clear that the task of the Red Army is to destroy the Hitlerite regime; that it is sheer nonsense to talk of the destruction of the German State and its people or, obviously, to "re-educate" them.

In order to show the futility of this proposal let those who make it answer the following:—

If the British are to join in this re-education, how many teachers from this country will be required, and will they be expected to live in Germany for a stipulated period, and how long? As we have virtually closed some of our teachers' training colleges for the duration of the war shall we be able to spare those teachers? Are we sure that any teachers will be willing to undertake the task; and will they be taught enough German for the purpose beforehand, and, if so, when? Who will pay their salaries, and who will draft the curriculum? Shall we prohibit marriages between our British teachers and the Germans? Are we certain that the Germans would attend classes to be taught by foreigners? Can we insure our teachers against assassination? Supposing Germany turns Communist after the war, and our teachers follow suit, what then? Supposing our teachers instead of persuading the Germans to become democrats are converted to Nazism instead, what of it then? And supposing a revolution breaks out in Germany when our teachers are there?

Why stop at re-educating the Germans? What of the Italians and the Japanese? They are fighting us too. And what of the French? Then, in view of the anti-British feeling in India why not include those 350,000,000 in the scheme? Further, there were three negroes lynched in the State of Mississippi during one recent week. Is it intended to ask Mr. Roosevelt to allow some of our teachers to re-educate the white population of that State?

Any attempt to answer these questions would show the absurdity of the proposal. In any case, it is clear that those Germans who dislike Nazism as a form of government will rally to Hitler more than ever when they know that the alternative to Hitler is to be taught by foreigners on their own soil.

Finally, why have those propagandists of hate decided what to do with its skin before the bear is caught?

Yours, etc.,
RHYS J. DAVIES.

House of Commons,
London, S.W.1,
April 5.

DO NOT DESPAIR, POET.

Do not despair, Poet,
If your songs be unsung,
Time is so real and lasting,
And you are so young.
Whole worlds revolve in darkness
Somewhere far-flung,
Unknown, unguessed of, existing—
Just like your song.

Do not despair, Poet,
When you are dead,
And the tombstone has crumbled
Over your head,
The world may be wiser,
And your songs may be read,
Time is so real and lasting,
Poet, be comforted.

JOE CORRIE.

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SOUTH PLACE

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY
(1793-1943)

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London, W.C.1

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY
are the study and dissemination of ethical principles, and the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11 a.m.

May 2—Prof. G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—The United States: (1) The Making of the
„ 9—Prof. G. E. G. Catlin, M.A., Ph.D.—Intellectual Totalitarianism.
„ 16—Dr. R. H. Thouless—Hatred in War Time.
„ 23—C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.—The Good Pagan (1).
„ 30—S. K. Ratcliffe—England — Seventy-Five Years.
June 6—Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.—From Supernaturalism to Humanism.
„ 20—C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.—The Good Pagan (2).
„ 27—Prof. G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—The United States: (2) The Fight for the Constitution.

Every Freethinker, Rationalist, Ethicist, and Humanist ought to attend these meetings and join this historic society, so as to continue its traditions, and maintain its services to mankind.

On Sunday, February 14, 1943, the South Place Ethical Society celebrated, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, the 150th Anniversary of its formation. The meeting was held in commemoration of the establishment of a congregation of religious dissenters, under Elhanan Winchester, at Parliament Court Chapel, Artillery Lane, Bishopsgate, London, on February 14, 1793. South Place Ethical Society has descended directly from this congregation naturally, and inevitably, without break or interruption of any kind. It is a marvellous record of consistent evolution and development of progressive thought and humanism.

During this period, the Society's meeting places have been :—

PARLIAMENT COURT CHAPEL, BISHOPSGATE, February 14, 1793 to the establishment of
SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY, February 1, 1824—March 31, 1927.
LONDON INSTITUTION, FINSBURY CIRCUS, used until
CONWAY HALL was occupied on September 1, 1929.

The Society's ministers and lecturers have been :—

Rev. Elhanan Winchester—Feb. 14, 1793—May, 1794.
Rev. William Vidler—1794—Aug. 23, 1816.
Rev. William Johnson Fox, M.P.—April 2, 1817—Jan. 29, 1853. (last discourse Feb. 8, 1852).

Assistants to Mr. Fox—

Rev. Philip Harwood—Feb. 27, 1840—Sept. 23, 1841.
Rev. N. Travers—Feb. 1849—Dec. 1850.
Rev. Henry Ierson—Jan. 1851—Jan. 1853.
Rev. Henry Ierson—Jan. 30 1853—April 26, 1857.
Rev. H. N. Barnett—Jan. 31, 1858—June 21, 1863.
Dr. Moncure D. Conway—Jan. 31, 1864—July 27, 1884.
Dr. Stanton Coit—Sept. 2, 1888—Dec. 31, 1891.
Dr. Moncure D. Conway—Oct. 2, 1892—June 27, 1897.

A successor was not appointed.

In May, 1907, the Rules were altered to provide for the appointment by the Annual General Meeting of a Lecturer or Lecturers in place of a Minister. Under this Rule the following appointments were made :—

Herbert Burrows—May, 1907—Dec. 1922.
John A. Hobson—May, 1907—April 1, 1940.
Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson—May, 1907—Jan. 5, 1933.
Joseph McCabe—May, 1907—
S. K. Ratcliffe—May, 1915—
Dr. C. Delisle Burns—May, 1918—Jan. 22, 1942.
Dr. C. E. M. Joad—May, 1941—
Professor G. W. Keeton—May, 1941—

The Society's names have changed to define the evolution of its principles and purpose. The congregation which assembled in support of Elhanan Winchester, the American Baptist preacher, at Parliament Court Chapel in 1793, called themselves Philadelphians. Winchester had cut across orthodoxy by announcing and assailing the doctrine of Eternal Hell, thus helping to spread the creed, so-called, of Universalism which then meant simply "Universal Salvation in Christ." He had converted Vidler, his successor, to Universalism, and Vidler, in turn, converted himself in 1802 to Unitarianism. By this change his congregation was much reduced. There was, however, a Baptist connection which lasted long after the Society had become actively associated with the Unitarian body.

W. J. Fox had struggled from a severe Calvinism to Unitarianism, which stage of development he had reached several years before becoming the Minister at Parliament Court Chapel in 1817. His aim before taking up that post had been to form a congregation on a comprehensive principle *with Virtue and not Faith* for the bond of union. The subscriptions invited for building South Place Chapel were for a new Unitarian Chapel. Mr. Fox took an active part in founding the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in 1825, and he was its first Foreign Secretary. His heterodox opinions were not, however, viewed favourably, and in 1837 the Society was excluded from the Unitarian Association, becoming thenceforth its own denomination as it remains to this day. The Trust Deed drawn up in 1825 introduces the term "Society or Congregation of Protestant Dissenters." This term is used in a copy of the Rules in use in 1857.

Down to 1852 the term "Fox's Chapel" was in popular use. The Annual Report for 1871 uses the words "South Place Chapel." In 1873 the title adopted was "South Place Chapel and Institute," thus referring to the Society's other activities. For the Annual Report of 1879 the heading is "South Place Religious Society." This was changed to "South Place Ethical Society" in 1888. No alteration in the principles of the Society was involved. The book by Dr. Conway, published in 1894, is entitled "Centenary History of the South Place Society." This phrase may give way to "Conway Hall." So many other organisations hire the Society's premises that some danger to the identity of the Society is threatened. It is for the membership to see that in years to come predominant use of Conway Hall is made by South Place Ethical Society.

Lord Snell, LL.D., presided at the anniversary celebration. He said that, for more than twelve generations, the South Place Ethical Society had been the loyal servant of great ideals. The leaders of the Society were both liberators and prophets. In the course of its work, the Society had attracted many distinguished visitors. J. S. Mill, T. H. Huxley, Herbert Spencer knew and respected its work. At South Place, Longfellow heard, for the first time, his "Psalm of Life" used as a congregational hymn.

In an age of unwholesome superstition, the Society was an antiseptic. It destroyed and it healed. It practised almost alone the religion of the open mind and it kept its feet firmly planted on the ground. The Society had never been afraid to let an unaccepted view be stated from its platform. If a man had an unpopular cause to advocate the Society gave him the right to be heard. For many years it was the only practising Catholic Church. It judged both tradition and prophecy by the searching test of knowledge. The prestige of antiquity of a belief or a prejudice gave it no relief from criticism.

The Society was thorough in its rejections and its acceptances. It was more nonconforming than the Nonconformists. It aimed to reform the Reformation. It took itself for better or for worse and said "here is where we stand and on the solid rock of fact and reason we will build our Church." It did not reject the ancient philosophers and teachers because they were not modern, but it required them to prove their case even if they were old. St. Paul probably had that need in mind when he said: "Prove all things and hold fast to that which is good."

No limitation or test had ever been imposed by the Society upon its speakers. The only thing demanded of them had been that they should speak the truth as they knew it. It had been in the highest sense a Society of Free Thinkers.

Lord Snell added that his memories of the Society covered more than 50 years.

Mr. Joseph McCabe said that South Place Ethical Society had developed from a small Universalist congregation of ex-Baptists under Elhanan Winchester which, under Vidler, later adopted Unitarianism. The doctrine of eternal punishment 150 years ago was the basis of ethical teaching throughout England. Fox had already discarded that dogma when he took up his ministry. But the Society began with it in a modified form. Even Fox believed that the Bible was inspired and must have a kind of worship and adoration which no one except certain very backward bodies give it to-day. Fox was a great man. Year by year he looked upon this changing England and said that we of South Place must teach what is true and sound. All other churches were struggling with the old bonds. But those two great men, Fox and Conway, who led this congregation never troubled for a single moment to invent new phrases. Once it was plain that man had taken the sacred fire from heaven and that humanism was the goal, South Place became humanist.

There was a critic of the last century, W. H. Mallock, who said, "You will go on for some time because you are burning the oil that you stole from the sanctuary when you left it." But Fox and Conway knew better. They burned a new oil when the old was found faulty. One dogma sufficed, that man should inspire his own power, that all power came from him, and that there was almost an indefinite advance in front of man for that power. It was said of Fox that he made Unitarianism respectable, but Conway made humanism respectable.

Joseph McCabe added that he came into the Society 47 years ago wondering, as he came out of the gloom and isolation of the cloister, whether he was alone in the Universe. Within two months he found that there was at least one Society which held those ideals which he had built up in his own mind during a year or two of trouble.

Professor C. E. Joad said that mankind had been always, and still was, under the domination of two great fallacies. The first was that there was something morally good in *believing*—irrespective of what it was that one believed. The second fallacy was that it was right or virtuous to share the beliefs of others. In 1859 John Stuart Mill had discounted the idea that barbarism could revive and conquer civilisation. Professor Bury had been as optimistic in 1913,

when he averred that the struggle of reason against authority had ended in a decisive and permanent victory for liberty.

Professor Joad spoke of the power of advertisement in the modern world as an instrument for the manufacture of mass opinion :—

I believe that if every hoarding in the country were covered with announcements to the effect that C. E. M. Joad was the most modest man alive, supported by a myriad leaflets and a brass band, it would soon become a received opinion that I was consumed by an abnormal shrinking from publicity.

Professor J. C. Flugel expressed the confidence he felt that the Society, which had survived two great wars, the Napoleonic and the first World War, was in process of surviving the third.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe spoke of the age and continuity of the South Place Society. The parent Society was formed within four years of the outbreak of the French Revolution. The repercussions on our side of the Channel were many. Men and women were thinking about the fundamentals of life and society with a new freedom and intensity. America was beginning to make itself felt in England. Benjamin Franklin had appeared in London, and had been recognised as the first original American. It was not unfitting that the first minister of the congregation that was to become South Place should have come from America; and it was more significant still that the second of the famous leaders who shaped the character of the Society should be American, a friend of those poets and teachers in the United States who were looked upon in the middle of the 19th century with especial admiration from our side. They were fresh and inspiriting, and they sounded a fine equalitarian note, the best of all tonics for Victorian England. Emerson's early essays came over while W. J. Fox was still in charge, and when Moncure Conway arrived Emerson's lecture tour in England (1847) was a recent memory. South Place was one of the cradles of the English-speaking Entente upon which so great a measure of our hopes now depends.

Mr. C. J. Pollard mentioned that he held a certificate of his membership of the National Secular Society, signed by Charles Bradlaugh.

Professor G. W. Keeton sent a letter in which he stated that one or two of the addresses delivered by W. J. Fox on such topics as "War" and "Imperialism," would have resulted in a period of detention if delivered to-day. Fox was not content to deliver Sunday addresses. He organised discussion classes on the problems of the day, and held public disputations with leaders of public thought.

Other letters included one from Laurence Housman, who wrote :—

Though I am a member of a Christian Community, I welcome the 150th anniversary of your Society as a proof that the Ethical Movement is still going strong. It has, in the past, done much to lessen the hold which bigotry, intolerance and superstition have had on the religious world in general; and even on theologians its influence has been wholly for good.

Christians do not sufficiently realise how much they owe to the Humanist movement for the lessening of religious persecution in their various societies and for its removal from legislation. The more we are Freethinkers the better shall we be qualified to discover what is worth believing. For what is true Religion but right relation to Reality?

Mrs. E. Holyoake Marsh, daughter of George Jacob Holyoake, wrote: "My father joined South Place in or about 1858 and our family have belonged ever since."

Mr. George E. O'Dell, Secretary, The American Ethical Union, sent the greetings of the Officers and Executive Board of the American Ethical Union and wrote of his respect for the unique, pioneering place in the history of the Movement for freedom of thought in matters of religion and ethics enjoyed by South Place.

Dr. Henry Neumann, on behalf of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, sent congratulations; and Mr. H. V. Putzel, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ethical Society of St. Louis, Missouri, sent his greetings on the occasion of South Place Society's "sesquicentennial." He wrote of Lord Snell's visits to America and St. Louis.

Mr. J. Hulton Hynd, of the St. Louis Society, sent his personal greetings, and recalled his own activities, for four or five years, in the Ethical Church in Bayswater, as the assistant to Dr. Stanton Coit.

Stanton Coit's activity was recalled by Mr. W. Edwin Collier, who wrote on behalf of the Philadelphia Ethical Society. Stanton Coit had made it his life work to actualise Emerson's vision of "a church founded on moral science"; thus establishing an historical linkage with the Unitarians. On the other hand, with the Universalists, South Place shared a common descent from Elhanan Winchester. These facts had been brought out during the past year when the Unitarians and Universalists had accepted the invitation of the Religion and Ethics Study Group of the Philadelphia Society to give first-hand accounts of their beliefs.

David S. Muzzey, Chairman, The Society for Ethical Culture in the city of New York, sent a message wishing good fortune to the South Place activities.

At the luncheon meeting, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh Bonner recalled the lectures delivered by Moncure Conway in defence of his grandfather, Charles Bradlaugh, when the latter made his famous struggle at Northampton.

THE EDITOR'S APPEAL.

In November, 1942, we asked for £1500 to enable us to meet the immediate deficit on our propaganda. By March we had received £551 4s. 7½d. Since then only £33 2s. 10d. has been received. The total response from our readers stands to date at £584 7s. 5½d. The sum required still is £915 12s. 6½d. We ask for this sum to be sent in before June 1. Final acknowledgments will be made in the July issue.

Many readers have asked us to fix the definite sum required from each reader. Frankly we think it is impossible to do this, as some of our readers live in very poor circumstances indeed. To meet the suggestion, however, we ask every reader—**who can do so—on receipt of this issue to send a donation of 5/-.** The important point is to send a **donation AT ONCE.**

Some readers have urged us to increase the price of the paper to 3d. per copy. To meet expenses the price should be 4d. We ask readers who wish to pay 3d. to send an annual subscription of 4/-, in place of the present subscription of 3/-. That is a voluntary increase. **We do not intend to increase the price officially.** The paper will remain at 2d. per copy, and the annual subscription remains at 3/- per annum, post free. Many of our C.O. readers cannot afford to pay more.

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"JUST AND COURAGEOUS"

An 18B View of Herbert Morrison.

[We have received the following letter from Mr. John P. Dennis, who has suffered internment under 18B. It is right that this view of Herbert Morrison's attitude as the administrator of 18B should be published. We are opposed to 18B, just as we are opposed to the avowed views of many of the persons who have been interned under 18B. We are opposed to Mr. Morrison for being a conscientious objector during the last war and a militarist in this. Here is another view of Mr. Morrison, paying a tribute to Mr. Morrison's sense of justice and courage, under circumstances of prejudice and difficulty.—Ed.]

Sir,—Apropos your list of Officers and other ranks detained under 18B I would point out that the total number of servicemen and ex-servicemen detained is between five and six hundred. Speaking from memory I think something like three hundred signed the telegram to His Majesty the King from the Ascot Concentration Camp in the summer of 1940. Although I composed this telegram, except for the last sentence asking for release, I did not myself sign it although I served in the 26th, 90th and 42nd regiments from 1919-24. I am now a C.O.

It may interest your readers to know that many 18B's now bear the King's Commission and many others are Warrant Officers, etc. This fact is the most eloquent proof of either their loyalty or the Government's stupidity. I understand one man in the service has to report to the police daily.

I cannot concur in your opinion that the Home Secretary's detention of servicemen "does not make sense" or that his attitude to the last war impairs his attitude to this. Many who fought and approved of the last war disapprove of this one and we do not charge them with hypocrisy or cant. Conscience after all is but the discerning between right and wrong in conformity with moral law as he or she understands it and that in turn is determined as to whether or not remorse follows the one or the other action. Supposing the Home Secretary to be in support of this war, that does not necessarily infer or prove he has changed his opinion as to the morality of war. A Minister of the Crown is there to do his duty and his personal opinions have nothing to do with it. You, Sir, have experienced much litigation and doubtless have observed that Judges have frequently to give judgments contrary to their personal opinions and sympathies.

In my opinion the Home Secretary is morally wrong and politically in error to support this war but his attitude to many aspects of it I think to be eminently sensible and at times positively courageous (i.e., justice for Germany).

Of his attitude to we 18B's I would say he has been in great measure just and has righted many injustices and is constantly "kicking 18B about in order to get rid of it," but he is not aided in this effort by recalcitrant prisoners and politically prejudiced persons, especially when a hostile and ignorant public watches his every movement and release. Despite this he has bundled hundreds out and a few weeks after his appointment to the Home Secretaryship he released us by batches until silly demonstrations put the stopper on that process.

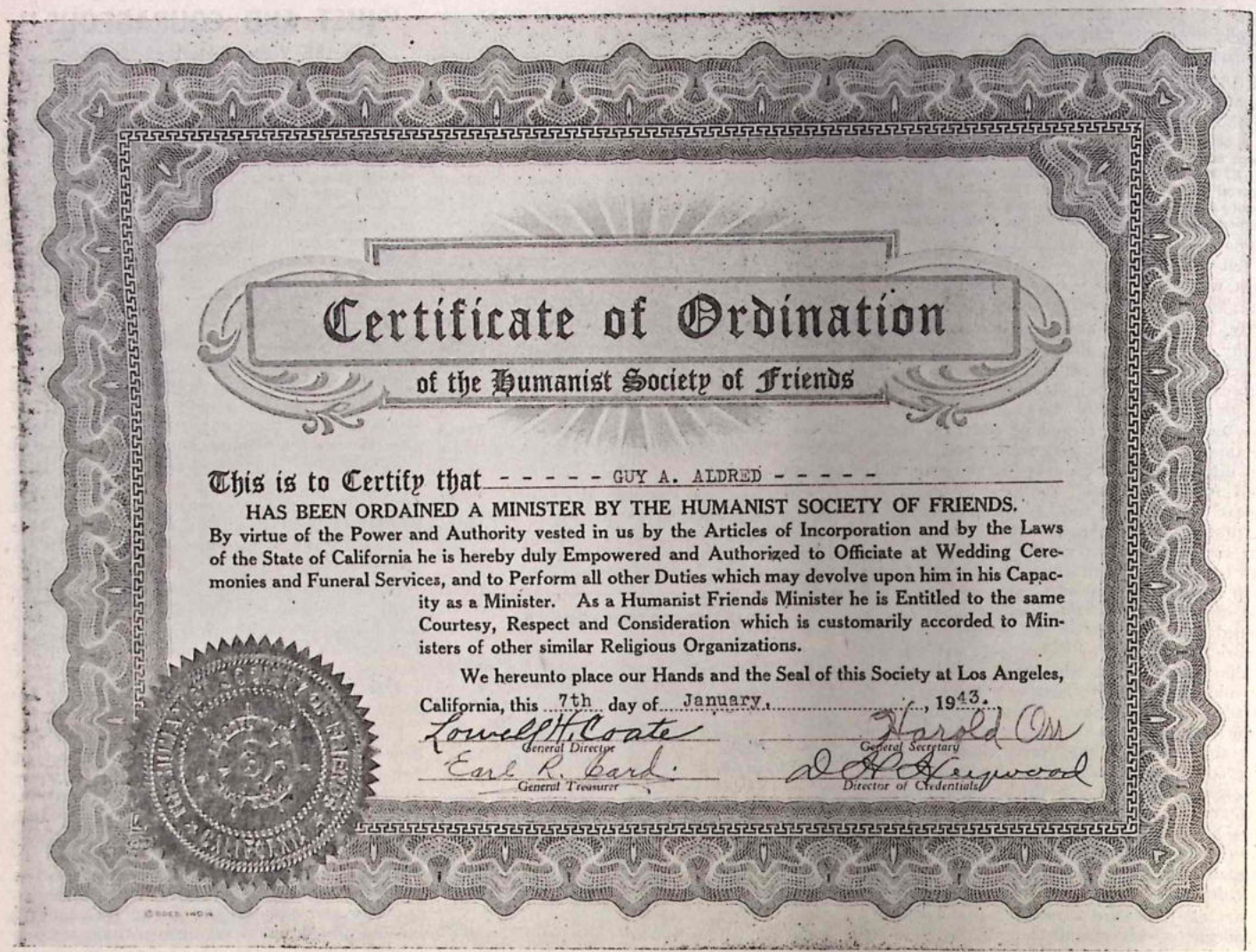
It is well to keep in mind that the progeniture of 18B was Sir John Anderson and The Defence Committee and the nurse is being wrongly abused for her charge.

If it be suggested I am "buttering my gaoler" I would say Mr. Morrison is fully aware of my hostility to this war and his political ideas, but as with me so I hope it is with him—we are opponents and not enemies, that to me is English.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN P. DENNIS.

Bayswater, W.2, March 16.



Certificate of Ordination

of the Humanist Society of Friends

This is to Certify that - - - - - GUY A. ALDRED - - - - -

HAS BEEN ORDAINED A MINISTER BY THE HUMANIST SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

By virtue of the Power and Authority vested in us by the Articles of Incorporation and by the Laws of the State of California he is hereby duly Empowered and Authorized to Officiate at Wedding Ceremonies and Funeral Services, and to Perform all other Duties which may devolve upon him in his Capacity as a Minister. As a Humanist Friends Minister he is Entitled to the same Courtesy, Respect and Consideration which is customarily accorded to Ministers of other similar Religious Organizations.

We hereunto place our Hands and the Seal of this Society at Los Angeles, California, this 7th day of January, 1943.

Lowell H. Coate — General Director

Harold Orr — General Secretary

Earl R. Card — General Treasurer

A. A. Haywood — Director of Credentials

EDITOR'S RADICAL LIBERAL ACTIVITY

AMERICAN HUMANIST RECOGNITION

For a long time past, as the readers of these columns are aware, we have been in close contact with the various sections of the Humanist Movement in the United States. Reference is made to this Movement on page 68 of our pamphlet, "Why Jesus Wept."

One of the most interesting sections of the Humanist Movement is the Humanist Society of Friends. In January of this year, the General Board of Directors of the Humanist Society of Friends considered some of the literature we had issued, especially that dealing with Christianity and religion, and our activity since we began our career as a boy preacher. The Board considered our long opposition to war, our imprisonments for Freedom of Thought and Speech, and decided that our activity ought to receive constitutional recognition and be rescued from its false status of seeming outlawry. The Board felt that our heresy was useful pioneering activity and that our refusal to be trammelled by the routine requirements of orthodox scholarship ought not to be allowed to handicap our activity any longer. As a result, the Board decided to confer on us the status of a Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends. We reproduce the certificate sent to us by the Board.

Dr. Lowell Harris Coate, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., President of the Humanist Society of Friends, addressed to us the following letter, announcing the decision of the organisation:—

FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL

Affiliated with the Foreign Policy Association of New York.

Telephone: TRinity 4751.

2405 West 23rd Street,
Los Angeles, California,
January 7th, 1943.

Guy A. Aldred,
Editor, "The Word,"
104 George Street,
Glasgow, C.1.

My Dear Friend Aldred,

Although it will be considerably past the New Year season by the time you receive this letter, yet at this time I desire to wish for you the very best New Year of your life, for I see from the very fine literature which has just arrived from your office that you are "one of our kind," and we are indeed intensely interested in the grand work you are doing.

In fact, we are so much interested that we, as a General Board of Directors of the Humanist Society of Friends, have unanimously elected you a Minister of the Society and I am inclosing herewith your official Ordination Certificate. We have also designated you as Superintendent of the British Isles for the Society if you are agreeable to that arrangement.

Our Ministers are duly authorised to officiate at wedding ceremonies and memorial services exactly the same as the more orthodox churches, and all other privileges which Ministers enjoy.

I am looking forward with joyful anticipation to reading that very fine set of books which you have been good enough to send me.

I have just re-read your very interesting biographical sketch on pages 42 and 43 of the November, 1942, issue of "The Word," and find myself sharing your unique experiences. You are just two years my senior; I shall be 54 this coming February 1st, 1943.

We certainly admire both your ideals and your courage, and wish to give you all the constitutional protection to which you are entitled in the great work you are doing.

One important reason for incorporating the Humanist Society of Friends as a "Religious Organisation" was because the Constitutional Guarantees in both England and America are greater than any other guarantees under the present constitution. You will also note that several of our Humanist Friends' Ministers were born in England.

In a recent letter you mentioned your desire to visit America at some future time. It will be a mutual pleasure to have you visit this country, and especially our beautiful California. We should be glad to have you address some of our Humanist Societies, especially here on the Pacific Coast. I, too, hope to visit your grand British Isles within the next ten years. I tell my friends that my name, Coate, is as English as "Coates Thread." All my father's ancestors have come from Cumberland, or the English "Lake District," I believe they call it sometimes.

I am sending you a copy of my book, "The Conscription of Conscience," which I am confident you will find interesting these days. My people have been Quakers, and I was reared in a Quaker community, at New London, Indiana. I hold the Quaker viewpoint on war, but their orthodox theology is irrational. Naturally, I read, in addition to our own Humanist publications, and such journals as "The Christian Sentinel," the famous Boston Humanist and Unitarian paper, the "New Zealand Rationalist," Bombay "Reason," and "The Freethinker," of London.

Will close now, wishing for you and yours the very best and most satisfactory and significant year of your life. Kindly communicate my best regards to your splendid friends and associates there.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
LOWELL H. COATE,
President and Founder
The Humanist Society of Friends.

As President of the Foreign Policy Council of Los Angeles which is affiliated with the Foreign Policy Association of New York, Dr. Coate is conducting an educational propaganda directed towards creating a sufficient body of public opinion to insure genuine international cooperation in the new post-war world.

As President and Founder of the Humanist Society of Friends, Dr. Coate is directing one of the most significant religious movements of this generation, which has already received full official recognition and legal status from both the State of California and the Government of the United States. It has now 50

regular Ministers, and many members throughout the United States.

He is Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends in Los Angeles. This section is known as Liberal Quakers. Anyone whose parents were both Quakers at the time of his birth was known as a "Birth-right Quaker," as was the case with Dr. Coate.

Dr. Coate has read widely and written extensively. He desires, as a thinker, to contribute his bit to the advancement of human knowledge and to the building of a better world community in which to live, especially by the elimination of superstition from religion and hatred from the social life of mankind. He shares the sentiment of that great God-father of American Democracy, Thomas Paine: "The world is my country and to do good is my religion."

The Ministers of the Humanist Society of Friends include Dr. George T. Ashley, who was born in Copiah County, Mississippi, on November 20, 1863. His parents were Primitive Baptists and he was educated for the Ministry. He rebelled against "Close Communion" and studied for the Law. He turned aside to the Ministry again and entered the Methodist Church and served as a Methodist pastor for eight years. The itinerant wheel of Methodism" landed him in Southern Illinois, where he left the Ministry, and settled in the practice of law for fifteen years. A business visit took him to Dallas, Texas, in 1912, and he was brought in contact with the Unitarian Church. The liberal principles of this Church appealed to him and he abandoned law to enter the Unitarian Ministry. He remained a Unitarian Minister for twenty-two years, and held important pastorates at Wichita, Kansas; Seattle, Washington; and Hollywood, California. He retired from the Ministry of the Church in 1934.

The Humanist Movement began to take root in the Unitarian Church about the time that Dr. Ashley entered its Ministry. Membership of the Humanist Movement has never caused any real disturbance in the Unitarian fellowship. So Dr. Ashley links officially the Unitarian Ministry to the Humanist Society of Friends.

Dr. Ashley is a keen student of Social Credit and has written several books on economics and monetary reform. He believes in democracy and liberty and is opposed to the modern tendency towards dictatorships and bureaucracy. He believes that Humanism will be the religion of the post-war world.

Dr. Lowell H. Coate is one of the most distinguished scholars in the United States. Born of Quaker parentage, near Dayton, Ohio, on February 1, 1889, he was taken by his parents to the Quaker Community at New London, Indiana, where he attended the Public Elementary School and High School. At 17 he left his father's farm to attend college at Taylor University (Indiana), and later graduated at Olivet College (Illinois) with the A.B. degree. He taught in the departments of Sociology and Education at Olivet College for four years, and then became Dean of Marion College (Indiana) where he remained until he went to California in 1923.

Dr. Coate did considerable graduate work at the University of Southern California and travelled extensively in Mexico and Central America with the U.S.C. Archeological Expedition. He received the M.A. degree from the University.

Later, he undertook Sociology work at Milton University, and he received the Ph.D. degree. The Metropolitan University (Los Angeles) has honoured him with the LL.D. degree.

Dr. Coate taught for three years in Pasadena College, and was invited to take charge of the Cooperative College (Louisiana) as its President. He was the first President of the Northwest College at Nampa, Idaho. Dr. Coate considers his work in the Public Schools as his vocation, while he regards Adult Education as his avocation.

Another Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends, who has travelled from Orthodoxy through Unitarianism, is Dr. James Covington Coleman, A.B., of the University of Chattanooga, and S.T.D., of Boston University. He was Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Pinners, Va., 1912-13, and Niantic, Illinois, 1915-17. He resigned from the pulpit of that church because he was opposed to war, and went to Fresno, California. There he became Acting Minister of the First Unitarian Church at Fresno. Minister since then of several Liberal or Unitarian Churches in the United States, he was the first Minister to conduct Humanist Church Services in the United States. These were held in the Church of the Universal Fellowship at Los Gatos, 1920-21. During 1935-36 he assisted Dr. Coate to found the Modern Humanist Church and to conduct a temporary Humanist programme in a theatre building in Los Angeles. In 1941 he received the Litt.D degree from De Landas University.

Other Ministers of the Humanist Society of Friends include:—

Dr. Hugh Ellwood Macbeth, LL.B., of Howard, Executive Secretary of the California Race Relations Commission; President of the United Races of America; Chairman of the Prison Reform Committee of the Lawyers' Club of Los Angeles; Consul of the Republic of Liberia, etc.

Parker Holmes Sercombe, named after Theodore Parker and Oliver Wendell Holmes; sometime Editor of the "Daily Mexican Herald." Mexico City; in association with Clarence Darrow, and others, Editor of "To-morrow Magazine"; member of the Chicago Board of Education for a while, and a Life Member of the American Statistical Association. Has been always a "misfit" among all those who employ the theological method of reasoning.

Theodore Schroeder, the famous lawyer psychologist and authority on the history of the struggle for Freedom of Thought, Speech, and Writing. Probably, the outstanding legal scholar and jurist in the English speaking world on this subject.

The work of Theodore Schroeder, and the names and careers of other pioneers and ministers of the Humanist Movement in general, and its particular branch, the Humanist Society of Friends, will be published in our columns at an early date. This study will be illustrated very fully.

Of Unitarian Ministers in Great Britain, our close comrade and friend, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., now of Coventry, is in close contact with the Humanist movements in the United States. To "The Humanist," organ of the American Humanist Association, published in Schenectady, N.Y., for the Summer, 1942, Richard Lee contributed a striking article headed, "Humanism or World Anarchy." Comrade Lee's strong plea for Humanism will be reprinted at an early date. In this way we hope to link up all the forces and centres of the great Humanist movement of Britain and the United States, as part of a world federation towards world commonweal.

"JUSTICE UNDER 18B."

Our comrade, C. H. Norman has directed our attention to two serious errors that spoil his excellent letters published in the April *Word* (page 101):—

1st Letter: line "And Act of Parliament" should read: "And other Acts of Parliament."

2nd Letter: lines 26 (end)-28: "Had they been, men like Fox, Sheridan, and Hazelitt, would have been held untried", etc.

Next month, Norman's articles will be resumed. We shall publish also his protest to the National Council of Civil Liberties about their statement on 18B.

RICHARD CARLILE

[The following summary of Mr. Joseph McCabe's lecture to The South Place Ethical Society, at Conway Hall, London, is reproduced from the April issue of "The Monthly Record" of the Society, with the permission of the Society.—Ed.]

Mr. Joseph McCabe on "The Centenary of Richard Carlile."

Readings from: (1) Carlile's "Jail Journal"; (2) W. J. Fox's Sermon on the Trial of Carlile, February 7, 1943.

Richard Carlile, whose memory we recall, was one of the outstanding figures amongst several millions who suffered in modern times for the right of free discussion and self-government. When he was condemned to three years' imprisonment with a sure prospect of further years in a vile jail because he could not pay an impossible fine, William Johnson Fox, the Minister of this Society, which was then a Unitarian Chapel, was the only Minister of religion to protest publicly and unreservedly against the crime. The clergy of all denominations rejoiced, as Moncure Conway says, as if they had won a Waterloo over Infidelity. So we honour the memory of Fox as well as that of Carlile. But there is a more cogent reason for this celebration. So obsequious have education and literature become in this country that while practically all the world knows how Christians were thrown to the lions in the Roman Amphitheatre, which a Catholic expert has shown to be a piece of sheer fiction, not one in a thousand knows of the millions who died or suffered to give Europe the freedom and democracy it professes to cherish. From the highest modern Catholic authorities we gather that hardly 250 early Christians suffered martyrdom in 250 years. Between 1768 and 1868 half a million unarmed men, women and children were done to death for the democratic faith, and three or four times as many suffered in unspeakable jails, in exile, or by confiscation.

That is the lost perspective in which we must put the story of Carlile. Our American friends naturally believe—for history is as badly taught there as here—that they led the world in its modern struggle for freedom. Five years before the Boston Tea Party the workers of Westminster faced the troops in defence of their picturesque leader, John Wilkes, and left a hundred of their fellows dead or severely wounded on St. George's Fields. When the American Revolution occurred even C. J. Fox, one of our greatest statesmen, wore the colours of the rebels in the House of Commons, and London and Bristol refused the King's entreaty that every city would raise a regiment. The country filled with reform clubs of one type or another, and when the French Revolution broke out they trebled in numbers and enthusiasm. Even Oxford had its group tended by Savage Landor and Southey, with young Shelley learning the gospel. Who knows more of the time than that the French nation went mad and threw Europe into convulsions, and it was the great Pitt who saved England from the Revolution and Napoleon?

We hear a good deal about Pitt to-day, but we are not reminded that he was the bitterest enemy of freedom and democracy, and that he set up again in England a vile aristocratic tyranny that had not been known since Charles I lost his head. Our standard history, the Cambridge Modern History, says that Pitt's own distinction was in finance and that in his repressive legislation which was "grievously wrong," he was moved by panic. He, through Peel, with William Wilberforce egging him on, truculently destroyed the whole liberal movement, which was nation-wide, sent thousands to appalling jails, to the hulks and the penal colonies, and suppressed all the rights and liberties of Englishmen. He employed armies

of spies and "agents provocateurs" of the most despicable type. He welcomed the French refugees who brought such lies as that 15,000 priests and nobles had perished in the September Massacre, whereas we now know that there were only 2,000 victims, the majority of which were criminals and prostitutes from the jails. In three years of power Pitt, who had ten years before dropped the little liberalism his father had given him, destroyed all that had been won in a century. When Pitt died the spirit of liberty re-awakened, and Pitt's successors revived his immense Gestapo. When Burdett was threatened with prison for a a just and noble protest the London workers offered to defend the Piccadilly mansion of the rich banker against the troops, and later they plotted to loot the gunshops and storm the Tower, so the black army moved again and the jails groaned with victims.

What was it all about? Simply parliamentary reform and free discussion. Of 489 Members of Parliament 307 were puppets of 150 rich men who had bought their success. Votes sold everywhere for from ten to forty guineas; when there were voters, for often a corner of a field, a heap of stones, or a pig-stye was a constituency. Parliament existed to protect a social order in which vice and crime were appalling and the vast majority of the people led almost animal lives. The average wage was about ten shillings a week and bread was as dear as in 1939. The cheapest tea was eight shillings a pound and sugar one shilling. A high London official estimated that in the metropolis the consumption of milk (heavily watered, as all food was heavily adulterated) was one-tenth of a pint per person daily. But beer was almost given away.

This was the world into which Carlile entered. He was one of what we call the common people. He had been educated in a village school in Devon, and he was a young tinsmith in London when Wooler's "Black Dwarf" and Paine's works fired his mind. We often still ask how to change human nature, though science and world experience have amply told us how. We see it in the case of Carlile. Alone, a mere youth, he flung himself against Castlereagh's monstrous repressive system. Reformers were falling into silence, writers trimming their pens. Carlile borrowed a pound, bought a hundred copies of "The Black Dwarf," and walked the streets of London, sometimes 30 miles a day, selling them. The police ignored him and he made his way into publishing and got 18 weeks in jail. He opened a shop in Fleet Street, and spies were as thick as flies about it. When he published Paine's "Age of Reason" and Palmer's "Principles of Nature" (on birth control), they struck. He claimed, and won, the right to read the whole of the "Age of Reason" in court. But it ended with fines amounting to £1,500 and three years in jail, with further years until he paid. His wife, who did not share his ideas—he was now a dogmatic atheist—took over the work of selling and joined him in Dorchester jail. Nine assistants followed them and he had an automatic machine set up to sell his books. And the good folks headed by the Duke of Wellington raised a fund of £6,000 to get a law of transportation passed against these pestilential rebels. He resumed the work when he came out and was again imprisoned. He took the old Music Hall, the Rotunda, in Blackfriars, and there he and Robert Taylor, the Devil's Chaplain, drew crowds. One night a detachment of soldiers marched to the doors and sent in word that they had mutinied and were ready to open a civil war. Carlile let them cool their heels in the street for two hours. The government had sent them.

Are we worthy of the sacrifices of those men and women who laid down their lives for or devoted their lives to the cause of freedom? By ten years of sloth we nearly lost the fruits of a century and a half of grim sacrifice. Shall we have another attempt at repression after another Waterloo? It is your world, not mine, but it is these things that have inspired my deliberate, life-long policy; the relentless criticism of all that I find ugly, untrue, or unjust in life.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

By

The Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.
Minister, Southampton Unitarian Church, and Minister-to-be of Cross St. Unitarian Chapel, Manchester.

(*Concluded from page* 107)

We are fighting a great fight for civil liberty for every man. Let us not forget that civil liberties have been in decline in England for some years past. The Trades Disputes Act of 1927, which took away the right of general strike, was a serious legal blow at autonous action in face of common grievance. The Sedition Bill of 1934 gave the police powers which they had not possessed since the end of the XVIIIth Century; the Uniform Bill of 1936 interfered with the right of lawful assembly. Complaints were heard of police discrimination in such districts as East London; the British Union of Fascists were protected whilst persons of another political colour were harried and persecuted. Things had become so bad that East London members of Parliament were forced to interfere and, in 1935, a body of responsible private citizens founded the National Council of Civil Liberties to protect themselves against the activities of the corporate state. On the non-political side, there has been a marked tendency to interfere with opinion as in the case of the banning of books by prominent authors and scientists when the standard of morality within them does not reach the high desires of the Home Secretary or some police magistrate; The Blasphemy Acts remain unrepealed in spite of Mr. Thurtle's effort in 1930; they could still be invoked to-day against anybody who inveighed too hotly against the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as by law established. The archiepiscopal effort to capture and lobby national state-aided education on behalf of the same body is a further onslaught upon the absolute freedom of the mind and of the conscience. We are driven to the conclusion that man will only be free when the church is disestablished and the state is treated as being no more than a convenient secular organ to protect and to further both individual and corporate liberties.

In some ways these matters may be said to be political issues. Mr. Spencer might be accused of takin his stand upon a matter of political principle and of acting in its light. In one sense, this is true; in questions of liberty, it is usually the political and governmental organ which is disputed. But the issues are not solely political in implication. They are great issues of principle, of society and of religious belief. Religion is the qualitative valuation of life; it demands some criterion by which the whole of living may be judged. It affords the inspiration by which further achievement becomes possible. From our Unitarian point of view, a religious view of life implies several features. It demands liberty of conscience, of opinion, and of expression. The authoritarian rule of state and church is set aside; the individual is bidden to look upon the examples of Jesus of Nazareth and other great leaders of the past but to stand upon his own feet, to be guided by his own reason and conscience, to make his own way in the world. A true and valid Unitarianism is not content to keep these things in individual isolation but insists upon a social philosophy which shall embody them. The isolated individual is only an organism; his natural existence is within a social environment. It is therefore a religious duty to build human society in such a way that the fullness of individual powers may become actual. The Unitarian message is one of liberty for man within a free social order. A loyalty to this tradition means that it must be ready to adopt its implications whether in the case of Mr. Spencer or of anybody else.

It is not too much to urge that this attitude to life is, in some ways, strangely reminiscent to that adopted by Jesus of Nazareth even though his outlook was coloured by the particular beliefs of his own day. Jesus cared for the spirit of man and had contempt for riches or regard for mere possession. We should realise that human happiness and well-being are dependant upon singleness of mind and purpose rather than any vaunting of possession whether individually or nationally. Jesus stood out in antagonism to the formal religion and time-serving politics of his day, rebuking both the Pharisees and Herod for their complaisant laxity. We too should set aside the narrow worship of the dictates of an authoritarian state and a formal church by seeking the inspiration and the freedom which can only come through a looking within, to one's own mind and reason. Jesus showed no sympathy with mere retaliation for evil as a principal and his concern was that the individual should be free to adopt a higher standard of judgment. We too should be bent upon seeking out a broader and higher path than the pettl loyalties which can lead to the persecution of some of our best, ablest, and most public-spirited of citizens. In the last resort, the message of Jesus of Nazareth was that every man should be free to approach that which he regarded as Divine in the way which appealed to his own life, that he should be at liberty to follow the dictates which his conscience might approve, that he should have freedom to accept loyalties which his reason might commend. The message of Jesus was inspired by religious experience; it was rationalised by him into a chapter of freedom for every man. It could only exist within the confines of a society large-minded enough to be tolerant of widespread differences of opinion. The Unitarian churches are only loyal to their heritage if they struggle to that end and seek to promote a wider freedom. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," wrote Paul as he gazed upon the early church. Unitarianism is a qualitative spirit by which life may be assessed; it is only true, sound and loyal when it is a spirit of liberty, of freedom, and of justice.

The imprisonment of Mr. Spencer is a clarion-call that voices should be raised on behalf of these great ideals. Freedom and equity have been in decline for many years; they must be invigorated and brought to birth once more if the qualities of civilization are to be saved. Their denial is a far more insiduous peril than anything which Hitler might do through his armies; a war fought on a lower level can only end in orgy of bragging patriotism and racketeering behaviour. As Mr. Spencer sits in his prison-cell, he may draw some comfort from the fact that these high qualities were overlooked in the last war; public opinion ignored some of its most high-minded citizens to listen to the dulcet-tones of Mr. Horatio Bottomley. It paid the price of its escape from all that is noble and worthwhile in life through the social evolution which has led on to another awful war. Upon us is laid the responsibility of seeking a higher level and of urging a nobler view of life. We must stand for that principle which Paul was expressing when he wrote, "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." We must seek to promote civil and religious liberty for every man, both by teaching men to use their reasons and by seeking the evolution of society in a manner which may protect human freedom. In spite of the high-sounding notes of the Atlantic Charter, we may have our reasonable doubts when we look upon certain aspects of the war-effort as it is being conducted. Unitarianism has a long tradition and a great principle; both are now at stake and, if Unitarian heritage is worth preserving, they are worth striving for and safeguarding.

After all, we may reverse the Pauline remark and say: Where liberty is, there is the spirit of the Lord. Our stand is on a religious principle, that of the free conscience and the free mind. We do not believe that the Divine in life can be appreciated at its fulness in any other way. Only

with an eye that is free can we see the Divine in nature or in man. As such, our stand is upon exactly the same principles as were urged by Jesus of Nazareth. The present persecution of some, both within and without our body, for loyalty to these principles should compel us to speak out and to urge that world-liberty may be won on a far higher plane. The challenge now comes to us in this fourth year of war—like a prophet of old, we hear the voice saying—Whom shall I send and who shall go for us? Are we to be loyal to that voice, striving to obey its inner commands? Or shall we just sit back and say—Lord, here am I, send him?

TOWARDS THE DAY.

Fresh and free, the windy morning
Blows the clouds of night away:
Hope anew in hearts is dawning—
Expectation greets the day.

Nightfall brings the world's deep sorrow
Crushingly to weight our hearts:
Morning from the future borrows
Courage, and new strength imparts.

Give not way to sad complaining
When oppressed by evil's night;
Rather take it as life's training
For the work of morning light.

A. F.

PRISONERS AT THE BAR

George Pleydell Bancroft, Clerk of Assize for the Midland Circuit since 1913, has many interesting and valuable notes and anecdotes in his volume of recollections, published in 1939, under the title of "Stage and Bar," by Faber and Faber, Ltd., of Russell Square, London. Bancroft, the son of Sir Squire Bancroft and Marie Wilton, is the author of the famous play, "The Ware Case."

In these recollections Bancroft recalls the stand made on behalf of prisoners by Maurice Healy, K.C., who has been Recorder of Coventry since 1941. Born on November 16, 1887, Healey was called to the Irish Bar in 1913 and to the English Bar in 1914. When he was a Junior in 1922, the historic incident occurred in which he proves himself a hero of very unusual courage.

The Judge of the Assize was Mr. Justice Horridge. Born in 1857, Horridge became a K.C. in 1901, and sat as Liberal M.P. for Manchester E., 1906-10. In that year he became a Judge of the King's Bench Division of the High Court. He died in 1938. He lived much too long for a man of such reactionary views and how he managed to be returned as a Liberal for such a radical city as Manchester, with all its traditions of freedom of thought, it is hard to understand. Bancroft refers mildly to the reactionary impertinence of Horridge in three classic sentences of delightful understatement, and then proceeds to describe Healey's reaction to the judge's attitude when he was made aware of it:—

The Judge of the Assize was that able Civil judge, Mr. Justice Horridge. In trying crime he had a peculiar idiosyncrasy. He did not approve of allowing a prisoner on trial to be SEATED in the dock. The prisoner, innocent in our Law until proved guilty, had to stand, broadly speaking, throughout the proceedings.

Well, Healy, on hearing of this was amazed, and out of court expressed his views with some degree of Irish emphasis. Then it happened at Nottingham one day that counsel for the defence asked the judge if the prisoner might be seated. This was after his trial had proceeded for a considerable time.

"Why?" asked the judge sternly. Whereupon the prisoner fainted. There was a good deal of comment about this, and at Derby, the next town, the historic incident happened.

Bancroft gives the shorthand note in full:—

Upon the prisoner's plea of not guilty being taken by me and the jury sworn, Healy rose very quickly and spoke very quietly throughout what follows.

Mr. Maurice Healy: "My lord, may the prisoner sit down?"

Mr. Justice Horridge (sternly): "Why?"

Mr. Maurice Healy: "With great respect, my lord, why not?"

Mr. Justice Horridge: "Because I do not allow prisoners to be seated unless there is some special reason for it."

Mr. Maurice Healy: "Your lordship misunderstands me. I am claiming this for the prisoner as a matter of right."

Mr. Justice Horridge (firmly): "I disallow it."

Mr. Maurice Healy: "I would ask your lordship to allow me to argue it. Before ever the Criminal Evidence Act was passed it was the rule of law laid down in many authorities."

Mr. Justice Horridge: "Will you cite me one?"

Mr. Maurice Healy: "If I may, I will cite from Archbold (the textbook). I am citing from page 163, where it is laid down: 'The prisoner is to be brought to the bar without irons, shackles, or other restraint, unless there is danger of escape and ought to be used with all the humanity and gentleness which is consistent with the nature of the thing, and under no other terror, or uneasiness than that which proceeds from a sense of his guilt and the misfortune of his present circumstances.' Now, my lord, if the prisoner were here charged with a misdemeanour and not a felony, it would not be necessary for him to go into the dock at all. He could be accommodated with a seat by his counsel so that he might instruct him. If that were so before the passing of the Criminal Evidence Act, when the prisoner could not be a witness, it is all the more so after the passing of that Act. How can a prisoner be placed in a position in which no witness for the prosecution could be; asked to stand with an anxiety upon his mind, which no witness for the prosecution could have, before he went into the box to give his evidence, and after that to go in to give his evidence on his behalf, to stand the ordeal of examination and cross-examination? I submit under those circumstances that the prisoner is put in such a position of uneasiness as is not contemplated by the law. I think I am right in saying that your lordship is the only judge that follows that practice. Either this is a matter of practice or law. If it is a matter of practice I submit the practice ought to be governed by the same principles, and the very last judge who came this circuit never allowed any case to be opened for the prosecution before he directed that the prisoner was to be accommodated with a seat if he so desired. I submit with great respect that there ought to be uniformity. The prisoner comes to the bar as an innocent man. He is entitled not only to every right but to every privilege which is granted to every other person in court. When your lordship comes into court we all stand up because your lordship represents the Majesty of the King, but your lordship also represents the courtesy of the King, and when your lordship sits down we are all allowed, by that courtesy, to resume our ease as enables us to perform our respective duties, and I submit that that courtesy should be extended as much to an unconvicted prisoner as to anybody in court. I am extremely sorry that I should make a demand which is unpleasant to your lordship, but there is something which all counsel should do, and that is that they should have courage in defending the rights and in defending the liberties of their clients, and the constitution of this country has never been more jealous than in pruning all relics of harsh and cruel treatment of prisoners. For these reasons I submit that as a matter of right the prisoner, unless there is a danger of his escape, should be allowed to be seated. My lord, I have spoken boldly, but I hope I have not said anything that was undue."

Mr. Justice Horridge: "Mr. Healy, you have made your submission with all due respect. I intend to control, until I am told by a superior authority that I ought not to do it, the conduct of the court in which I preside. In my view if there are special reasons, or I think the trial is likely to be a long one, I allow the prisoner to be seated, but I recognise no right on the part of the prisoner or counsel to say as to how prisoners are to be treated. Prisoners will stand unless there are special reasons for their being seated. Where I think it right I shall direct them to be seated."

Mr. Maurice Healy: "If your lordship pleases."

The case then proceeded. On the fourth witness for the prosecution being called:

Mr. Justice Horridge: "You have a good many more witnesses, Mr. Winning?"

Mr. Winning (for the prosecution): "Yes, my lord."

Mr. Justice Horridge: "This case will last some time. Therefore the prisoner may be seated."

Mr. Maurice Healy: "I am much obliged, my lord."

Bancroft records to the credit of Horridge that he bore no malice for this rebuke. Immediately after the argument he said to Bancroft: "Healy did that very well."

Bancroft adds:—

But the fact remains that from the publication of the incident the invariable practice of every judge is to order that the prisoner be seated immediately before he has been "given in charge" of the jury.

I think the whole handling of the difficulty by Healy was masterly both in its courtesy and in its courage. That day, 16th February, 1922, at Derby Assizes is very prominent in my memory.

It deserves to be a prominent day and it should be remembered as a day of credit to Maurice Healy. It never ought to have been necessary for him to have made such a stand. That he had to do so is a disgrace to Bench and Bar alike.

The incident is referred to and the entire question of the status in Court of an accused person is dealt with admirably by Albert Lieck, lately Chief Clerk of the Bow Street Police Court, in his excellent "Bow Street World," published in 1938.

Mr. Lieck quotes from Stephen, "A Digest of Law of Evidence," Article 94:

The burden of proving that any person has been guilty of a crime is on the person who asserts it.

Mr. Lieck says that this quotation **"enshires what is called the presumption of innocence."** He continues:—

A person accused, we proudly boast in England, is held to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. That, though an undoubted proposition of law, emphatically restated in 1935 by the House of Lords, is in practice often simply untrue.

It is true of many prisoners in many courts, of perhaps all prisoners in some courts. But of many in some courts it is sufficient to be charged, for guilt to be assumed by the bench. The burden of proof is, from the beginning, unlawfully shifted to the accused to prove his innocence. Sometimes he succeeds, sometimes he fails. The failure goes unnoticed because the immense majority of persons charged are in fact guilty of the offence alleged. Of this majority by far the greater majority plead guilty. In some courts it is made a matter of aggravation not to plead guilty.

Here I remark that the placing of a man in the dock already begins to whittle away the presumption of innocence. The dock is too freely used. It is merely a place of restraint for a person who may become violent. If there is no reason to expect this he ought to be allowed to be placed at the bar and not to be shut into a cage.

Its use is arbitrary. In some police courts every accused person is put in the dock. In the metropolitan police courts persons arrested go into the dock: persons summoned stand (or sit) at the bar. The summons may be for outrageous violence. The charge may be obstruction with a motor car, where the accused has been arrested on a warrant, endorsed for bail, merely because he has failed to appear to a summons.

I am told by experienced gaolers that it is easier to control a violent person in the dock. In thirty years I have seen less than half a dozen violent prisoners. Moreover, the time comes when the prisoner, of disposition mild or violent, has the right to go into the witness-box to give evidence on his own behalf. The only assault I have ever known of on a magistrate was not by a prisoner, but by a man who suddenly rushed from beside the witness-box and struck the magistrate on the bench. That represented carelessness on the part of the officials, or bad construction of the court.

All defendants ought to be allowed to sit, whether in the dock or elsewhere, if their case will take time. In these days they are frequently invited to do so. But one judge was until recently on the bench who refused counsel's request for his client to sit down, with the result that the man fainted with fatigue. This is to punish before conviction. How can a man who is physically tired conduct his defence? or properly attend to what is going on? The man should, of course, have sat down, and braved the consequences. Had the judge then ordered the gaolers to compel him to stand, the judge and the gaolers would have been guilty of assault. There is no law compelling a prisoner to stand in court.

There are not many counsel as fearless as Horace Avory in standing up for their clients. In that fine book, "My Sixty Years in the Law," Mr. Ashley tells how the cruel old Sir William Hardman, after trying to get a woman convicted against whom there was no case, ordered her to remain in the dock when acquitted. Avory said, "This is monstrous, and unless she is released at once I shall advise her to bring an action against you for false imprisonment." She was at once allowed to go. A judge is a great man, but, emphatically, not above the law.

In advocating the almost complete disuse of the dock, I shall be sure to be reminded of Fowler and Milsom, the murderers, and of how Fowler made a violent attempt to get at Milsom to do him an injury or perhaps to kill him in the dock. But everyone knew what wicked fellows these were, and what an exceptionally brutal ruffian Fowler was. The officials knew that precautions must be taken, and took them though hardly sufficiently as it turned out. Such precautions were not necessary with a feeble old man whom I saw in the dock charged with murder, be-

cause weary of life, he and his old wife had agreed to commit suicide together, and she had succeeded.

By all means have a cage for dangerous beasts, but for men and women who are not dangerous beasts the presumption of innocence demands a trial in such moderate comfort as can be compassed in a court of justice.

But comfort is rarely studied for anyone in a court.

Mr. Lieck draws attention to the poverty of many persons who are compelled, on that account, to submit to all the errors and bullyings that can be imposed upon them in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. To these people a magistrate, however ignorant he may be of the principles of law, is at once the law and above the law.

Over a period of years a notorious offender in this respect has been a Metropolitan Police Court Magistrate since 1931. Mr. Mullins is not without legal knowledge and has distinguished himself as an author. His behaviour on the Bench is less forgiveable on that account for he is a man of authority by virtue of his knowledge and not merely on account of his position. We sometimes suspect that his outbursts on the Bench must have a physical explanation. There must be health trouble, probably liver disorder, to turn a man of knowledge into an ignoramus and a bully at the time when his learning ought to be informing his discretion and controlling his judgment.

On Wednesday, December 2, 1942, Mr. Mullins, at the London South Western Police Court, tried a woman for the theft of a book.

The woman was Celia Naomi James, 32, of Longfield-street, Wandsworth. She was accused of stealing a 4s. book from a Putney shop.

She was described as a housekeeper.

Mr. Mullins used his position to air his impertinent opinions about the women who are housekeepers. Said this mockery of justice to the Court and whatever public were permitted to be present:—

I don't like this word housekeeper. It USUALLY means something immoral.

Courts have nothing to do with morals. Mr. Mullins is not a judge of morals. Whether women are mistresses or otherwise is none of his business. Nor did it arise in the case. **The charge was the alleged theft of a book.** That, and that alone, was the business of Mr. Mullins. After all, whatever legal airs and graces he may give to himself, he presides merely over a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. He does that not too well.

Detective Anderson said that Celia Naomi James was employed as a housekeeper. Part of her work was to look after a woman who was very ill.

Evidence was given on the alleged theft. Mr. Mullins brushed such a mere question of fact, the actual charge and his sole concern, to one side. He had to express once more his opinions. He did so with gross arrogance, judicial incompetence, and the most outrageous misbehaviour. Did we persist in the practice of our ancestors, Claude Mullins ought to have been taken from the Bench and placed in the public stocks as a warning to magistrates not to exceed their powers. With a grand air, this magistrate clowned out this absurd sentence:—

I shall give her the benefit of the doubt and assume that she is a real housekeeper and not a mistress.

The charge was stealing a book. The other question was never before him. He had no right to assume anything as to her housekeeping. He had no power to give her the benefit of the doubt. Presumably the liver disorder eased itself for on the only charge on which he had the right to speak, he sentenced Celia Naomi James to one day's imprisonment.

Hilde Marchant reported the case for the "Daily Mirror." She took immediate action and reports the result in the "Daily Mirror," for Thursday, December 3, 1942:—

I phoned Mrs. Claud Mullins, described as a housewife, and asked her if the word "housekeeper" carried any implications of immorality for her.

"No, nothing at all," she replied.

I quoted her husband's words in court, and she said: "Well, I don't know the case."

When I asked her again if, on its own value, the word housekeeper meant immorality to her she repeated, "Nothing at all."

When the conduct of a magistrate brings his court, and justice itself, into contempt, it is time that he was retired into obscurity. Yet we have records of abuses, not only in the lower courts, but in the very courts of the King's Bench itself. One day we will list and expose the judges concerned, giving a full record of their misdemeanours.

In Glasgow, many poor folk come to us daily for advice, full of fear and trembling. Over 100 people consult us nearly every week. We place our knowledge and energy freely at their service and the result is an unpaid treadmill of overwork. A little good is done and some misery eased. We do not know what else to do. The unnecessary oppression of the poor, even beyond the fact of their poverty, is a sorry problem. We often wish we could give courage and understanding to these folk and act as public defender on their behalf. We resent their vital lack of character. They are trapped. Until our social order is changed, as changed it will be and how, the well-being of the common people, the development of their character, and the protection of their small rights, calls much more for the establishment of an office of unpaid public defender, than for the enlargement, of which there is a tendency, of the office of paid public prosecutor.

In every city and village, there ought to be recognised a public defender. Such a person should be a layman skilled in knowledge of law rather than a lawyer practised in craft. Few professional lawyers are true or able jurists or men filled with the genius of legal understanding. Respect for principles and love of right, are the true ingredients of law. A true lawyer is one who knows and upholds the **Rights of Man,** aims to establish the **Age of Reason,** and practises **Commonsense.** He may be a layman but if this is the measurement of his vision, he should be called to be the defender of the poor so long as this system lasts. Whilst defending the prisoner at the bar he should work diligently and continuously for the social transformation which will liquidate all that creates and necessitates such anachronisms as "prisoners at the bar."

MOTHERS, 1943.

The tale is told—Alas! the tale is told.
Chapter and verse—it's through, and we are old
Great faith we had in life and laughter;
Now dead sea fruit—we look back after
All the happenings of these heart break years
And see ourselves frustrated—death and tears
And sorrow—the obscenity of war.
Our children murdered. They can laugh no more.
Far better, not to have been born, than know
The degradation war makes men endure.
This travesty of living.
The tale is told—Alas! the tale is told.

C. E. P.

(Concluded from column 3.)

ministrate it themselves by controlling and running the industries and communities themselves—not by labour leaders—or communist or any other leaders—then I'm quite sure they can manage a free distribution of their own wealth. Moreover they will have plenty to distribute as under Socialism wealth will be augmented, ever increasing; not like Capitalism for ever being destroyed by war, by deliberate cutting down of production, by the burning of wheat and coffee and by flinging back into the sea enormous quantities of fish, oranges, etc. Or by the destruction of five million pigs under Mr. Roosevelt. And all the while fifty million unemployed with Heaven alone knows how many distressed wives and children behind them.

No and no! Under Socialism I cannot see us paying ourselves rent for our own houses, paying ourselves wages for our own work, buying our own stuff from ourselves. Nor can I see us going about the world with weapons bent on somebody else's death. Instead, I can see us going about bent on living and helping others to live.

Yours comradely,

ISAAC W. BRAITHWAITE.

Richmond, Yorks., December 9.

SOCIALISM AND MONETARY REFORM

Dear Editor,—You invite Socialists to discuss the correspondence on currency by Mr. Verdon-Roe.

As far as I'm concerned, currency reform is only a reform of the Capitalist system. As one who spent three agonising, brutalizing, degrading years in France in the last great war, I've never been interested in any reform in Capitalism — only interested in its complete abolition.

As I see it, this country is bankrupt internally and externally. I've written a number of letters to the local Liberal daily paper pointing out this is a Capitalist-Imperialist war. Most of them were wholly or partly published. But one I sent on money was not published. In that letter I pointed out that gold was practically the only true money that had existed under Capitalism. It was a commodity the same as the commodities it exchanged. In whatever gold exchanged, with whatever commodities there was always something equal, something the same as in the commodities. That something being average labour time spent in producing the gold and the commodities.

Continuing, I pointed out that standard of exchange had been destroyed by the effects of the Great War such as enormous ex. and internal debts, by mass machinery flinging fifty million unemployed and by cut-throat competition on the world's markets. In short, the gold standard became a fiction.

Then on to paper money which is faith, credit on belief money. A belief that the wheels of industry will keep turning and back up every pound note with a pound's worth of wealth. As the war is rapidly shooting the National Debt alone up to twenty thousand million pounds, evidently all paper money, and evidently the labour wealth which should back it up all gone and going down the sink of war, then I expressed my conviction that I was entitled to assume that paper money was also a fiction as far as any honest use was concerned.

That I might assume also that paper money had only one use. The use to our rulers of regulating, managing our lives with it. And the term, "a managed currency" invented by our rulers, our bosses, was very apt in the above sense. Finally, I described the term "managed currency" as the greatest euphemism of the 20th century.

This letter was in answer to an exponent of Social Credit. Other baffling, trivial letters were published in answer to this Social Creditor but as mine wasn't, I am, rightly or wrongly, more convinced still that despite my amateur knowledge of finance, I am somewhere about the truth of it.

There I leave my views on finance, convinced there can be nothing to base money on any longer. If it has no base, what can be the use of juggling on with it?

Next, as to the distribution of goods under the Socialist Commonwealth. My view is this. Under Socialism the people will own and produce everything so everything will belong to the people. The point arises, are the people going to buy their own goods from themselves? As that seems the full height of absurdity, I rule it out. (In passing, how could Socialists any more than Capitalists base their money? I think, like them we wouldn't know what on earth to base it on.)

Under Socialism genuine, there can be no means of exchange, Social Credit notes, Labour notes or what not. There can only be distribution.

A workman, my fellow workers agree with me it is possible. And that to get rid of dole, poverty, war, ignorance and instead substitute happy creative activity that it would be well worth it. They see the workers have sense enough to co-operate in a sane free distribution. For instance they are with me that the average housewife who needs say two stones of flour per week is not going to ask for three or four. It would be no use to her if she did. And so with other things.

Take cigarettes when they are free. Because they will be free, are people going to smoke more than is good for them? Make themselves ill? Take the diverting topic of free beer! Is a man that's got anything to live for, going to become a drunkard because it's free? Will he prefer to lose self-respect, the respect of his friends, his children? And will he decide to lose his health and strength and his interest in the thrill of being alive—because beer is free?

True enough let Socialism be achieved when it will we will have some awkward people to deal with or some poor devils who have been degraded. But aren't the mass of people fundamentally decent and won't they be able to maintain social order.

As my fellow workmen humorously point out, we can deal with drunkenness in our parish where we happen to have two pair of stocks on the parish common. Old inhabitants can remember men with too much drink taken being put in them for an hour or two to cool down.

All jokes aside, I'm convinced that when the workers understand Socialism and that they will have to ad-

(Concluded foot of column 2.)

NIGHT BOMBING:

Is It Human or Effective?

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Mr R. R. Stokes, M.P., on March 11th, 1943, delivered a courageous speech in the House of Commons, in which he attacked the strategically ineffective and needlessly brutal practice of indiscriminate night-bombing, which the B.B.C. and several organs of the Press gloat over with increasing beastliness.

A friend of mine who has made a special study of the question points out that bombing of this kind is a "lazy, ineffectual and cruel way of attempting to win the war," and puts forward some interesting arguments in proof of his assertion. He points out that 20,000 bombers would be needed to inflict 25 per cent. total damage in a town like Cologne. There are ninety such towns in the greater Reich; hence, 1,800,000 bombers would be needed to do 25 per cent. total damage. It is claimed that 5 per cent. damage, if it were done in a period of a year, would suffice, but even this would need 360,000 bombers, or 1,000 a night for a year. Replacement of this force at the rate of 25 per cent. lost, damaged or worn out would involve a total of 90,000 bombers. Each bomber represents 1,000,000 man hours for its construction. 90,000 bombers would need the total work of 30,000,000 men or women during one year, each person working 3,000 hours in the year. This gigantic labour demand is, of course, quite absurd, especially as no allowance is made for training planes, ground staff and the construction of other kinds of aircraft.

At the present moment, the bomber offensive against Germany is being carried out on nights favourable to the offence and unfavourable to the defence, and against targets that are not too far distant. The losses from all causes are probably not less than 10 per cent. under these conditions, but in order to defeat Germany by bombing, it would be necessary to bomb on every day, favourable or unfavourable to the offence, and on targets both near and distant. The loss of 25 per cent. already referred to is therefore not an excessive estimate if Germany's defences are maintained at their present standard, and if the raids are on Germany herself.

It is held by some that Germany might be bombed 24 hours a day in every zone of defence, causing the Germans to maintain three 8-hour shifts for their defence system. It is suggested that Germany could not support such a defence system, and therefore would speedily be at our mercy. In order to carry out this policy, however, 2,500 bombers would have to be used every day, and the use of aircraft on this scale would not be possible, for not only is it most unlikely that such a number of machines and the necessary fuel could be provided, but the task of organization would almost certainly prove too great.

It is also quite possible that Germany's defences would not crumble before such an attack, since it is easier to produce fighters than bombers, and the losses of fighters in conditions of defence are not nearly so high or so difficult of replacement as the losses of bombers. Moreover, the assumption that great military damage would be done is not necessarily sound. All Germany's war factories are not located in large towns. The percentage of damage to war factories in a raid is usually not higher than the percentage of total damage, and if this is negligible, so also is the damage to war potential. Last, but not least, the fact must not be lost sight of that many of Germany's war factories are out of the reach of the Air Force and could not be destroyed from this side.

Before going further in our consideration of the question of night-bombing, it is well to remember that, whether we like to admit it or not, as far as the conflict between ourselves and Germany is concerned, it is we who have the lion's share of responsibility for beginning the practice. I have been told on good authority that some months before the war the question of air attack was the subject of a quite frank discussion between Goering and a British citizen. The latter asked Goering if, in the event of war, we might expect heavy German air attacks, to which Goering replied: "We should not attack England by air, but if she attacked us, then she would get it back." That this conversation really did indicate German policy has later been confirmed by events. Captain Liddell Hart, in an interesting article written in September, 1941, pointed out some of the important stages in the development of air warfare. On May 10th, 1940, the German offensive was launched in the West, and the R.A.F., as a natural consequence, attacked the communications of the invading army, first in the invaded territory, and then in Western Germany. On the night of May 17th, the policy of confining air operations to what might be describesd as the battle zone was abandoned, and air attacks were made against targets at Hamburg and Bremen, and on the following nights also at Hanover. This new policy of attacking military objectives in the interior of Germany was continued in the weeks that followed. On May 24th, the Germans dropped their first bombs on England, although only a few and at scattered places on the East Coast. This was not repeated until British night-raiding had been in progress for a further three weeks. On the night of June 17th the first considerable German air-raid on England took place and from that time on air-raids continued nightly, although on a moderate scale and with evident care to confine their aim to military objectives.

In August the massed German daylight air offensive was launched and on the night of August 24th a single German machine dropped a few bombs on central London.

On the following night a number of British bombers attacked targets in the Berlin area for the first time. A second and heavier attack was delivered on August 28th. A third on the night of August 30th and a fourth on the 31st. The following week a fifth attack was delivered on the night of September 3rd.

The following day Hitler made a speech in which he complained that the British dropped their bombs indiscriminately and threatened reprisals if they did not stop. Next day the Air Ministry announced that on the previous night they had again bombed Berlin for the sixth time. On Saturday night, September 7th, the Germans launched the first of their heavy attacks on London.

The official view was apparently expressed in the statement of "a high authority" in London on September 9th. "The Germans had been asking what their Air Ministry were going to do about the R.A.F. night-bombing for three months. Some of them have been going to their shelters every night for six weeks. That is one of the reasons why the Germans have been stung to make it uncomfortable for us."

Not only is it difficult in view of the above facts to avoid the conclusion that the British Government had the chief share of responsibility for starting the grim contest in night bombing, but they also seem to have been mainly responsible for re-starting it in the spring of 1942, after it had more or less died down for a considerable period, by a heavy attack on civilian quarters in Lübeck which destroyed the ancient Hanseatic city which was one of the chief architectural treasures of Europe. Severe reprisal raids on Bath, Canterbury and Exeter followed. More recently a raid on Berlin obviously provoked a German reprisal raid on London, when that city had for a long time enjoyed immunity.

The friend already referred to is of opinion that there are to-day a greater number of people opposed to the bombing policy than ever before. Seven out of ten of those with whom he has been in touch, are opposed to night-bombing for one reason or another, and even of the remaining three, at least one is doubtful. Such remarks as "I cannot help feeling sorry for the poor German civilians with all those bombers overhead" and "It isn't warfare, but murder," are becoming quite ordinary and representative comments. Objection to night-bombing may be based on any of the following grounds:—(1) It is cowardly, inhuman and brutal and a contradiction of the principles for which we are supposed to stand. (2) It is unmanly, since it puts our innocents in the front line as well as being directed against the innocents of Germany and the Occupied countries. (3) It is assisting in creating hatred against us in the Occupied countries as well as in Germany. The loss of life in battle is accepted as an inevitable consequence of war, but the killing of non-combatants, particularly women, children and aged people, is regarded as murder. (4) We may have had a certain moral right to teach Germany the horrors of aerial warfare, but now we have exceeded our right and allowed the spirit of retaliation to degenerate into a plain desire for revenge. (5) We are attempting to make a sporting affair of cold-blooded massacres. (6) We are hiding behind the Russian Armies, but for whom we should receive measure for measure. If the Russians should fail to hold the Germans, or should make peace with them, we should gather a harvest of destruction and suffering which would make the hardened leaders who now order murder in the name of the British people shudder for their crimes. (7) It is a useless proceeding, with no military results of significance, failing in even its first objective of bringing the Luftwaffe to battle while at the same time weakening our resources for direct attack. (8) It is a dream of fanatics who think a war can be won from the air in violation of the convincing proofs that it cannot be so won. (9) It is a sop to the Russian demand for direct military intervention in the war, and is intended to keep Russia fighting until both she and Germany are exhausted, when Britain and America could use their fresh resources to end the war and dictate the peace which would follow. (10) It is an effort to cover our failure in military enterprises and to sustain war morale.

One of the most horrible results of the blast from the enormous bombs now dropped in air raids is the splitting of the liver and kidneys of the victims who happen to be near, death ensuing in indescribable agony. One is sometimes tempted to feel that a slight splitting of their own livers might be the best way of letting a little sense and mercy into the thick skulls and torpid imaginations of our politicians. As an alternative to this drastic remedy, all people who have any human decency left in them and an active desire to protect, as far as the conditions of war allow, their friends and relatives from a terrible and useless death, should abandon once and for all that ineffective inactivity which is such a disturbing characteristic even of many persons of more than average intelligence and goodwill. They should realise that we need to protect ourselves not merely from our enemies, but from the follies of our own rulers which at times also threaten us with destruction. When so much courage is being called for, and also shown, in other directions, a truly patriotic citizen cannot afford to be too lazy to bestir himself about a matter of urgent public importance; any more than he can afford to be afraid of the police; or afraid of losing his job; or afraid of the censure of his neighbours; or afraid of the criticism of his wife!

Politicians will always give way to the pressure of public opinion, well organised and strongly expressed.

Opponents of indiscriminate night-bombing

should assure courageous M.P.s like Mr. Stokes of their active and continuous support. They should inform other M.P.s and members of the Government of their views and wishes in no uncertain manner, at regular intervals, and in increasing numbers.

Last but not least they can associate themselves with the work of the Bombing Restriction Committee, 49 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3, whose excellent threepenny pamphlet, "Stop Bombing Civilians!" is well worth reading and bringing to the notice of friends and neighbours.

A GIANT IS AWAKING!

By C. H. V. ROSE.

It is May, and in a flight of fancy I have looked over the face of Britain. I have gazed at "Bonnie Scotland," and its "banks and braes and bonnie doons"; looked down upon the crystal clear waters of Loch Lomond, and stared in wonder at Ben Lomond beyond. Yes, **this** Scotland was bonnie enough.

I have passed through Carlisle and admired the cascades of water tumbling down the rugged slopes of the hills, and on through the Lake District, drank in deeply the beauty I have seen. I have breathed the sweet air of the Pennines and the Yorkshire moors and watched with interest the modern Isaac Walton on the Lincolnshire fens.

I cross the midlands, the Peak district in all its glory, the fertile fields of Nottingham, Leicester, Stafford, Shropshire and Hereford counties, and by a circuit I take in the wonders of North Wales.

I return and take the course of the lovely Severn, and take a peep at the great apple orchards of Somerset, the beauties of Devon, and round the rugged coasts of Cornwall, and through Teignmouth, Exmouth, Exeter and the sleepy pasturelands of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, the downs of Sussex, the undulating landscape of Kent, "the Garden of England," and my eye sweeps back along the exquisite beauty of the Thames valley. Yes, **this** Britain is indeed a fair sight.

. . . . Now I take a closer view. I peer deep into the heart of Britain, and I see struggling masses of humanity in great cities; Glasgow and Clydeside; Tyneside, Liverpool and Manchester; Leeds, Sheffield and Bradford; Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol, and here, what is this, greater than them all—London.

And everywhere the scene takes on a sordid appearance. There are Profiteers and Politicians, Publicans, Pawnshops, Parsons, policemen—parasites all. There are Prudes and Prostitutes mingling in Leicester Square and Piccadilly, the Regent and Oxford Streets, yet it is still easy to identify either, the only difference with old days being that to-day it is the Prude who appears like a painted doll, whilst the Prostitute can be recognised in the neat walking-out costume which yesterday was the hall-mark of respectability. So much for dame fashion in modern society. Their greatest similarity lies in the fawning, lying looks of each of them. All sacred things here are violated and profaned.

And in each of these great cities I look into the places where workers live, and from the streets of Dumbarton to those of Islington, I behold the same kind of picture. This too is sordid, but with a difference. Clad eternally in shoddy fashion, these people grow prematurely old from sorrow, suffering and want. And how much they "want." They are hungry for decent food, decent homes, decent surroundings; hungry for beauty in life, and hungry, even for love.

"The wonder is," said Sebastian Faure, "not that the people are as bad as they are, but in the circumstances they are as good as they are."

"As bad as they are"! I'll say! Here, anyway, is where we must look for the real heroes of life. Do they not produce all our wealth? Do they not render service of every kind, and receive nought but disservice in return?

They fight fires; they rescue comrades trapped in dangerous coal mines, and fellow workers and their relatives from equally dangerous bombed houses.

Yes, they produce all the wealth for their masters, and fight all their wars for them. Their own fault lies in their amazing patience.

But wait! What is this? Yes, the great giant of Labour is waking at last, and he is taking a good look round, wondering. What should he do?

Comrade, pass him "The Word."

I GOT HIS GOAT

By JOHN ROEBUCK.

I was seated in a public-park shelter reading "The Word" when another man came in and sat down beside me.

"What's the news to-day, sir?" he asked.

"This is not an ordinary newspaper, sorry," I answered, showing him the front page.

"'The Word.' Never heard of it. A religious paper, evidently?"

"No, sir," I answered, smiling. "On the contrary, an anti-militarist paper. And a much needed tonic these days, believe me."

He chuckled: "You'll be a pacifist then?"

"I am, and proud of it too. 'Praise the Lord and **scrap** the ammunition.' And you?"

"Me? I'm red, white and blue and proud of it too." And he literally smacked his lips over the differentiation. "And," he went on, "if you'll excuse me for saying it, I think you pacifist fellows stress too much your hatred of war. It's rather funny, you know. As if no other body hated war. As a matter of fact, **nobody** wants war!"

"Nobody?" I queried.

"Well, I mean nobody but those Axis thugs."

"Wouldn't it be nice if they were pacifists?"

"It certainly would," he declared fervently.

"So pacifism is a virtue only in enemy countries, eh?"

"Militarism is a very second nature to them. They don't know what Peace means. We do. We are a peace-loving people."

"And couldn't we have given them an example of it?"

"Some hope," he laughed. "What do you think would have happened then?"

"I don't know," I laughed in return. "Can you cite me a precedent to help me?"

"Can you cite me one to prove your case?" he returned.

"Yes, of course I can. Jesus Christ."

"Oh, be reasonable, man," he replied with considerable impatience. "Can't you see this is not an ordinary war? It's a crusade. It's a world conflict between Good and Evil, between God and the devil. And we are fighting under God's command."

"You are rather unfair to Churchill, aren't you?" I said, but he ignored the remark and went on: "We are fighting for world peace, a lasting peace. We do not want our children or our children's children to go through such a hell as we are going through."

"But what if God has a crusade in store for them too? Would you have them to refuse to fight under His command? Besides you forget the enemy use similar arguments to justify war."

"And do you believe them?" he snapped.

"If you mean, do I believe them or you, the answer is **neither.**"

"Come, come, be honest. Are you for God or the devil?" he challenged me.

"Evidently I cannot be for God if you are," I answered. "But tell me, do you believe that whichever power is defeated it will humbly acknowledge that God had not been on its side? Is it not more likely to say that God Himself has been beaten for the time being, and resolve to make another effort to wrest the laurels from the devil whenever the opportunity should arise?"

"What in heaven's name does all that soap-box stuff mean?" he asked in a rasping tone of voice.

"Well, you have just stepped down off the soap-box yourself, you know. And, after all, I was simply suggesting that you were a bit egotistical in trying to plan the Future in God's behalf. At least, according to my way of thinking. But I have no desire or intention to quarrel with you, my friend."

"But heavens, man, we must plan for the Future. It's our calling. It's our duty to God and King and Country. We must safeguard our heritage. And death is the maximum price we must each be prepared to pay for Peace."

"Hear, hear," I ejaculated, and he continued, "Intolerable aggression must be put a stop to."

"It certainly must," I agreed. "That is the first essential to Peace."

"Force must be met by force," he added.

"Of course it must. There is no other way of meeting it."

He looked at me for a moment, then asked: "Are you pulling my leg?"

"I certainly am not," I declared, "I was never more serious in my life."

"Then how on earth can you claim to be a pacifist?"

"For the very reasons you have stated, my friend. Because I am prepared to pay the maximum price for Peace. Because I have put a stop to intolerable aggression, and because I am meeting force with force, the one and only force that can ever achieve victory for Peace—Soul Force. Understand?"

"Bah! You get my goat!" he declared angrily and hurried away.

"DAILY WORKER" INTERVIEW.

[As we go to press we have received the following brief comment on his "Daily Worker" interview from the Duke of Bedford. The interview was published in our contemporary for April 20. We differ completely from the Duke of Bedford's impression of the fairness of his interview. The subject will be dealt with later.—Ed.]

In spite of the fact that our Editor is inclined to take me somewhat sternly to task for consenting to see Mr. Hyde of the "Daily Worker," I must say that, notwithstanding his unshakable conviction that I should be interned, I rather LIKE Mr. Hyde!

Though, in my opinion, gravely mistaken in many of his views and judgments, Mr. Hyde struck me as being both sincere and logical. Even in his ruthless disregard of liberty he was refreshingly free from that hypocrisy which often leads the Government to imprison a person on some false or trumped-up charge because it lacks the moral courage to declare that he has been arrested simply for opposing the war and favouring a negotiated peace.

Mr. Hyde—who has not been in Russia—clearly regards it as the Workers' Paradise. He believes all the Russian propaganda; considers Stalin so great a general that if he urges a Second Front it must be proof that a Second Front is, from a strategic standpoint, a practicable proposition; believes we have a good chance of victory; and considers that only by a complete military victory can the evils of the Nazi regime be removed. Holding these opinions he feels that everyone should be suppressed who decreases enthusiasm for the war, either by advocating peace by negotiation, or by suggesting, by anti-Semitic propaganda, that the war is a Jewish ramp. I disagree with Mr. Hyde in most of his premises and I also think that he wants to do evil that good may come; but granted his premises, his conclusion is not devoid of intelligibility nor even of a kind of logic.

BEDFORD.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

"UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" CRY

Lady Wedgwood Indicts IT as "a Criminal Folly."

Lady Wedgwood has addressed the following letter to us:—

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I think "The Word" is doing excellent and much needed work. I hope you will soon have an article on the criminal folly of the "Unconditional Surrender" Cry, it is equivalent to a demand for a Third World War. We would never submit to it. Why expect the German nation to do so? A negotiated peace is the only one that would have any chance of lasting, and it would save thousands of lives and millions of money. It would be no sign of weakness, but (as Sir Ian Hamilton said in 1926 re the Boer War agreed peace) "a sign of Courage, Christianity and Common Sense."

Yours sincerely, with kind regards and good wishes.

FLORENCE WEDGWOOD.

London, S.W.1, May 3, 1943.

EDITOR'S APPEAL: The response to our May appeal has been most helpful but still disappointing. A large minority of readers sent in good letters and postal orders for 5/-, as suggested. Alas! the majority have not responded. If you are of the majority, please send your help NOW. 5/- from EACH reader will save our press and liquidate the debt. The need is most urgent. Full acknowledgments next month. Send your donation to: THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C.1.

WASTE!

Waste! Waste! Oh, squander and waste,
Lives, homes, food—everything!
Pause not to reason, but haste,
Speed on the mass massacring!

Spend! Spend! Unceasingly spend!
Buy all the bane of mankind:
Break all you never can mend:
Lose what you never will find.

Kill! Kill! Bring ruin until
The world is seething with hate:
Crush all the latent good will:
Then THINK: when thought is TOO LATE!

E. E. BRISCOE.

"More than 1,700,000 cases of oranges and lemons were destroyed in South Africa in 1941, and 1,600,000 in 1942, to keep up the prices, it is disclosed today."

—"Daily Express, Jan. 26, 1943

CHURCHILL AND HITLER.

HARRY POLLITT'S VIEW.

Labour's own daily newspaper, the "Daily Herald," hails Churchill as Britain's man of destiny. That is the measure of Labour's shame, the betrayal of every principle of Socialism and Peace. **For one thing now understood by our people is that wherever Churchill speaks or acts, suffering and death are the result, exactly the same as when Hitler speaks or acts.—HARRY POLLITT in "Labour Monthly," December, 1940.**

LABOUR MUST BECOME ONE.

Circumstances demand that Abraham Lincoln's famous demand for unity, slave or free, shall be applied to the Labour movement in Britain at the present hour of crisis. Lincoln was pledged to end slavery as we are pledged to end war. But he saw that nothing could be done without union. His logic applies to-day. We recant none of our anti-Parliamentary views and we recant none of our pacifism. But democracy will be destroyed and civilization will perish unless we develop a genuine all-in Labour movement, for war or peace, in Great Britain. That does not mean a movement wrecked by Communist Party affiliation or membership. The Communist Party has no place in the Labour movement in Great Britain and should be repudiated and boycotted by every honest worker. We believe in the fullest and most open discussion of Socialist views and approaches, and of Pacifist understanding, inside the Labour movement. We believe also that, if war is to be overcome, and mankind saved, the workers must rally round the Labour Party Executive in its firm struggle against the Communist Party conspiracy for power and dictatorship and the Tory conspiracy for Vansittartism and a Third World War. Labour must unite in a spirit of full and free democracy.

G. B. S. ON MARX AND RUSSIA.

By C. H. Norman.

Mr. Bernard Shaw, on March 10, 1943, contributed to *The Daily Herald* a curious article entitled "What would Marx say about Beveridge?" in the course of which Mr. Shaw declared that Marx's name was not mentioned in the Fabian *Essays on Socialism*. This statement (which is erroneous) confirmed a suspicion that I have long held that Mr. Shaw has never read the Fabian Essays, except, possibly, the one that he wrote himself on the Rent Theory. The remainder of *The Daily Herald* article also convinced me of the truth of two other long-held suspicions, namely, that Mr. Shaw has never read *Das Capital*, nor the Webb's book on Soviet Communism, for, whatever else this book proved, it proved that there was no real Communism (as that word was understood by William Morris, Kropotkin and others) in Russia under the Soviet system. It is simply a system of State exploitation under an uncontrolled bureaucracy.

One handicap in discussing political theory and practice at the present time is the lack of any meaning in words. To speak of the Western "Democracies" is an absurdity. The finance-capital which rules the United States, Britain, France and Holland has about as much to do with democracy (in the sense of government by the people) as the Nazionalé-Socialist Party in Germany has to do with true Socialism, or the Soviet system of bureaucratic control has to do with Communism: which is exactly nothing.

Mr. Richard Law, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was certainly very frank about the non-existence of democracy in the Western communities, when he made his statement on March 18, 1943, in the House of Commons: "Until relatively recently" (which may be defined as till last week) "in every Western country there was a small and restricted class which was responsible for the government and for the policy of that country. In every country that class was the same" and still is. "It had the same traditions, the same outlook, the same standards of education and of values. In those days it was necessary only that our diplomats should be members of the governing class. Indeed, in those days it was essential that they should be members of that restricted class, because, if they were not, they would have had very little influence in the countries to which they were accredited." In an earlier passage in the same speech, Mr. Richard Law made the following admissions about the competence of these gentlemen in his own time. "It may be said that our foreign policy between the wars was mistaken. Speaking from this vantage point of time, I would say myself that it was tragically mistaken, and I think all hon. members of this House would agree with me, though the basis of their agreement might be different from mine."

These remarks are strengthened on the economic side by Lord Acton's criticism of the membership of "democratic" Parliaments. In the following passage from a letter quoted in the introduction to Lord Acton's Essays entitled: *History of Freedom*, Lord Acton declared: "The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those men who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls." The last two lines are specially applicable to the present activities of the House of Commons in England and the House of Representatives in the United States.

The verbatim report of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., held from August 10–21, 1938, has some instructive passages indicating how absurd is the pretence of treating the Russian community as based on Socialist or Communist principles. The debates on the Russian legal system are very instructive. It is noteworthy that August 1938 was the height of the crisis in the relations between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia; yet in the review of foreign affairs the name of Czech-Slovakia is not even mentioned, which may explain why Russia felt able to enter into a pact with Germany a few months after August, 1938.

The discussion on the legal system is certainly prophetic in its forecast of the collapse of bourgeois justice, in Great Britain, particularly, as a safeguard of liberty. The Russian speakers seem to have anticipated the introduction of Regulation 18B in Britain even in 1938!

The following extracts are difficult to reconcile with the idea that the Soviet system is based on non-recognition of any system of private property or exploitation. On page 163 of the debates on the legal system, the following appears: "The case of the citizens Zheglov, who reside in the city of Cheboksary, *concerning a partition of property*, has been dragging on since 1933. It has been heard seven times before political tribunals; before the Appellate Collegium, the Presidium, the plenary sitting of the Supreme Court of the Chuvash Republic, and before the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. It has also come before the Procuratorship. The endless peregrinations of the case from one judicial tribunal to another are responsible for the fact that it has not been decided. I will cite another case of redtape in the Courts. In 1936 Citizeness A brought a suit for alimony. The case was heard twice before a People's Court, four times in the Supreme Court of the Chuvash Republic, once in the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. and is still undecided." So there is a legal problem in Soviet Russia concerning the exercise of property rights just as there is in capitalist or democratic states. The following statement echoes a familiar complaint to those connected with the legal system in England. "There are quite a number of complaints from citizens about the bad practice in People's Courts of postponing and deferring hearing. Many people are summoned to attend Court to the detriment of their ordinary work, and all to no purpose. This entails unnecessary expense and gives rise to dissatisfaction." (page 187). Another interesting observation is: "The trial of civil cases occupies an enormous place in the work of the Courts." So, Russian "Communism" has not modified the contentiousness which some people attribute mainly to the existence of the system of private ownership in land and capital.

These passages have been brought together to illustrate the thesis that the real cause for the apathy of the mass of the people concerning the monstrous misgovernment (of which the war is the most dreadful example) of Britain, Europe, and the United States, lies in the fact that all these systems of government are shams. The peoples all the time are under the control of men in administrative, judicial, political or military office who are quite incapable, morally and practically, of exercising fairly the enormous power that the modern machinery of government has given to the State over the individual. The government of Britain and Europe is an intolerable nuisance in 1943 and an oppression of the rights of men to a decent life. Whatever "ism" is put up, the same evils develop for the same cause—namely, that the pretensions of these governments are shams, their real purpose being the maintenance of a small section of the community in an advantageous position over the mass of the community. It is the evil of Fabianism, as represented by G.B.S. and the Webbs that this abominable system has been promoted under the pretence that it was contributory to the freeing of mankind from the thraldom of Capitalism, when in fact the bureaucracy of to-day has rendered the chains forged by Feudalism and Capitalism heavier than ever, as there is no escape from this outrageous system of mal-administered industrial and military conscription now afflicting almost the whole of civilised society. That is the plain truth of the situation whether the system be "democratic," "Soviet Communism," National Socialism, or Fascism in its Italian, French and Spanish varieties. The bases of all these systems is rotten; and their rottenness is proved by the calamities they have brought upon the nations from 1914 to 1943.

EDUCATING GERMANS

In our last issue we reprinted from the columns of the "Manchester Guardian," for April 6, a letter to the editor from the pen of our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P. This letter gave rise to some criticism and comrade Rhys Davies replied to his critics in our contemporary for April 27. This unanswerable reply is reproduced below:—

Sir,—None of your many correspondents who disagree with me has attempted to answer even one of the series of very practical questions I ventured to put on this war-time agitation, which, incidentally, falls into much the same category as the "Hang the Kaiser" of the last war. What they have accomplished is to reiterate the necessity of undertaking the task; they have failed ignominiously to show how it is to be done. The truth is that their hatred has blurred their powers of reasoning.

It is said that just after we defeated the Boers many went out from this country to "teach better manners to those foul folk of the South African veld." In less than two years hardly one of them remained at his post. To coin a contradiction, the natives made it too hot for them by freezing them out; and the same would apply in Germany or any other country if a similar attempt were made.

We sent the Black and Tans to "educate" the Irish; we "taught" them so successfully that they have flatly refused to join Britain in its present fight for "freedom and religion." We spent £100,000,000 of British money in an endeavour to "teach" the Russians that Lenin was just an ordinary criminal, that the Whites were the real gentlemen. In the final "examination" Lenin became the hero of the 130,000,000 inhabitants of that territory and the British, until quite recently, were regarded as hooligans by the Soviets.

We felt sure that we had "taught" the Germans a sharp lesson by imposing most savage penalties on them in 1919; we compelled them to provide coal for nothing for Belgium, Italy and France.

As a consequence, German miners worked for a pittance, scores of thousands of our own colliers were out of work for 15 years or more living in abject poverty, our shipyards became derelict, and our unemployed ran into about 3,000,000. But boomerangs like those have not, apparently, the slightest effect on our present purveyors of hate!

Farther back in history we "taught" even our own kith and kin so very successfully that in the end they threw us out into the sea and established for themselves that independent sovereign Power the United States of America.

It is well that those consumed with a colossal conceit and vanity, including British, Germans, and Italians, who possess an inordinate desire to correct the habits of other nations, who are so certain that they are superior to the rest of mankind, should be reminded what their own history teaches. In all this "Physician, heal thyself" is still an appropriate injunction.

Finally, Dr. Gilbert Murray knows better than any of us the real issues involved here. It is not sufficient to say that Hitler and Fascism caused this war. The fundamental problem is, What made Hitler? He knows too that until the territorial, economic, and financial causes that made it are eradicated there is not the slightest prospect of destroying the totalitarian spirit in Europe either by a military victory or by educating the Germans by foreigners who hate them.—Yours, &c.,

RHYS J. DAVIES.

House of Commons, April 24.

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Doors open 2.30 p.m.

Speaker, - GUY A. ALDRED
Socialism or "Communism."

Questions. - - - Discussion.

Admission: Ticket or Silver Collection.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Tories and "Communists" Engage in Hypocritical War Campaign.

The Duke of Bedford is in the news once again owing to the activity of his enemies.

On April 29 last the *Daily Mirror*, London, published the following splash heading and letterpress :—

CLUB BANS NAME OF PEACE DUKE

The inscription on Leighton Buzzard (Beds) Conservative Club recording that on April 29, 1913, the Marquis of Tavistock, prominent Pacifist (now the Duke of Bedford), laid the foundation stone, was yesterday erased by a stonemason.

For some time the inscription has been covered over with notices.

The decision to remove the inscription was taken by the Club about two years ago, but recent speeches of the Duke in Parliament decided the members to make their old resolution effective.

Chairman to Resign.

When Mr. W. G. W. Willis was elected president of the club at the annual meeting some weeks ago he expressed the hope that the inscription outside the building would be removed during his term of office.

Mr. B. L. Faulkner, the club's chairman, said yesterday:

"I dissociate myself with this action, and shall resign the chairmanship though remaining a member. To my mind it is ridiculous and childish.

"The Marquis laid the foundation stone because his father could not come, and his father's money built the place."

The *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, for April 28, headed its report :—

DUKE OF BEDFORD

Conservative Club Cuts Out a Record

After recording the facts about the stone mason's activities, the report explained :—

The Duke of Bedford has taken a very independent attitude on public questions in recent years, and his attitude on the war, frequently expressed in speeches in the House of Lords, has met with widespread disfavour and criticism.

It is a crime in Britain for an English citizen to venture to think for himself.

Here are some headings from other papers published in various parts of the country.

The Portsmouth *Evening News* :—

HIS NAME HAS BEEN ERASED

The *Oxford Mail* :

RECORD ERASED FROM STONE DUKE LAID

The *Evening Standard*, London :

DUKE OF BEDFORD—CLUB ACTS

The *Star*, London :

CLUB ERASES DUKE'S NAME FROM STONE

The *West Lancashire Evening Gazette*, Blackpool, employed a double heading :—

DUKE OF BEDFORD

Club Removes An Inscription

The *Nottingham Evening News* contented itself with the second of the above headings for its account.

The *Eastern Evening News*, Norwich :

DUKE'S NAME REMOVED FROM CLUB STONE

The *Evening News*, London :

OBLITERATED

Inscription About The Duke of Bedford

The *News* published an interview with the president of the club, that did not appear in any other paper :—

Mr. W. G. W. Willis, solicitor, president of the club, said to an "Evening News" representative:—

"This action was ordered by the club for reasons mentioned in committee, that I am not prepared to give now.

"The Duke has his views. We have ours. You will have to read between the lines for the rest. Similarly, it is necessary to read between the lines to discover why the stonemason on the job refused to have a drink with me or accept a tip.

"When the club was founded the late Duke helped us financially. We wanted him to lay the foundation stone, but he was ill. So the Marquis, the present Duke, did it."

We congratulate the stone-mason on his independence. As though history can be falsified by the Leighton Buzzard Conservatives! Did these people never hear of Lossiemouth and its golf club? Did they never hear how Ramsay MacDonald's name was removed? Have they never calculated the interval between that event and the day when Ramsay MacDonald was summoned to become Premier? Are Conservatives beyond all capacity for thinking and for learning from the past?

The *Daily Telegraph*, London, the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, and the *Liverpool Evening Express*, were satisfied to employ a sober heading : DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The *Nottingham Evening Post* published its account beneath the heading :—

THE CLUB AND THE DUKE

The *Aberdeen Evening Express* cut out the first "The."

The *East Anglican Daily Times*, Ipswich, and the *Torbay Herald*, Torquay, used the heading :

DUKE OF BEDFORD:

Club Removes Inscription

The *Yorkshire Evening News*, Leeds, was content to use the second portion of the above heading for its caption.

The *Yorkshire Evening Press*, York, varied its heading somewhat :—

INSCRIPTION REMOVED BY CLUB

The *Daily Mail*, London, said :—

DUKE'S NAME ERASED

But the *Daily Worker* did not resist the temptation to make its heading define its antagonism. The *Daily Worker* heading read :—

CHISELLING OFF THE DUKE

Which brings us to a consideration of the *Daily Worker* campaign against the Duke of Bedford.

In its issue for April 20, the *Daily Worker* published an interview with the Duke of Bedford. We reproduce the headings and opening paragraphs :—

DUKE ADMITS PROPAGANDA IS TO WEAKEN WAR EFFORT

Aims At Negotiated Peace

From Douglas Hyde

After a four-hour argument with the Duke of Bedford, I am more convinced than ever that he ought to be under lock and key.

The interview had been arranged by someone who believed that, in describing the Duke as a Fascist and demanding his internment, the "Daily Worker" was doing him a grave injustice.

The rest of this one-sided account of the interview does not matter. What stands out is the impertinent demand of a mere hireling that a man who dares to think for himself in war-time should be interned.

The interview report concluded by stating :—

But while the British people are busy cementing their alliance with the people of the Soviet Union the Duke finds his allies among every type of Fascist thug and Nazi agent inside or outside Brixton jail.

Immediately beneath this choice concluding paragraph, appeared the following alleged news-item :—

SHOPPERS APPLAUD 'INTERN DUKE'

DEMAND

Shoppers applauded when posters calling for the internment of the Duke of Bedford were carrried through the streets of Luton as parts of a poster parade advertising a Second Front meeting at the week-end.

Demand for the Duke's internment was also made by a public meeting held in the Cosy Cinema, Whitby, on Sunday.

The *Daily Worker* continued its campaign in its issue for April 26. We excerpt the following paragraphs :—

'INTERN DUKE' DEMANDS BEDFORD BUILDERS

A canteen meeting of 300 workers on a building job in Bedfordshire has passed a resolution demanding the internment of the Duke of Bedford.

When the question of the Duke's internment was raised at the Biggleswade Urban District Council no resolution was passed as it was felt that the matter was outside the council's province.

The Duke's activities, however, were condemned by every councillor who took part in the discussion.

The following day our contemporary published this item of propaganda incitement :—

'INTERN DUKE': NEW CALL TO MORRISON

From Douglas Hyde

A call to the Home Secretary to intern the Duke of Bedford "for his pro-Fascist activity" was made by the Luton, Dunstable and District Trades Council at its last meeting. . . .

Over 20 organisations in Bedfordshire have now demanded the Duke's internment at Luton, Bedford and Leighton Buzzard.

In a later issue, we shall show how these 20 organisations are manufactured. Before the Soviet Union was invaded, readers of the *Daily Worker* will recall how vast organisations were demanding a Peoples' Convention. These organisations vanished in a night. They vanished because they were bogus, like all C.P. activities.

And here is a clipping from the *Daily Worker* for April 30 :—

'READY TO LIVE ON SPUDS FOR 2nd FRONT

From a Worker Correspondent

Twenty-one workers, representing 12 Luton organisations from various factories and trade union branches, on Wednesday went to see Mr. Leslie Burgin, their M.P.

They went to ask him what he thought about a Second Front in Europe, the action of the Polish Government, pro-Fascists, the Duke of Bedford, and the Beveridge Report.

It records the answers. Here is the one concerning the Duke of Bedford :—

The Duke of Bedford, said Mr. Burgin, should "not be taken too seriously"—and the deputation pointed out that that had once been said of Hitler.

During the whole period that this contemptible contemporary has been carrying on its campaign against the Duke of Bedford, for no other reason than his opposition to war, J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., has been writing for its columns. Haldane enjoys some reputation as a scientist. Above all else, a scientist is expected to be a man of truth and not a political panderer.

During the period that the *Daily Worker* was suppressed, Professor Haldane spoke on its behalf in Glasgow. He spoke at St. Andrew's Hall on Sunday, February 23, 1941, and his address was reported fully in *Forward*, for Saturday, March 1.

We reproduce the first portion of this report :

PROFESSOR HALDANE DEFENDS "DAILY WORKER"

A large audience assembled at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, last Sunday night to hear Professor J. B. S. Haldane of the Editorial Board of the "Daily Worker," Ex-Commander Edgar P. Young and Randall Swingler protest against the suppression of the "Daily Worker."

Professor Haldane declared that "the 'Daily Worker' was suppressed by the Home Secretary. Mr. Herbert Morrison was a conscientious objector in the last war. Now, however, when he has reached beyond the age of military service he has become quite a fire-eater. I sometimes wish I had a conscience like that. I feel I would not need a gas mask or a steel helmet.

The Home Secretary has acted as prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner with no right of appeal. When Sir John Anderson first warned the "Daily Worker" that it was liable to suppression, I immediately asked him to state to what specific items he referred. I asked what it was that had been printed which he considered dangerous. He refused to give us any specific examples.

That is a new principle in justice. Even under the Inquisition, when men were accused of high treason, they were told of what specific acts of treason they were supposed to have been guilty, but all we would learn was that a high member of the Civil Service had read this paper and had come to the conclusion that it was not the kind of paper he cared for.

We said that if we had done anything wrong we should be brought to trial, but one of the most sinister facts of present day life is that the right to trial by jury is now denied to hundreds of British citizens who are put behind barbed wire without trial.

I am absolutely opposed even to the imprisonment of men like Mosley and Ramsay without trial.

The Government dared not bring these men to trial because their defence would show that they had done no worse than men who to-day are occupying high places.

We have been suppressed on the ground that we published matter calculated to prevent the successful prosecution of the war. If we had been brought to trial I will tell you something of what our defence would have been.

We would have said: "You speak of the successful prosecution of the war and I ask you, which war do you mean? Because there are two wars being waged at the present time.

There is a war against Germany and there is a war against the British people.

If you mean that we are inhibiting men like Lord Stamp from the successful prosecution of the war, we should have to plead guilty.

We should have to admit in Court that we had done our best to prevent Lord Stamp from prosecuting his war successfully."

Professor Haldane proceeded to deal with the question of output and fatigue. He accused the Government of suppressing "*a document which interests me as a scientist very greatly.*" This was the Emergency Report of the Medical Research Council on the Health of Munition Workers, published by the British Government in January, 1940, and signed, among others, by an Air Vice Marshal.

Haldane cited these extracts from the Report:

"The country cannot afford the extravagance of paying for work done during incapacity from fatigue just because so many hours are spent on it.

"Misguided efforts to stimulate workers to a feverish activity in the supposed interests of output are useless, as would be the cheers of partisans encouraging a long-distance runner to a futile sprint at the beginning of the race."

"Avoid over-long hours and continuous work with intervals for rest, and allow Sunday rest and ordinary holidays."

Professor Haldane proceeded to urge deeper air-raid shelters, discussed the freedom of the press in Russia, and concluded:—

A People's Government in this country could appeal to the suffering peoples of Europe, not only to the people of France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland, but also to the people of Germany and Italy.

The same stooges and hirelings as applauded Haldane opposing internment and 18B in March, 1941, uphold the demand for internment of the Duke of Bedford in 1943!

Note the Communist Party comment on not taking Hitler too seriously! As Tom Taylor has shown in *Defend Socialism From the Communists*, the German Communist daily, *Welt-am-Abend*, the leading Communist deputy Renimele, and the German Communist Party, as a party, underestimated Hitler, supported his plebiscite, opposed the unity of the German working class movement, and helped Hitler to power. When Hitler was torturing the Jews in his concentration camps, the Communist International, *because of its agreement with Hitler, opposed an international working class economic boycott of Germany.* To-day, these sorry creatures pretend to be opposed to the infamous Nazi persecutions.

The official Soviet publication, the Moscow Narodny Bank, *Monthly Review*, May, 1933, referred to the agreements then recently made or renewed between the Soviet Union and Italy, Poland and Germany.

Here is the Soviet (1933) view of the Italian Agreement:—

The Soviet-Italian Agreement signed on May 6th by Signor Mussolini . . . and M. Levenson, the Commercial Representative of the U.S.S.R. in Italy, though not the first to be concluded between the two countries, is of special importance at the present time.

This Agreement has been welcomed in both countries as demonstrating the continued economic collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and Italy. . . .

The Soviet-Italian Agreement is a new proof of the desire of the U.S.S.R. to maintain normal relations with the rest of the world and that some countries appreciate the need of such relations and are determined to utilise them for the good of both countries.

Here is the Soviet summary of the German Agreement:—

On May 5th the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., M. Litvinov, and the German Ambassador in Moscow, M. von Dirksen, exchanged notes on the ratification of the Agreement concluded in Moscow on June 24th, 1931, which has now become operative. At the same time an exchange of Protocols took place for the continuation of the Berlin Treaty concerning neutrality and non-aggression of April 24th, 1926, and of the Convention concerning the Procedure of Conciliation of January 25th, 1929.

The Protocol states that the two Governments, by prolonging the Treaty, intend to continue the existing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany, **and to further collaboraffition which is in the interests of both countries and contributes towards assuring the peace of the world.**—(Emphasis ours.)

The Treaty of 1926 made this provision:—

Lays down the principle that the contracting parties are not only to observe neutrality if one of them is attacked by a third Power, but they undertake not to participate in any economic or financial boycott against the other party.

This provision prevented the Soviet-Union from supporting the boycott of German goods, which the trade unions in various countries were organising as a protest against the Hitler Government's brutal treatment of Communists and others.

Fenner Brockway supported the move by the I.L.P. to form a United Front with the Communists. In this respect he differed from John McGovern whose concept of the Communist activity has been clear all the time. In his anti-parliamentary days and right on through his parliamentary I.L.P. days, McGovern's attitude towards the "Communist" gangsters has been firm and uncompromising in its hostility. Yet Brockway admitted in the *New Leader*, June 16, 1933, that the Communist International, because of this agreement with Hitler, "*has opposed an international working class economic boycott of Germany.*"

The Narodny Bank *Monthly Review* gave us a pretty picture of the 1933 relations of the Soviet Union with Pilsudski, the then dictator of Poland, known to all Socialists as the "butcher":

On May 2nd a delegation of six representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. arrived in Warsaw at the special invitation of the Polish Government and was accorded a very warm reception. . . .

A satisfactory improvement has taken place in the past few months in the economic and political relations between the Soviet Union and Poland.

The Non-Aggression Pact recently signed between the two countries is a very important symptom of this change, which is also reflected in the transactions between the two Governments. The recent visit of the Soviet Minister in Warsaw to Marshal Pilsudski, who very rarely receives foreign diplomats, is another indication of the welcome change that has taken place. The Governments seem determined to utilise the existing friendly relations to the best advantage of both countries.—(Emphasis ours.)

Hitler, Mussolini, Pilsudski, Stalin!

The defenders of these unholy alliances want to intern the Pacifist and Socialist enemies of war as Fascists!

"COMMUNIST" AND LABOUR

LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO.

The Labour Party has issued from its National Headquarters, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1, an excellent manifesto, entitled "The Communist Party and The War." It is published at 2d. and will be sent post free for 3d. direct from the Labour Party. We shall endeavour to obtain copies and circulate it widely.

The pamphlet is an impressive factual indictment of the Communist Party, a very clear record of its hypocrisy and treachery to the workers of Europe. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party has betrayed the workers in every continent. Its record of infamy is not confined to Europe.

Next month we will review this invaluable pamphlet at length.

When ordering this pamphlet, readers also should purchase copies of the pamphlet "The Labour Party and The Communist Party (2d.) and ask for the following leaflets: Numbers 7, 8 and 9, 1943, dealing with the Communist Party Balance Sheet; Communist Propaganda and Labour Party Facts; and the question, "Shall Communism Smash the Labour Party?" These are powerfully written exposures, factual, direct, unanswerable. We shall recur to them later. Meanwhile every reader should obtain copies and circulate them among their mates. Flood the workshop and so answer the careerist hireling wreckers and enemies of all integrity, social and individual, who miscall themselves "Communists." Communists! Shades of William Morris!

THE MINER'S PRAYER.

God, up there, big Man in the sky!
Why do you put queer thoughts in my brain?
I, who must slave till the day I die,
Deep down in the earth, in the Devil's drain?

God, dear God, the preacher has said,
You are kind, and just, and have no axe to grind,
Then, tell me, why did you lift up my head,
And let the earth's beauty float into my mind?

God, you know I was always content,
I slaved without ever a grumbling word,
Just like the pit engine I came and went,
And nothing I saw to love, nothing I heard.

But, God, when you opened my eyes to the sky,
So lovely and blue above this dark town,
And I heard the lark singing free-hearted on high,
I wanted free, too, but the chains held me down.

You saw how my masters had held me down fast,
And bound me, a slave, in this terrible gloom,
And pray as I will now the peace of the past
Never comes back to my living tomb.

God, dear God, I am done and old,
And yet I am little more than a lad,
My brain is on fire, but my hands are cold,
And I sometimes fear I am going mad.

God on high, if You do exist,
And love us all as the preacher says,
Why don't you guide me through this mist
Into my valley of sunlit ways?

JOE CORRIE.

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The sixth Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union was held at Friends House, London, on May 1 and 2. Dr. Alex Wood was welcomed back into his old position as chairman both of the P.P.U. and the A.G.M.

New members elected to the National Council were the Duke of Bedford, Dr. Albert D. Belden, Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, Winifred Rawlins, John Morley, and Geoffrey Pittock-Buss.

"COMMUNIST" INTRIGUES AND CONTORTIONS

The Communist Campaign for affiliation to the Labour Party was a feature of the Easter Conferences. Stalinist sponsored resolutions came up at Labour Party branches, at Trade Unions, and at affiliated organisations to the Labour Party, proposing support for the C.P. to become an affiliated organisation. The *Daily Worker* gave great space to these resolutions. Big headings recorded the fact that, at its Leeds conference, the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants and Warehousemen and Clerks, decided by a majority of two votes, that the Union should support the application of the Communist Party for affiliation to the Labour Party. On the same page, it recorded the vote of the National Union of Public Employees. 432 delegates voted for Communist affiliation and 413 against.

We believe in the unity of the working-class. But it is an illusion to believe that Stalinist "unity" can emancipate the workers from their social, political, and economic exploitation. This illusion is promoted by the Communist Party for no other reason than to forward its conquest of political power. The Stalinists are not interested in the workers' struggle. They are prepared to sacrifice the workers at every turn in order that they, the so-called Communist leaders, may climb to power. Like the Fascists, they have a greed for power, a lust to dominate. They are gangsters and degenerates of the workers' struggle.

What is the political content of Stalinism, miscalled Communism? As John McGovern well said at the Easter Conference of the I.L.P., there is little difference between "gangster-Communism" and "gangster-Fascism." Brute force is the main weapon of each. The workers of Britain may pay a terrible price for the Communist Party yet.

The present Stalinist campaign has discarded the previous Communist definition of "unity"—"unity of labour and anti-fascist forces." The new "unity" is *"national unity"* behind Churchill and *"Soviet-British unity"* behind Stalin and Churchill, with Stalin first.

The Communist Party describes itself as the British section of the Communist International. It is laid down in the constitution and rules of the Communist International that decisions of its congress or of leading committees of the Comintern must be unreservedly carried out. Decisions of the Comintern's Executive Committee are likewise obligatory, and must have prompt obedience. This fact has been made clear, with a wealth of evidence, in the Labour Party's powerful manifesto, "The Communist Party and The War."

Harry Pollitt, like William Gallacher, M.P., would have no status in British politics, but for the backing of the Comintern. Pollitt's only consistency is in his obedience to His Master's Voice! This consistent subservience explains his "political somersaulting." The man is, as the Conservatives used to urge, a foreign agent. He has been faithful to the Moscow Communist reactionaries, his paymasters, when Moscow was staging the bogus trials, when Moscow was allied with the Germans, and now when the Soviet is allied with British Imperialism.

Pollitt's career is a study in subversive activities pursued to strengthen the power of Moscow and to destroy all true working-class democracy, and all tendency towards democratic institutions. He has been general secretary of the Minority Movement, and has been in Moscow in July, September, and December, 1924; July, 1929; and February, 1930. He was one of the twelve sentenced in November, 1925, when the Communist Party asked every Socialist to rally to the defence of its imprisoned members, on the ground of Free Speech and Free Press! Always he has been faithful to Moscow and had the courage of the Moscow dictator's opinions.

Writing in the February 1943 issue of the *Labour Monthly*, Harry Pollitt states that:—

the application of the C.P. to be accepted as an affiliated organisation with the L.P. is an important and serious political act.

The act is, indeed, a most serious act. It is an attempt to advance Fascism through pseudo-Communism.

The very methods by which the Communist Party has endeavoured to influence the working class movement have been the methods of Fascism. No one has urged the employment of those methods more consistently than Harry Pollitt.

On January 29, 1930, Harry Pollitt published an article on the editorial page of the *Daily Worker*, under the title, *Now is the Time for Action*. The action Pollitt urged included smashing up opponents' meetings. Here is an excerpt from this precious article:—

Workshop meetings should be called by such workers and resolutions for the support of our Party should be carried, but the mere passing of recolutions is not enough. There should not be a Labour meeting held anywhere, but what the revolutionary workers in that district attend such meetings and fight against the speakers, whoever they are, so-called "left," "right" or "centre."

They should never be allowed to address the workers. This would bring us in conflict with the authorities, but this must be done. The fight can no longer be conducted in a passive manner.

We must lead the masses in struggle against this Government and the time has arrived to use every conceivable means of political agitation. The Communist Party and its organ, the "Daily Worker," will lead the working class, fighting boldly and openly, against this Government of scoundrels and agents of capitalism.

Communist contortions in matters of principle have been amazing. A more unprincipled gang of unprincipled political scoundrels have never been known in the history of human struggle. Pollitt and his friends have the queerest and most insolent record in this war of any section of the community. They should be hounded out of public life by every decent citizen, whether militarist or anti-militarist. At first, despite the Soviet-Nazi pact, the "Communists" proclaimed themselves unflinching supporters of the war. But when the terms of the German-Soviet pact was announced the position became delicate, and they had to obey orders from Moscow.

In the *Daily Worker* of 4th November, 1939, George Dimitroff, Secretary of the Comintern, had an article in which he ordered the British Communists to stop the war by organising the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It was stated in this article that any members of the party who refused or failed to comply with Moscow's line on the war must be cleared out of the party. This had the effect of bringing to heel Pollitt and Campbell, who had voted against a reversal of the party's policy given in the original declarations on the war. Pollitt indeed felt constrained to publish in the *Daily Worker* of 23rd November, 1939, the following somewhat abject apology for his independent attitude:—

"I recognise that my action in resisting the carrying out of the line of the Communist Party and the Communist International represented an impermissible infraction of our party discipline. . . . I request the Central Committee to accept this declaration, and to give me the facilities to prove in deeds that I know how to take my place in the front ranks of our party in fighting to win the masses for support of the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist International."

The party line, as everyone knows, was to oppose the war. The result was the suppression of the *Daily Worker* under the very regulations now invoked by the Communists against others.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

The following important statement, answering his "Communist" critics and defining his anti-war attitude, was made by the Duke of Bedford in a letter to the editor, published in the *Bedfordshire Times*, for May 21:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD AND THE RAILWAYMEN

Sir,—I wonder if Bedford No. 2 Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen could inform me on what occasion I declared my intention of utilising my wealth to "undermine the war effort," the exact form of words I am stated to have used? There is, of course, a sense in which every advocate of a negotiated peace may be held to be "undermining the war effort," but this phrase very often connotes various forms of sabotage carried on in war industries with the aim of assisting the enemy by depriving our Fighting Forces of the necessary munitions and equipment; or it may connote anti-war propaganda carried on among members of the Forces. This form of undermining of the war effort I have never at any time either advocated or engaged in.

BEDFORD.

Froxfield House,
Woburn.

HUMPHREY CHALMERS

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the Pacifist and Socialist movements generally, and conscientious objectors, have lost a bold and able champion in the person of the Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, M.A., for 16 years pastor of Hill Cliffe Baptist Church, Warrington. Comrade Chalmers died at his home, 26 Whitefield-road, Stockton Heath, Warrington, on Tuesday, May 4 last. In September, 1942, he underwent a serious operation and had been in failing health since. He returned to his ministerial duties but preached on only two occasions.

Sixty-three years of age, Mr. Chalmers was once a purser on the Clyde steamers. A love of the Clyde remained with him throughout his life. He entered the Baptist ministry in 1904. A Master of Arts of Glasgow University, he held pastorates at Wallingford, Berkshire, Redhill, Surrey, and Wandsworth, London, before coming to Hill Cliffe in November, 1926.

The Baptist Handbook gives the dates of his pastorates: Wallingford, 1904-1910; Redhill, 1910-15; East Hill, Wandsworth, 1915-26; Hill Cliffe (Warrington), 1926.

As Chaplain to Wandsworth Prison during the First World War, Humphrey Chalmers was a tower of strength to the Conscientious Objectors imprisoned there. When the Russian Revolution came, and Big Business was intriguing against the newly born Soviet Republic, Humphrey Chalmers was tireless in the organisation of "Hands Off Russia" Committees. The reproduction of some of the handbills, revealing his activity, would be a fitting tribute to his memory.

The funeral took place at Hill Cliffe Baptist Church on Sunday afternoon, May 9, and was followed by cremation at Manchester Crematorium. The service at the crematorium was conducted by the Rev. H. Motley, superintendent minister of the Lancashire and Cheshire Baptist Association.

A memorial service was held at Hill Cliffe on Tuesday, May 11.

The Rev. K. C. Dykes, of Wavertree Baptist Church, Liverpool, speaking at the funeral service, described Humphrey Chalmers as a genuine man, full of patience. During his last illness, Humphrey Chalmers wrote some lines, entitled "The Years Between: A Roundel to an old Friend." These read:—

The years between their tale have wrought
Of work worth while, or scamped and mean,
With cowardice and courage fraught,
The years between.

Some idle hours have fruitful been
And such I treasure in my thought,
While some were filled with sorrow keen,
And some, it may be, wisdom taught:
Goodness and mercy each has seen
And so, for all my thanks are brought—
The years between.

We remember him for his untiring and uncompromising pacifism and his loyalty to all who suffered for the cause of humanity, whether Christian or Freethinker, Gentile or Jew, Buddhist or Hindu. Humphrey Chalmers was a true Humanist and his freedom from sectarian trammels limited his social advancement under our present herd society.

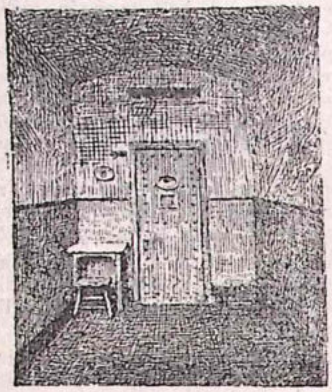
THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP has issued an interesting report for 1943. The new chairman is the Rev. Gwenyth Hubble, B.A., B.D., of the Student Christian Movement. The membership theological students, 4 Deaconesses, and 21 of the Fellowship now includes 273 Ministers, 55 Missionaries. All readers, who are Baptists, and wish to join the Fellowship, should write to the Hon. Secretary, The Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, B.D., 21 Cambridge Drive, Denton, Manchester. Members "COVENANT TOGETHER TO RENOUNCE WAR IN ALL ITS WORK AND WAYS."

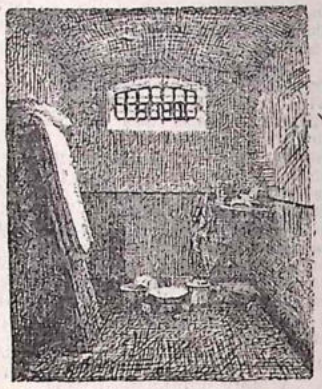
The Moscow announcement, abolishing the Communist International, was made on Saturday, May 22. This paper was in the press then and it was too late to relate our "Communist" exposures to the end of the Third International epoch.

WANDSWORTH PRISON IMPRESSIONS

By Councillor CHAS A. EARL

An Account of Six Weeks' Imprisonment in H. M. Prision, Wandsworth.

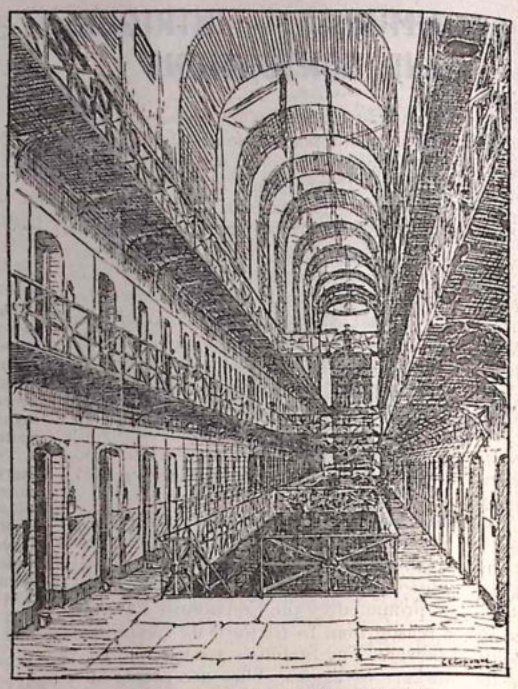




A PRISON CELL.

Sketches by E. M. Wilson, a conscientious objector during 1916-18.

(1) Looking from the door, showing spy-hole in door, and gasbox above table. The glass was broken and this was used to speak through during the C.O. Prison Strike in 1918. (2) Window looking up to exercise yard in basement cells. The bed-boards were used as sounding boards. The speaker held them over him when he spoke, slanting from floor towards gasbox. Many lectures were delivered in this way. Comrade Earl was sustained during his 1941-42 imprisonment by recalling the stand of the C.O.s of the first world war.



C-HALL, WANDSWORTH PRISON.

Drawn in June, 1917, by G. E. Gaxoigne, a conscientious objector.

This was the hall in which the C.O. strike took place in 1918 and 1919. The picture shows the stairs leading to the basement in which the editor and about 30 other C.O.s suffered solitary confinement for several months. The story of this strike was told in "The Word" for April, 1940.

On the 4th December, 1941, I was sentenced at Godalming Police Court to two months' imprisonment. My legal crime was, in the words of the summons served on me, "failing to apply to be registered, contrary to Article 2 of the Civil Defence Duties, Compulsory Enrolment Order, 1941." I was escorted from the Borough Hall to the police station by two constables and locked in a cell. This was about 11 a.m. I was given dinner and at 2.30 I was taken out to a very comfortable saloon car and, with two constables, taken to Wandsworth gaol which we reached about 4 p.m.

When I first saw the prison it reminded me of the entrance to a medieval castle. A huge grim-looking grey stone building with a massive gate. One of the policemen got out and rang a bell, and the huge gate was opened only to reveal another one three or four yards farther on. The car drove in, and the first gate was secured before the second was unlocked, and then we drove on to the reception room, and once inside that door I had really got into prison.

The warder was polite, but very curt; he asked my full name, address, age and sentence, although he had all of the particulars in front of him. (I might say here that all of the various officials I went before, both on entering the prison to serve my sentence and on leaving at the end of it, always required these particulars of me. I imagine it was to prevent any possibility of impersonation.) I was passed on to a second warder who told me to strip, and while I stood naked I had to empty the pockets of my clothes and have the contents entered into a register; this I signed and my clothes and property were then put into a locker until my release. I was then ordered into a bath, after which a complete kit of prison clothes was issued to me. The underclothes and shirt were freshly laundered, but the suit of gray cloth and shoes had been worn many times before. We were also given one pair of sheets, pillow case, shirt for night wear, dessert spoon, small piece of soap, towel, scrub brush, hair brush, small piece of comb, and I was allowed to keep my own tooth brush. This stripping and bathing is done in sight of warders and convicts.

I was then sent with the other new convicts into a long passage and was given two thick slices of very coarse bread and margarine and a pint mug of cocoa (no milk or sugar). We were then lined up to be interviewed by the chaplain and doctor. I now had a little time to look around and take stock of my brother criminals. The one immediately in front of me was a youngster of 20, who told me he had deserted from the army. He had already been considerably punished by the military authorities, and now he had to serve three months in a civil prison, after which he would be free. I was also told by one of the warders that out of approximately 2,000 prisoners at Wandsworth about 600 were deserters from the Forces and another 200 were men who, although not willing to desert, were so tired of army conditions that they committed civil offences in order to be sent to a civil prison for a few months, and I was given to understand that this state of affairs was the same in all the state prisons.

The prisoner immediately behind me was an incorrigible beggar, a man of about 30, very cheerful, with a large vocabulary of swear words. He had been in various prisons on and off for 12 years and had spent the last six Christmases in gaol, and this would make the seventh. His sentence this time was 12 months hard labour. In this day's lot of prisoners there were several soldiers and eight young conscientious objectors.

The chaplain attached to the prison (a full-time position) is, of course, Church of England: he had no sympathy for conscientious objectors. When it was my turn to be interviewed I was told to enter his office. He was seated at a table with a warder on either side (for protection, I suppose!) I had to give my full name, age, sentence, and religious denomination. He asked me what my conviction was for, and I told him I was a conscientious objector, that I had refused to register for fire-watching and that I was very proud to be taking my stand with those young men he had just seen. He said "get out," so I "got." After a time the medical officer came, the warder shouted for everybody to stand to attention while the doctor walked to his office. We had to strip again and parade before the doctor and were then led away and locked in cells for the night.

I must confess that when I heard the heavy cell door shut behind me I felt rather "blue." It was about 8 p.m. and it had been a very trying day. The cell was bricked and had an arched roof; it was about 12 ft. by 7 ft. and about 9 ft. at highest point of arch. High in the wall was a small window, 12 in. by 8 in., with 3 heavy bars across and 3 down. There was a low-powered electric light over the door, which we used when we were in the cells, as otherwise, even in daylight, the cells were dark. The electric switch was outside each cell. The only furniture was a small white wood table and chair and a triangle shelf on which stood a small enamel washing bowl and jug, and underneath, a small chamber pot. Three planks nailed to three pieces of 2 in. by 2 in. wood, to serve as a bed, with a cokernut fibre mattress, approximately 1½ in. to 2 in. thick. Besides the sheets issued to me there were also three blankets and a coloured bed spread in the cell. An enamelled plate, a pint pot (with no handle) for drinking purposes, and a small mirror completed the furnishing. The floor was tiled and the cell was without heat.

As soon as I found myself locked in, I put my bed on the floor, made it up ready for sleeping and got into bed; the light was turned out at 9.30. Fortunately that first night I slept soundly, but it was the only time I was able to do so. Lights were switched on again at 6 a.m. and a warder came and looked through the peephole in the cell door to see that prisoners were getting up.

After dressing my first job was to remove the bed clothes, stand the plank and mattress up against the wall and hang the bed clothes over them, and woe betide any convict whose bed clothes were not evenly folded and hung up. At 6.45 the cells were unlocked and slops had to be emptied and fresh water drawn.

The main prison at Wandsworth reminded me of a huge spider's web. It has four storeys and a basement. In the centre is a circular hall from which you can see to the top of the building. In this hall are the offices of the officials. From the hall radiate six wings

lettered A to F; each wing consists of a corridor from which one could see to the top of the building. On either side of the corridor were four landings with 25 cells on each. The two landings on each floor are connected by a bridge, and to prevent suicide wire netting is fitted across the well of the wing. These six wings accommodated 1,200 prisoners. There were also additional wings not attached to the main prison. I was told by a warder that there were over 2,000 prisoners at Wandsworth at that time. In the middle of each landing on either side there was a w.c. and sink with tap and it was here that slops were emptied and fresh water obtained. Prisoners were required to scrub their furniture and cells (and failure to do this would bring warnings and punishment). This proved to be very necessary as my clothes, after working on dirty mail bags, etc., made the chair very grubby. The scrubbing had to be done with cold water. As soon as slops were emptied and water obtained the cells were locked until 7.30, when breakfast was brought to the cells, consisting of a small portion of "cob" of very coarse wholemeal bread (very dry to eat) and margarine, half a pint of porridge without milk or sugar, and a pint of tea, very overstewed, so much so that the sides of the mug were coated with stain from the tea.

The cells were again locked until 10 minutes to 9, when the convicts filed out to wash their enamel plate, spoon and mug. We then stood in the doorway of the cell until the bell rang and we were lined up and marched to the workshops or exercise yard. On the first morning I went with the other new prisoners before the Governor. He, like the other officials, asked my name, age, sentence, etc. He told me that I ought to be ashamed of myself and should be setting an example. I said I hoped I had done that.

I was then given my number, 14480, and allotted a permanent cell, E4/4, which means E wing, 4th landing and 4th cell. A card, which was later hung outside my cell, was filled in with this information, together with my name, age, religious denomination, offence, sentence, date of release if full time served and earliest date of release if full remission obtained. (On all sentences of more than six weeks a third of the time is remitted provided the convict's conduct is good. I managed to obtain full remission, although I found it difficult at times not to protest at the petty tyranny and bullying by some of the warders). We were also given a library card for recording the books issued to prisoners. Each prisoner is allowed a bible, and for the first month one fiction and one educational book (so-called) are issued each week, and after a month two fiction and one other are issued. Unfortunately one can't choose one's books, and I certainly got some queer ones. Work in the morning consisted in my case, for two or three days, in cleaning lavatories, and after that mending holes in very dirty mail bags. The work time was from 9 to 11.15. Then exercise round and round a prison yard until 11.35 and then back to the cells. Dinner was brought at 11.50, consisting sometimes of a very sloppy stew (popularly known as "floating fat,") sometimes minced vegetable soup with one or two boiled potatoes, and on two or three days a small portion of cabbage was added (the potatoes were cooked in their skins, plus dirt and straw, and were frequently rotten, the other vegetables were also served in a disgusting condition), a thick piece of dry bread, and twice a week we had "duff," which looked and tasted like a "sorbo" rubber sponge. As a change one day a week we had a slice of corned beef with potatoes and some boiled rice, and on another day a small slice of boiled bacon and haricot beans. All food had to be eaten with the desert spoon, knives and forks not being allowed. The food was brought to the cells in tin containers and frequently when the tin was emptied out the dirty state of the tins made one feel ill.

Cells remained locked until 1.50, then they were opened to allow prisoners to empty slops, etc. We were then marched into the workshops at 2 o'clock and worked until 3.20. We then had 25 minutes' "exercise," and at 3.45 returned to our cells. A warder and convict orderlies brought our teas, which consisted of a "cob" of bread and margarine and one pint of cocoa without milk (except on Wednesdays and Sundays when half an ounce of cheese was issued in addition). At tea time also a tin with just over a dessert spoonful of yellow sugar was given to each convict to be used as he wished in porridge, tea or cocoa. The cocoa was most unappetising; it was covered with fat, probably nutritious, but nauseating. I purposely kept a half pint in my mug all night and the next morning the fat on it was so thick that I was able to turn the mug upside down and shake it and it did not let the liquid out.

Tea was the last meal of the day and we remained locked in our cells till 6.45 next morning. After tea, in spite of the very dim light, I either read or worked on the mail bags, sitting with my blankets around me, as the cell was very cold. I was glad to use mail bags as extra cover for my bed at night.

That is how the days from Monday to Friday were passed, the only exceptions being that one day each week all prisoners are taken to the bath house for bathing, when clean socks and underclothing are supposed to be issued, but it was two weeks before I obtained a change of socks and three weeks before I had a change of underclothes. The bath takes about half an hour and I believe everyone looks forward to it. I never really appreciated hot water until I was in prison and could only have it once a week.

On Wednesdays a half-hour service was held in the prison chapel.

On Saturdays there was no morning "exercise," and work was continued in the shop until about 11.30. No work in the afternoon, but 40 minutes' "exercise."

On Sundays the rising and meal times were the same as on week days. No work in the shops. Service in chapel from 9 to 10, 20 minutes "exercise" morning and afternoon. Convicts dreaded Sundays more than any other day of the week.

It will be seen that convicts are solitarily confined to their cells for about 19 hours out of 24 hours each day from Monday to Friday, 21 hours on Saturday and 22 hours on Sunday. That they are out in the air for not more than 50 minutes daily, and even in the summer time I am told these conditions do not vary.

Lack of adequate sanitary arrangements is the cause of much physical and mental misery. Prisoners are expected to use the w.c.'s attached to the workshops or alongside the exercise yard whenever possible. There were **two w.c.'s** and **one urinal** attached to my workshop where 70 to 80 men worked from 9 to 11.15 a.m. and 2 to 3.20 in the afternoon for five days a week, and in the exercise yard there were **three w.c.'s** and **one urinal** and this same number of men to use them during the 20 minutes' exercise morning and afternoons from Monday to Friday inclusive.

On Saturdays there was only from 9 to 11.30 to use the workshop lavatories, and in the afternoon 500 to 600 men would have to exercise in the yard (with the three w.c.'s and one urinal) for 40 minutes. On Sundays there were 500 to 600 men exercising in the yard for 20 minutes morning and afternoon, and many prisoners spent the exercise time queueing for the w.c. Even if the human body will conveniently function to order, it is obvious that 600 men cannot use three w.c.'s in 40 minutes. During my last two weeks in prison the w.c.'s were all frozen up, but still they had to be used as fast as possible during the time available. If one was unable to use these places during work or exercise time the tiny chamber pot in the cell was all one had to use. In any case, between 4 p.m. and 6.45 a.m. (14¾ hours) this little pot was the only convenience available and there was no opportunity to empty it until the next morning. Bearing in mind the smallness of the cell and the tiny window, of which two small panes only could be slid aside to let in the air, it will not be difficult to imagine the condition of the atmosphere in which the prisoners spend their hours of solitude and eat their meals. I used to dread the ten minutes when prisoners lined up to empty their slops, the stench was unbelievable. Carrying the pots with their obnoxious contents was quite a precarious business because they were invariably full to the point of overflowing. I was glad on these occasions that it was cold weather and not summer time.

After the first few days of prison life and food it is common for a man to suffer from a severe attack of diarrhoea, lasting three or four days, yet he cannot get out of the cell except during the times I have stated. Incidentally I might add that when I was first taken to my permanent cell an unpleasant odour greeted me. I discovered that the cause was an unemptied chamber pot left by a former prisoner. I had to empty it out and clean it, but it was days before the cell was free from the horrible smell. I asked for disinfectant, but it was not forthcoming, neither was hot water or soda.

(To be Concluded.)

CHARLES A. EARL.

Our comrade, Charles A. Earl, was born at Dorking, Surrey, on February 17, 1888. He is married and has two daughters, one a school teacher and the other a hospital sister, and three sons. Two of the sons have been given unconditional exemption and the third, who is not yet 18, has registered as a C.O. The family is entirely pacifist. That fact made his own stand much easier.

Up to 1940, Comrade Earl was an active member of the Labour Party and Trades Union. After that time things began to get very difficult.

As he could not possibly compromise on the war issue with them, he reluctantly resigned his membership. He is a member of the Godalming Borough Council and the only pacifist on that body.

In September, 1941, Comrade Earl wrote to the Town Clerk of Godalming informing him of his refusal to register for firewatching. In the December following he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment or £25 fine. He refused to pay the fine and forbade anyone else to do so for him, and duly served his sentence.

In September, 1942, Earl again wrote to the

Town Clerk, telling him that he did not intend to register as required by the 1942 Act. As a consequence, he has been summoned to appear at Godalming Police Court again on Tuesday, June 3.

Defining his position, Comrade Earl writes :—

It has been a source of great disappointment to me that many pacifists have been willing to accept conscription in some form or other. I appreciate that each must decide for himself or herself, where they draw the line, but I feel sure that if only 50 per cent. of pacifists had refused to be conscripted it would have had a marvellous effect, but as it is, with only about 5 per cent. standing out against it, and probably this figure is too high, the warring Governments can rest easy, knowing that at some point or other they will be able to recruit most pacifists to assist in the dreadful work by cajoling them on some pretext or other that sounds humane. Herbert Morrison and Ellen Wilkinson have made it very plain that the Government regarded firewatching as an important part of the war organisation, and they made no secret of the fact that the older men and women were required to do this work, in order that the younger men and women could be withdrawn for munitions and the forces. It has been described as "team work," and I think the description is correct. The firewatchers release the men and women to make the bombs, and also release men to become airmen to drop the bombs on our German, Italian, French and other brothers and sisters. The sum total of all this is that firewatchers, bomb makers and bomb droppers are all working as one unit to kill others. That is how I see it, but most pacifists seem to prefer the Government's theory that firewatching is humanitarian, and that allows them to do the work. When spies are shot it is, I believe, the practice to have one rifle loaded with blank cartridge, so that all the firing squad can "kid" themselves that they did not fire the fatal shot; also the officer in charge of the firing party has a revolver in case it is necessary for "humanitarian" reasons to put the victim out of his agony. I rather think it is that kind of delusion that has got hold of so many pacifists. They say quite sincerely "Thou shalt not kill," at the same time they make it more convenient for others to do the killing. Why talk of a negotiated peace so long as you are willing to help in the prosecution of the war.

Furthermore, I personally have done my utmost for years to persuade young men and women to remain steadfast in their opposition to war and to accept prison rather than conditions which are part of the war organisation. Shall I then, now that my turn has come, act like a coward and say, "Don't do as I do, but do as I tell you"?

In conclusion I would like to pay tribute to the Duke of Bedford. I have some personal experience of speaking as a Pacifist in public places during war, and his courage and forthrightness are an inspiration to all of us.

TUNISIA

The spectacular victory of the allied armies in Tunisia, concluding the long drawn out African struggle, offers the most favourable condition for a negotiated peace. Even the fantastic declarations of the Italian Government and the apologies of the Nazis contribute to this result. The future of mankind turns upon the development of the thoughtful as opposed to the herd mind.

Man is born to die; but not to die, generation after generation, by murder. Nor should the organisation of murder be his occupation . Man is born for peace and happiness and fulness of living. If the 1918 armistice had been followed by a negotiated peace, and not a dictated one, there would have been no European collapse of the movement towards Socialism and commonwealth, no Fascism and no Nazism. Reparations, with their perpetuated injustice, defeated and destroyed the rational humans in Germany, and gave us the less than average hystericals, headed by Hitler—a man far inferior to the men he destroyed.

Socialists and Pacifists, all good men and women must unite, to save the world another 1918 and after.

Byna Lee

Died 17th May, 1943

We extend our deepest sympathy to our comrade, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., Minister of the Unitarian New Meeting Church, in Coventry. Comrade Lee was formerly Minister of Ross Street Unitarian Church, Glasgow, and a Labour member of the Glasgow City Council. Mrs. Lee was associated with her husband in his work in the Socialist and Pacifist movements.

HEWART, L. C. J.: A MUSING.

Lord Hewart died on Wednesday, May 5, at Totteridge, Hertfordshire. He was Lord Chief Justice of England for 18 years—1922-1940.

Born at Bury, Lancashire, on January 7, 1870, Gordon Hewart was for some time a reporter in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. Called to the Bar in 1902, he began practising in the Manchester County Courts.

Gordon Hewart was elected as Liberal Member of Leicester in 1913 when the office of Solicitor General became vacant in 1916, Lloyd George appointed him to the post. He was raised to Attorney-General in 1919. Two years later he was admitted to the Cabinet, and in 1922 became Lord Chief Justice.

Lord Hewart was one of the signatories to the Irish settlement which involves the partition of Ireland.

In 1929, Lord Hewart published a remarkable book in defence of civil liberty, entitled "The New Despotism." This book will prove to future students of our times that Government Decree and Orders in Council did not arise out of the Second Great War conditions but defined the bureaucratic tendency of the State Department over a perid of years. He viewed with growing concern this lazy willingness of the Legislatrs to give to Departments of State the right to administer and to interpret the law.

This work is a really great book, clearly and simply written—a powerful legal protest and indictment. It was never answered, for its stern challenge was and is unanswerable. Every thinking citizen, with the least respect for liberty, should secure and study this analysis of legislation. The writing is fascinating in its lucidity.

When Lord Hewart published "The New Despotism", he could not have foreseen how really great his book would become. The claims that Bureaucracy was rivetting so steadily on the British people at that time have attained to fantastic inter-linkings and lengths under pressure of war necessity. Government by Order in Council, Statutory Rule and Defence Regulation has reached a stage at which no citizen can follow its ramifications. Since the outbreak of war, these edicts, which Parliament seldom attempts to discuss in advance, have poured out of the Stationery Office at the rate of well over 2,000 a year. The grand total up to the end of 1942 was nearly 9,000. And it has increased since January of this year.

A few, like the clumsy attempt to ban the rail transport of flowers, are from time to time suspended or withdrawn. Others concern matters which set a fixed term to the Order's operation.

The democracy feeling that the war is one of life and death against Fascism — whether history should endorse this view or not—agrees that there must be some orders. Common folk take a homeopathic view of the struggle against European Fascism. The people admit that there arise emergencies when the Government cannot afford time for the normal process of action by Statute. The general enabling power of the Defence Regulations had to be granted. The consent once given, it is exploited intolerably by Ministers and their officials with a mania for regimentation and form-filling. Why we should trust in war-time the men we cannot trust in peace-time no one has explained.

There is no thought behind many of these Orders now. Just power. The flower business is an example. After striving to enforce a total ban, which automatically created a host of petty offences, the authorities reverted to a semi-sensible arrangement. This might well be applied to trouser turn-ups or any other Orders which require the goodwill and co-operation of traders and public. Substitute commonsense for rigidity. Cease from conjuring up more and more artificial offences, which but incite people to commit them. The desired results will come from the people themselves. As it is Regulations are made only to be broken, either through temptation because of their looseness, or ignorance due to their profusion. This is the negation and not the enforcement of law.

Complaint was made against Lord Hewart's great work that there was no precedent for a sitting Lord Chief Justice to issue an indictment on so controversial a subject.

Lord Hewart replied that, as Peer, he was summoned to the House of Lords not merely to vote, but also to advise.

In 1934 Lord Hewart was the central figure in a dramatic scene in the Lords.

During the second reading of the Supreme Court of Justice (Amendment) Bill he suggested that one clause had been introduced as an attack on Lord Justice Slesser because of his political opinions (which were alleged to be Labour), and complained that he had not been consulted in regard to the Bill. He threatened to adjourn his Court early every day and fight the Bill word by word during the committee stage.

Later at a full-dress debate, Viscount Sankey, then Lord Chancellor answered this general strike threat of the Lord Chief Justice by disclaiming any intention to leave Lord Hewart out of consultation.

Lord Sankey explained that no reflection was intended on Lord Justice Slesser, and promised to insert a clause which would safeguard the seniority rights of all appointed Lord Justices.

Notwithhstanding his powerful defence of Slesser's right to hold Socialist opinions, and objection to political victimisation, and notwithstanding his indictment of decree legislation, which is merely a form of Fascism and was rightly condemned, Lord Hewart failed to uphold the liberty of the citizen on the one occasion when the opportunity to do so was given to him.

On May 2, 1939, we argued the Hyde Park Free Speech Case before the King's Bench Divisional Court, consisting of Hewart, L.C.J., and Humphreys and Lewis, JJ. This case was reported in the "Glasgow Herald", "Daily Record", Glasgow; "News Chronicle", London, and Scottish "Daily Express", Glasgow. There may have been other reports but we did not see them. We have not dealt with this case in the account of our trials snce 1909, that have been appearing in these columns. The police court proceedings, at Marlborough Street Police Court, were detailed and commented upon in "The Word" for June 1939.

Lord Hewart, Sir Travers Humphreys, and Sir Wilfred Lewis ,as judges, grossly misconducted themselves and showed no respect for the principles of law as such, and no courtesy as judges. We are not without pleading experience and we have pleaded in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh and also in the Court of King's Bench in London. We have sampled justice as the accused at the Central Criminal Court, London, and at the High Court, Glasgow. The result may not be greatly different in most cases, but it is a fact that, in the Scot Courts, complete democracy is maintained during the trial. The layman who conducts his own case in the High Court of Justiciary has no complaint to make of his treatment and receives all the courtesy that is accorded to the Advocates. In the English Court this is not so. The Court of King's Bench offends badly in this matter. Counsel have a superior pleading position and the layman pleader is placed in a position that almost amounts to being in the dock. We will enlarge on this treatment at a later date. The Scots Court preserves an atmosphere of sound legal pleading not to be found in the London Court of King's Bench.

On the occasion of our 1939 pleading, Lord Hewart endeavoured to stop us speaking before

we had uttered three words. We had begun "My Lords, I—" and we were paused before reviewing the position. Throughout the proceedings, Lord Hewart and his fellow judges did everything possible to interrupt our argument. They betrayed irritation at every period. Irrelevancy has never found a place in our legal reasoning. At that time, we had thirty years' experience of pleading. Further, which is probably a mistake, in all our conflicts with authority, we have never relied upon excitement and support. Our custom since our first trial in 1909 has been to attend court alone and to speak in almost empty court, except for assembled counsel and solicitors, and maybe two or three pressmen. We require no audience for we believe in the principles of jurisprudence. We believe in the laws of evidence, primary and secondary. We are opposed to clamour and violence of every description. We give courtesy in pleading and we expect to receive it. Our contention is always one of reason and commonsense. Every vestige of courtesy and judicial calm was absent from the Bench on this occasion. The principle for which we were contending was a great public right, an inalienable right of democracy. His Majesty's Judges, headed by the Lord Chief Justice of England, had no time for such foolishness. The proceedings were a disgrace.

It is said we must think and write and speak no ill of the dead. We believe in speaking truth of all, dead or alive. Men advance to leadership by betraying the rights of mankind. They die, honoured members of the community. The social wrong they have perpetuated remains, to torture the living, and maybe, to thwart the happiness and well-being of mankind for generations to come. Under such circumstances, it is incumbent on the man of principle to write and speak truly. He should write and speak without bitterness. Equally he should write with accuracy and without apology.

Nearly two years before the Hyde Park Appeal, Lord Hewart presided over an interesting trial, which made great headlines at the time.

We reproduce the headings that were published right across the full page, in "The Evening Times", Glasgow, for Thursday, July 22, 1937:—

£500 DAMAGES FOR T.U.C. LEADER.
"DISGRACEFUL LIBELS" IN NEWSPAPERS.
STORY OF "SPYING" WITHIN THE MOVEMENT.
JUDGE'S STERN WARNING TO DEFENDANTS.

Beneath these splash display headings appeared a report of the case.

London, Thursday.—"These were disgraceful libels, and I will only add for the benefit of the defendants and other possible persons who write and publish libels that those who write and publish libels are apt to forget that in this country a libel may be a crime, and people who perpetrate them may cool their heels sometimes in gaol."

This warning was uttered by the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Hewart) in the King's Bench Division to-day in assenting to the settlement of a libel action brought by Sir Walter Citrine against Mr. Edward Richard Pountney, the proprietor, printer, and publisher of the "Daily Worker" and the Workers' Press.

It was stated that Sir Walter had agreed to accept £500 as damages, and the payment of his costs as between solicitor and client.

The plaintiff was also granted a perpetual injunction to restrain the defendants from publishing any similar libels.

"USING HIS POSITION."

Mr. Gilbert Paull (for Sir Walter Citrine) said that Sir Walter was the Secretary of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and that among his other appointments was President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The action was brought in respect of publications in the "Daily Worker" of May 8 and 10.

Those publications made the grave allegations against Sir Walter that he was using his official position in the trade union movement to betray the interests of those who had trusted him to forward their interests, and that he was in league and close co-operation with an organisation for spying upon the trade union movement and hounding out of work active trade union members. . . .

On Saturday, May 8, the libel started with an article spread across the front page with the heading —"Spy Machine Against Trade Union Revealed by Secret Letters. Economic League Claims Citrine as Ally."

"ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS."

This article went on to state:—

"The 'Daily Worker' is able to-day to make a disclosure of the gravest significance to every member of the working-class movement.

"Documents for the authenticity of which we vouch, are quoted below showing the existence of an elaborate organisation for spying on trade union activities and for hounding militant workers out of employment.

"This organisation, well known under the title of the Economic League, maintains, according to the statements of its chief official, connections with highly placed trade union leaders for the purpose stated above."

Then appeared in large letters — "Astounding Revelations."

JUDGE'S COMMENT.

There followed these passages:—

"'Daily Worker' readers are already familiar with the role of the Economic League as an enemy of the workers' demands for better condietions, and as a bitter opponent of Socialism.

"From the information in our possession they now seem to be able . . . to supply information to armament and engineering firms about the movements of 'extremists' . . . and to state that they are in close co-operation with Sir Walter Citrine and with certain trade unions."

Lord Hewart—I gather that this case is settled. Are you not now giving more publicity to this rubbish than it could ever otherwise have got?

Mr. Paul—Unfortunately, it has obtained the very widest publicity. This paper has circulated all over England containing these words, and not content with that the proprietor has issued a series of leaflets, circulating through all the factories in which he thought interest could be taken, telling the workers to read this issue and see what the position was between Sir Walter and the Economic League. There is, in fact, no foundation whatsoever for the allegations made.

LETTER READ.

Mr. Paul added—"The gist of the article was this. It set out the name of Mr. J. Baker White as the national secretary of the Economic League, and also the name of the district secretary. Then it purported to set out a letter written by Mr. Baker White to the district secretary.

"That letter stated—'It may interest you to know that the co-operation between Sir Walter Citrine and myself on this question is far closer than most people imagine.'

"That goes on for two pages, and ends up with the words—'A bigger issue, however, which vitally concerns the working-class is raised by the grave statements made about Sir Walter Citrine and others connected with the working-class movement.'

"On Monday, May 10, there were again large headlines in the paper—'More spy-machine exposures.'

"It set out in terms—'By far the gravest aspect of this exposure is the fact that the published documents, for the complete authenticity of which the 'Daily Worker' vouches, implicate Sir Walter Citrine.'"

NOT A WORD OF TRUTH.

"There is not a word of truth in any of these suggestions", Mr. Paul declared. "Beyond the fact that Sir Walter knows that there is an Economic League, he knows nothing about it at all.

"He does not know and never has known Mr. Baker White, and is utterly unable to account for any such letter ever having been written by Mr. Baker White."

"A letter has been received from Mr. Baker White stating that his letter exhibited in the 'Daily Worker' was not a true letter.

"It has been twisted by leaving out certain words and so altering the whole sense. What Mr. Baker White had stated was that in his opinion the views of Sir Walter and the League might be found to be not far apart."

This case makes interesting reading to-day. The "Daily Worker" continues in its sensational, irresponsible way, to forward the power ends of the hireling leaders of the Communist Party. It is not necessary to agree with the policy or tactics of Sir Walter Citrine—who was boosted into trade union importance by Communist Party applause at one time — to realise that this 1937 attack was calculated and deliberate falsehood from beginning to end. Yet observe the arrogance with which the charges are asserted, and the cowardice with which they are deserted! The same 'Daily Worker", and the same Communist Party owners, with the same sensational imitations of the irresponsibilities of the late Horatio Bottomley — who at least lied and terrorised originally at his own dictates—are with us to-day. The "Communists" are taking full advantage of the war situation to stampede the Labour movement to destruction and so prepare the way for the horrors of a third world war.

We recall this trial from the case-records of Lord Hewart as a warning to workers to beware of political libellers, power-seekers, and would-be dictators. Such persons are the criminal enemies of mankind.

FROM A HOSPITAL WARD.

For nine long months, they tell me, he's been here,
Stretched flat upon his back—a miracle
He is alive. The roof gave way and fell,
And crushed him in the mine. All that was dear,
Youth, strength, life, laughter, love, hope, and the clear
Proud voice of song ta'en from him in a flash,
The very blue, eternal skies to crash
And plunge him, groping, in a night-black sphere.

And yet he smiles, tho' smiling gives him pain,
And hopes some day to sit within a chair—
He knows he'll walk no more—and smell the air
From clover fields, and see his mates again,
Try out their skill upon the quoiting green,
And dream of the bold youth he might have been.

JOE CORRIE.

SANDY COMMUNISM

Last month we drew attention to the demand made by the Sandy Urban District Council for the internment of the Duke of Bedford. Claiming to be one of the most progressive local councils in Dedfordshire, this Council has become the centre of "Communist" hypocrisy and reaction. The Sandy Council ought to withdraw from the British Commonwealth of Nations and apply for incorporation in the Soviet Union. For Moscow is its spiritual home and the source of its political inspiration.

The greater part of the Council meeting has been devoted, for some time past, to the discussion of affairs extending far beyond the confines of the parish and many resolutions have been passed on matters of national and even international moment. In recent years the Council has had a strong Socialist—and in more recent years still—a "Communist" element. This fact has been responsible for many of the political subjects coming under discussion.

Until he moved to Bedford a short time ago Mr. George Matthews, a former prospective Labour candidate for the Division and now a prominent member of the Communist Party, was the youngest member of the Council. He was instrumental in getting the Council to pass a resolution sending a message of greetings to the Soviet Union on the anniversary of the Soviet entry into the war.

At the annual meeting of the Mid. Beds Labour Party recently when the Communist Party's application was rejected, Mr. J. Minhall was the only delegate present who voted for affiliation.

It was Minhall who moved the Communist Party resolution demanding the internment of the Duke of Bedford.

The last Council election was in 1939 and all the members of the Council with the exception of Messrs. J. Minhall and A. J. Smith (both members of the Labour Party) were elected then. These two latter were co-opted to fill vacancies.

These *co-opted* members *moved* and *seconded* respectively the resolution against the Duke of Bedford. In Bedfordshire, this kind of voting is called democracy or the voice of the people!

The members of the Sandy Council are as follows:—

Braybrooks, W. G. (Chairman since 1939). A prominent church worker. Member of Beds. County Council, Biggleswade Hospital and Water Boards and the Guardians Committee. Chairman Sandy Services Gift Fund and Savings Committee. Topped the poll at 1936 and 1939 elections. Does not take a prominent part in politics. Conservative.

McKelvey, W. G. (Vice-chairman). Engaged in Civil Defence work. Represents Sandy on East Beds. C.D. Committee. Vice-Chairman

Biggleswade Guardians Committee. Former Sandy Baptist Church deacon and worker. Former Liberal, now possibly Conservative.

The next two members opposed the resolution, as our report last month recorded. Both defended the Duke of Bedford's courage.

WESTERN, G. E. Old member of Council. Tailor and former chairman. Prominent Methodist and ardent Liberal. Always attacking incompetence and blundering irrespective of party or person.

COPE, A. Farmer and market gardener. Alderman of Beds. County Council. Prominent public figure in Beds. J.P. Biggleswade Bench. Member Beds. Agricultural Committee. Chairman Small Holdings Committee. Member Education Committee. Prominent Liberal. Trustee Beeston Methodist Church.

The other members of the Council are :—

SPRING, E. G. Chairman Sandy Workers' Educational Association. Socialist. Churchwarden. Former member Biggleswade Hospital and Water Boards. Market gardener.

MINHALL, J. Crossing-keeper, Girtford Station. Member of Labour Party with strong "Communist" tendencies. Was keen supporter of G. L. Matthews (former Communist member). Introduces political subjects from "Communist" angle at every Council meeting.

SMITH, A. J. Railway porter. Member Labour Party. Co-opted to fill vacancy caused by resignation of G. L. Matthews. St. John Ambulance lecturer. Influenced by "Communist" Party.

MATTHEWS, G. W. Dairyman. Civil Defence worker. Member Conservative Club. Chairman Highways Committee.

ALLISON, J. A. Grocer. Chairman Finance Committee. Member Conservative Club. Member Sandy Observer Corps. Opposed to political discussions.

BLACKNER, W. J. Market gardener. Conservative. Prominent member Beeston Methodist Church where he is choirmaster. Special Sergeant Beds. Constabulary. Deprecates political discussions.

GASKIN, F. Old member of Council. Conservative. Churchwarden and Secretary Parochial Church Council. Retired Civil Servant. One of the "old school." Often supports Communist and Labour Party resolutions.

CRAWLEY, C. Market gardener. Ex-chairman of the Council. Prominent Civil Defence worker. Prominent Conservative but occasionally supports Labour Party resolutions.

Former Councillor G. L. Matthews joined the Communist Party in April, 1940. At this time, the Communist Party were busy conducting propaganda in defence of the Stalin-Hitler Peace Pact, organising the People's Convention, and denouncing the war as an Imperialist war. This activity of the Communist Party shows that the present campaign against the Duke of Bedford does not arise from honest patriotism but from sheer subservience to the interests of the Soviet Union. The Minhall resolution is a political scandal when viewed in the light of the war-record and political activities of the people who sponsored it.

George Matthews joined the Communist Party of Great Britain at the time that the Hitler Pact dictated Communist Party policy. He upheld that pact. He was, at that time, prospective Labour Candidate for Mid-Beds. He was adopted as candidate in January, 1939.

After he had joined the party, George Matthews wrote an article for the *Daily Worker*, for Monday December 9, 1940, entitled *Students Are Facing Facts*. By this he meant that they were opposing the war. Matthews was described as "Vice-President, National Union of Students; and also Vice-President of the University Labour Federation." Obviously somewhat of a careerist. Here are some passages from the article written by G. L. Matthews :—

Every month that has passed since September, 1939, has made more clear the contradiction between imperialist war and the maintenance and extension of education for the people. . . .

The Socialist and Communist students, united in the University Labour Federation, arrived at a correct estimation of the war over a year ago.

This year thousands more students, though often confused about many of the aspects of the war, are taking part in the struggle for a People's Government and a People's Peace.

There will be many delegates from the Universities to the People's Convention in January.

The *Daily Worker* printed the third of the above paragraphs in bold type.

These extracts show where Mr. George Matthews stood before Moscow told him he must turn pro-war. Then he turned. This type of political gangster is regarded as the voice of Britain!

When George Matthews joined the Communist Party, his admission was announced over the Moscow radio. From then on, until Russia was attack by Germany, he made scurrilous attacks on the British conduct of the war,, on Winston Churchill, and the British Government generally. He broke with the Labour Party because of their opposition to the Soviet Union at the time of the Russo-Finnish war.

The *Daily Worker* for Saturday, November 16, 1940, gave a two-column heading to an account of Molotov's visit to Berlin. We reproduce heading and first two paragraphs of letter-press :

MOSCOW COMMENT ON MOLOTOV VISIT

From our own Correspondent.

Moscow, Friday.

"Molotov's visit to Berlin is the most significant event in recent days," says Krasnaya Zvezda, newspaper of the Red Army, in a review of international events.

"There is no doubt," adds the paper, "that the resumption of personal contact with the leaders of German policy will facilitate the further strengthening and development of Soviet-German relations in the interests of both countries."

The *Daily Worker* for Saturday, December 7, 1940, published an editorial in which it was stated :—

If the people put their trust in appeals to either Hitler or Churchill, the slaughter and starvation will go on. And whatever side claims the final victory, the people of both countries will lose.

The real issue (carefully avoided by the I.L.P. as well as the Government) is action by the people themselves to end the war in their own way and over the heads of their Hitlers and Churchills.

This is the way of the People's Convention which is organising the fight for a People's Government.

In the same issue of our contemporary, R. Palme Dutt published an article, entitled *What Do We Look For From The People's Convention.*

Defining the need for the convention, how workers were being elected to it from all over the country, Dutt asked :—

What can we look for from this Convention? What must we demand of the Convention?.

He proceeded to indict the British Government :—

When the Churchill Government came to power seven months ago, the Communist Party gave warning that the consequences of its policy would prove catastrophic for the people of this country. To-day experience is beginning to prove the truth of this.

While the war is ever more clearly revealed as a war of Empires for world domination, waged with conscript peoples and enslaved nations in the far corners of the earth, the lot of the people at home is hunger, cold and disease. Class inequalities are extreme. Record dividends of the profiteers; the offensive against democracy in India and the Empire; the preparation of fascism at home; the mortgaging of the country to the American millionaires—such is the programme of the Churchill Government with which the Labour Party leaders have united their fortunes.

This was not written by the Duke of Bedford. It was not published by "the notorious Strickland Press." It was published by the Communist Party. It was applauded by G. L. Matthews. It was endorsed by Councillor J. Minhall of Sandy. It was seconded by Councillor A. J. Smith, *and it was "defeatism"* ! Oh no! How could it be? It represented the interests of the Soviet Government and Germany had not invaded the Soviet Union as yet.

Last month we reproduced the heading of article published by William Gallacher, M.P., in the *Evening Times* for Saturday, February 27, 1943, denouncing work disputes, and declaring in bold headlines *Strikes Help Hitler.*

This same William Gallacher, M.P., published an article in the *Daily Worker* for Monday, December 9, 1940, denouncing Patrick Dollan *for urging the same point. Only the Germans had not invaded Russia at that time.*

This article was headed :—

GALLACHER ANSWERS DOLLAN

The letter-press opened as follows :—

William Gallacher, M.P., has sent to the "Daily Worker" the following letter in reply to Lord Provost Dollan, who, when speaking at a luncheon given by Glasgow business men to Mr. Ernest Brown, called for the suppression of the Clydeside militant workers.

Then followed Gallacher's letter. Gallacher wrote :—

History gives us many examples of so-called "radicals" or "socialists" who go over to the bourgeoise, and descend to the lowest depths of reaction.

Such are the Lavals, Briands, Kerenskys, and a host of others, of whom the latest is De Man of Belgium.

But none of these have descended quite as low as the conscientious objectors in the last war, who now, when they are over military age, have completely reverseed their policy towards the militarists.

In the forefront of these is Lord Provost P. J. Dollan. His latest outburst, addressed to the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, organisation of the Clyde capitalists, is about the "mischief makers" on the Clyde.

Gallacher describes a discussion he had with Dollan in 1917, when he visited Dollan, then a conscientious objector, in Wakefield Prison Camp. He describes how Dollan "ranted" in favour of strikes. Gallacher concludes :—

Now this creature Dollan has tied up with the millionaire owners of the press, and with the financiers of the City of London, for an attack on the workers and the workers' press.

He has got right down to the bottom. In fact, as the Americans say, he has got down so far that he would have to reach up to touch the bottom.

And now Gallacher, G. L. Matthews and Councillor Minhall have joined Dollan at the bottom, *according to the C.P. own description.*

The previous month—to be precise, on Saturday, November 16, 1940—the *Daily Worker* published big headings to this effect :—

William Gallacher, M.P., says

TAKE THIS PAMPHLET WHEREVER YOU GO

The pamphlet referred to us was *We Fight For Life*, by R. Palme Dutt, published by the Communist Party, at 2d.

Gallacher opened his article in the following terms :—

Everywhere in Britain there is discussion about the war, in the factories, in the shelters, in the trade union branches and the co-operative guilds, this is going on.

More and more the people are demanding to see that reality behind the demagogic propaganda of the Tory Party and its Labour allies in the Government. But it is necessary to sharpen this growing realisation of the true character of the war and to give the rising feeling of the people a clear direction.

For such a purpose Palme Dutt's new pamphlet We Fight For Life is an invaluable weapon. With all the skill of which he is a master, Dutt analyses and exposes the imperialist character of this war.

Having made an extract from the pamphlet, Gallacher concludes his review :—

Take this pamphlet with you wherever you go. It is one of the best Palme Dutt has ever written.

Councillor Minhall took the pamphlet to the Sandy Urban District Council with him. Now this creature wants to intern the Duke of Bedford with the aid of four stupid ignorant fellow councillors. He does not see that his demand means that he and his cronies ought to have been interned since 1940, since he took this pamphlet with him to the Council!

Gallacher quotes this extract from Palme Dutt's pamphlet, denouncing the war as follows :

It is a war of rising capitalist great powers, like the last war, a war for world domination; for the largest share in the exploitation of the world; for possession, profits, markets and spheres of influence; for the new division of the world.

Here are two more excepts from Dutt's pamphlet :—

So long as Churchill rules in Britain; so long as a British Ruling Class maintains and fights for the domination of subject nations; so long as they threaten Europe with a new Versailles and with the imposition of puppet counter-revolutionary Governments, for so long the revolutionary struggle in Europe is held back . . .

The British ruling-class are not fighting to liberate the people of Europe from Fascism and reaction. They have always been, for a century and a half, the main stranglers of every popular revolution in every country.

The war-aims of Churchill for which the British workers are asked to die, are the war-aims of British Imperialism, to protect and maintain the domination of the British Empire over a quarter of the world; to smash the rival German Imperialism, and inflict a new super-Versailles, to maintain the reactionary interests of capitalist-class rule against the world Socialist revolution.

And these super-hypocrites have taken possession of the keys of the Tower, and are urging the workers to give unswerving loyalty to the very leaders whom they have denounced as counter-revolutionaries, Imperialist, and "Super-Fascists"! Our comrade, Tom Taylor, has made this point very clear in the excellent I.L.P. pamphlet, *Defend Socialism—from the Communists.*

And here is a description of the "British War Aims," published as an editorial, in the *Daily Worker*, for Saturday, January 18, 1941 :—

LIGHT ON WAR AIMS.

General Sikorski, a gentleman garnered up from the Paris cafes after the fight of Smigly-Ridz, has been at it again. On Wednesday he stated that "Poland in future could not limit herself to the boundaries of 1939."

We are not suggesting that the vapouring of this cafe general should be taken too seriously, but it should be remembered that his puppet government (Sikorski is Prime Minister as well as Commander-in-Chief) only exists by grace of 10 Downing Street.

The Polish Government has stated that it is at war with the Soviet Union, but not at war with Italy. Its newspapers have published articles yearning for a Poland stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Sikorski has now officially endorsed these views.

But we must be thankful. We do at least know what we are fighting for. So that a hundred million Poles, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Czechs, Slavs, etc., shall come under the dictatorship of a bunch of aristocratic landlords and capitalists of the Poland that was.

To-day, the Sandy Urban District Council, at the behest of a "Communist," demands the internment of the Duke of Bedford! And J. Hill, Junior, Secretary of the Bedford Branch, Communist Party, writes a long letter to the *Bedfordshire Times*, for April 16, 1943, eulogising the mighty British war machine that is *"determined to wipe out every vestige of Nazism and Fascism,"* and complaining that *"while this terrific struggle rages, the autocratic Duke of Bedford has written a poisonous pamphlet, which is entitled 'Propaganda for Proper Geese.'"* He adds: *"The Sandy Urban Council knew what to do with him."*

Does the Sandy Council, whose vote we exposed last month, know what to do with itself?

WORD BOUND VOLUME, For 3 years May 1939 to July 1942. inclusive. Green Cloth, 12s 6d. Post Free 13s 6d.

(*Concluded from Column 3.*)

He proceeds to make an excerpt from *Russia Before the Dawn*, by F. A. MacKenzie (published by Fisher Unwin for its anti-Bolshevik author), p. 246. The opening sentence of this excerpt reads :—

The Russian Church was, even up to 1917, an instrument of the Government.

The Russian Orthodox Church is still an instrument of the Government and of the Government at war as in pre-Soviet days. It does not pray for the Czar. It prays for Marshal Stalin. Is there any difference?

The *Daily Mail* professors of morality have forgotten about the mail bags. But their morality is unchanged and their profession is the same. What a study, a vile study, in cant this entire business of political morality, war mongering, lust for power, climbing to office, is! What a sad waste of man's all-too-short mortal existence! What need there is to expose the cruel, bestial, bloody hypocrisy! Let us become human beings across all frontiers and liquidate this foul game of power-politics in a healthy human commonweal—a commonsense world in which commonsense humanity may live in love, happiness, and mutual freedom.

MAIL-BAGS

A Study in Cant and Propaganda

Thomas Johnston's Indictments

Our press cuttings include the front page of *Forward*, Glasgow, for Saturday, July 5, 1926, a heading spread across the five columns reads :

Russian Gold—A Study in Cant

The article is by Thomas Johnston, M.P., at that time editor of our contemporary. To-day this article makes most interesting reading.

Thomas Johnston opens this article with the following interesting three paragraphs :—

The Capitalist Press and Capitalist politicians are making a desperate effort to raise a smoke screen of prejudice and ill-will against Red Russia, under cover of which they hope to prevent any further importation of money from Moscow for British Miners' Relief Funds.

The spectacle of subscriptions being openly received from abroad to assist the miners has aroused the colliery owners and their press to sheer foaming frenzy.

The Home Secretary has issued a Blue Book of Communist Documents [Cmd. 2682, 3/6 net], seized during recent raids, as his little contribution to the smoke screen. In these precious documents there is nothing of which we were not generally cognisant before, and private correspondence which in no way breaks the law has been included in this collation of rubbish if only some silly ass has written that George Lansbury is a "hypocrite" (the same Lansbury, by the way, is addressed in another document from the same Communist source as "Dear Comrade" with "fraternal greetings"); and a letter from Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party is actually full-page photographed because in it he has stated that "we must adopt merciless measures to fight the Labour Party." In the instructions from Moscow at the last General Election the brotherhood in Britain were advised that "active agitation should be conducted against the I.L.P."—presumably in the promotion of that supreme jest, the "United Front."

And outside this miserable stuff nothing—nothing beyond proof, as if any proof were required, that the Third International at Moscow has been supplying money to its Communist Party representatives in London for propaganda, press, and electoral purposes, and getting precious little return for its money.

We hope that the admirers of "Communist" propaganda will note the significance of Johnston's indictment concerning the funds of the Communist Party and their source. Thomas Johnston is Secretary of State for Scotland in the present National Government.

Johnston refers to Walton Newbold's admissions that his letters from Moscow came in 1924 *"uncensored in the mail bags of the Russian Trade Delegation."*

Quite rightly, he claimed that this indictment was irrelevant to the question of miners' relief coming openly from the workers in the Soviet Union. Johnston then proceeded to indict the Conservatives with whom he is allied to-day, as a counter-blast to his indictment, already quoted, of the "Communist" war mongers who want to be allied with him for the duration, or until such time, as, under cover of war, they can establish their dictatorship in Britain.

Johnston wrote :—

INTERFERENCE, INDEED!

And what a crescendo of hypocritical humbug it all is anyhow!

Interference in our internal affairs, forsooth!

Did not Churchill and Lloyd George spend £100,000,000 in levying war, without declaration of war, on Russia? Did they not finance and munition every free-booter and brigand who would accept their money for burning, destroying, murdering, in an attempt to upset the Soviet Government of Russia, without even taking the formal approval of their servile Coalition Parliament?

Did they not finance the Thug, General Mannerheim, who shot 15,000 Finn prisoners without the semblance of a trial, and even turned his machine guns on huddled women and shrieking children? Did not this same "protege" of theirs, Mannerheim, incarcerate 10,000 men and women in prison and deny them water, so that they perished in agony?

And didn't they give their man, Deniken, the Order of the Bath—the scoundrel who buried twenty victims alive and shot 23,000 workers at Rostoff? Didn't they back Yudenitch and Koltchak and Wrangel, who burned the peasants' harvests and destroyed the villages?

Interference in our internal affairs! **Good sooth! what are we doing in Egypt and in China now?**

And didn't the Tories run 40,000 German rifles into the Larne and Donaghadee to foment active bloody rebellion in Ireland after Sir Edward Carson had dined with the Kaiser at Homburg?

And haven't we always been sending money (ay, and sometimes arms) to assist Greeks and Armenians struggling with a Turkish Tyranny?

Certainly it is true that two wrongs—or ten wrongs for that matter of it—do not make one right, but the spectacles of these canting humbugs protesting against the sending of Russian money to aid the colliers of Britain in a struggle against starvation is enough to make an observer sick.

We agree with every word of this indictment. We endorse all that Thomas Johnston says about Churchill, Lloyd George, Mannerheim, Deniken, Yudenitch, Koltchak, and Wrangel. But why are we to believe that Churchill is everything right to-day and would not now dream of thinking or acting as Johnston avows he acted during the first stages of the Russian Revolution? Has the leopard changed its spots to suit the political convenience and change of coat of Thomas Johnston?

Johnston then offsets the story of Newbold's letters coming uncensored in the Trade Delegation's mail bags by another story.

Johnston writes :—

In the "Times" (11/3/24) appeared a letter signed by seven members of the Committee for the "Appeal for the Russian Clergy" asking for money in aid of the persecuted Russian clergy. Remittances could be sent to the Bishop of Birmingham or to Major W. Tudor Pole, of 61 St. James Street, S.W.1, and we were told that—

"Details of the work undertaken can be obtained in confidence from the address below."

Why the "in confidence" will appear in a moment.

A lady, Miss Harrison, wrote for particulars before she sent any money. On 12th March, 1924, she was sent a reply enclosing some explanatory leaflets.

To this she replied on 18th March.

Johnston here reproduced Miss Harrison's letter :—

"53 Belsize Road,
South Hampstead, N.W.6,
18th March, 1924.

Dear Sir,—With reference to my letter of a few days ago and your reply . . . I notice that in the course of the publication you enclosed it is stated 'The money was sent out in English notes; a friend changed it into chervontsi, the new Russian money; it was then divided up and sent to trusted agents in various centres.'

Would you please inform me as to whether you know who those 'trusted agents' are, and whether you are quite satisfied that the money has not been used for ulterior purposes?

It seems to me a very risky business sending money in this way, because should any of it be devoted to political and anti-Russian Government purposes it would fully justify the Russian Government in taking legal or other proceedings against the recipients.

Before considering whether I ought to help financially or not, I should like to be fully satisfied on these points.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F. Harrison.

W. Tudor Pole, Esq."

"And then," he adds, "on 19th March came this amazing reply" :—

"61 St. James's Street,
London, S.W.1.
19th March, 1924.

Private and Confidential.

F. Harrison, Esq.,
53 Belsize Road,
South Hampstead, N.W.6.

Dear Sir,—Replying to your letter of the 18th inst., I have pleasure in advising you that all cash and parcels we send to Russia are consigned to the British Charge d'Affaires (Mr. Hodgson), Moscow, or to Mr. Thomas Preston, the British representative in Petrograd.

In printed documents it would certainly be impossible for us to state that the relief work we are carrying on was made possible by the co-operation of British representatives in Russia, but it is a fact.

You can rest assured, therefore, that there is no wastage, and that none of our funds find their way into Bolshevik hands or into the hands of the renegade clergy of the so-called 'Red' Church.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly treat this information in strict confidence.—Yours faithfully,

W. Tudor Pole."

Johnston asked the *"Daily Mail* professors of the higher morality" to explain this precious document.

(Concluded foot of column 1.)

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June 6—Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.—From Supernaturalism to Humanism.
,, 20—C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.—The Good Pagan (2).
,, 27—Prof. G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—The United States: (2) The Fight for the Constitution.

Every Freethinker, Rationalist, Ethicist, and Humanist ought to attend these meetings and join this historic society, so as to continue its traditions, and maintain its services to mankind.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Aldred,—A copy of the "Word" for June 1942 came to hand last week, and I feel that I must write and thank you for the effective reply you made to the editor of the "Inquirer."

Your description of the "Inquirer's" editorial comment as "peevish" is exactly right. The Editor did not attempt to reply to the points that I raised with respect to the misuse of a religious journal, nor do I see how his atitude can be justified in any way. However, you have dealt so well with him that I believe it would be a good thing if every Unitarian minister in England could read the "Word."

I am enclosing a copy of a reply sent a few weeks ago to the editor of the "Inquirer," dealing also with Sir W. P. Colfox. It appears that I did not give Colfox's full title, but then I did not know he was knighted; his fame is not such as to be well known here! All the same, as a matter of courtesy, had I known that he was a Knight of the Realm I would have done more than simply give his initials.

I was interested to see one of our Church members with a copy of the "Word" on Sunday. She has subscribed for it, though it may be coming through a friend of hers. Also, I note you have a letter from William E. Costar, who is a member of my Church. He was very interested to know that we had made contact with each other.

I have been very interested in the articles about F. W. Jowett, and the articles from his pen. I knew him in the old I.L.P. days and always held him in great admiration and respect.

I hope that the circulation of the "Word" increases monthly. It is doing a wonderful work and I read every page of it with the greatest interest.

All good wishes, as ever,
Sincerely yours,
WILL BOTTOMLEY.

Melbourne Unitarian Church,
18th Aug., 1942.

(Enclosure: Letter to the Editor, "The Inquirer.")
MR. BOTTOMLEY'S PROTEST.

Sir,—I now have copies of the "Inquirer" for the issues of May 2 and 9. The editorial note appended to my letter published on May 2 assumes that my letter was conditioned by the fact that the Japs were "knocking at the doors of Australia." This is entirely wrong. For months previously I had read with feelings approaching dismay the "Week by Week" editorial notes, for it seemed to me—and I still see no reason to alter my opinion—that they were a misuse of our denominational journal.

Apart from the fact that the air of omniscience adopted in these notes appears ridiculous in the light of later events, a journal dedicated to religion being used to bolster up a war morale is, to my mind, not only a contradiction of its purpose, but a descent into those nether regions, the approach to which is undoubtedly paved with good intentions.

The spirit of the editorial "Week by Week" notes on the war reeks with a national self-righteousness which is abhorrent to the sensitive mind. I look in vain for any suggestion of repentance for our national sins, or for any indication of that depth of sorrow which might be expected of those who realise the unutterable tragedy of the war.

If I unfortunately made it appear that I was ashamed of the whole contents of the "Inquirer," then I wish very earnestly to correct that impression. My criticism was directed solely against the editorial policy.

Regarding the publication of my letter in another paper, this was not intentional on my part. It is true I sent a copy of the letter, without thought of it being published. Had I anticipated such a possibility, I would certainly have marked it "for information only." Your editorial comment "that Mr. Bottomley can take pleasure" in seeing the letter published elsewhere is unjustly sarcastic, because incorrect in its assumption.

Coming now to the letter by W. P. Colfox in your issue of May 9, perhaps it would be pertinent to remind him that not only do Unitarians "stand for civil and religious liberty the world over," but they stand (do they not?) for the universal Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. This seems to me to be fundamental. Let us stand resolutely for the latter, then we may not despair of the former. I cannot be expected to take up the now strictly limited space of the "Inquirer" by demonstrating how much we have erred in the way of brotherhood.

One final comment. The concluding paragraph of W. P. Colfox's letter is both insulting in its nature and unwarrantable in its assumption of knowledge of the minds "of the vast majority of Unitarians." I can only conclude that the editor's feelings in this case overruled his judgment in allowing that paragraph to appear.

WM. BOTTOMLEY.

Melbourne, July 6, 1942.

Dear Aldred,—It might interest you to know that my brother-in-law, Alfred Golding, was your next door neighbour when you lived in Shepherd's Bush, London. I can remember his many references to you and Rose Witcop, and the literature he used to bring home from your meetings. It was due to his influence that my own ideas on religion and politics were formed in adolescence, and they have remained in that form—i.e., Atheist and Socialist—ever since—30 years.

My brother-in-law was a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain for many years, up to the time he left Britain with his wife and son; he is now in Sydney, Australia. They went early in 1939. I have been a member of the S.P.G.B. since 1930—nearly 14 years.

I have been reading "The Word" quite 12 months—I get my copy through the local branch of the P.P.U. I was a C.O. in 1915-18—not yet affected by the present war.

There is a lot of material in "The Word," and in your pamphlets on Parliament, etc, that I find highly provocative and I would very much like to join issue with you.

I see you are hesitating about increasing the price of "The Word" to 3d. If I were in your position I would not hesitate; on the ground that IF people are interested another penny a month is not going to frighen them away.

Sincerely,
S. HARRIS.

Luton, Beds., March 22.

Dear Guy Aldred,—The letter received by W. S. Kay from an anonymous writer is unfortunately typical of a large majority of our fellow countrymen. In the first place "Englishman" has not the guts to give his name or address for publication.

Secondly "Englishman" states that W. S. Kay has been exempted from National Service on grounds of conscience. Presumably he is referring to service with the Armed Forces. It would be interesting to know what "Englishman" is doing for his country. Possibly dodging the Armed Forces in a reserved occupation and getting a nice fat salary each week like a great many more "patriotic" Englishmen.

As regards the race of brutes to which reference is made our "Englishman" is apparently one of those people who has not had the pleasure of meeting German families in their own homes and consequently can only imagine them as a bloodthirsty horde.

If "Englishman" will do a little thinking on his own account instead of reading blindly everything that is published it would possibly do him a lot of good.

Hitler introduced conscription to get men into his armed forces. Why?

England did the same thing. Why?

I would point out to "Englishman" that nearly everyone whether German or English is a Pacifist by nature and outlook and if they had the courage of their convictions they would all be Pacifists instead of following blindly the dictates of their capitalist leaders. That is why all countries introduce conscription.

When will the people of this world think and act for themselves instead of allowing themselves to be driven like cattle to the slaughter and when will they realise that we are all brothers whether we speak a different language or are a different colour?

I would recommend "Englishman" to study the words of the Poem by James C. Welsh, published in your February issue, entitled "The Image of God."

Yours sincerely,
A. H. ELLIMAN.

East Barnet, Herts.

Dear Comrade,—Re your remarks about the C.P. and D.W. Here is an incident about one of their members at the concentration camp where I spend the best part of my working hours.

One of our S.P.G.B. members gave a lad there the pamphlet "Socialism," published by us. This lover of Democracy confiscated the pamphlet, calling us by the way, "Social Fascists." He was taken up by another employee who is not a sympathiser but a Tory, saying that he had never heard us advocating things the fascists advocate. Also when this bright spark of a C.P.-er was asked what was Fascism, he could not reply.

The C.P. boasts of a membership of 60,000 and this is a specimen of them. They also complain of the lack of knowledge of the majority of the membership. What else can they expect from their methods.

Well, comrade, although we don't agree on many points, there is one thing we do agree on; that is—May the day soon come that sees the end of this rotten system known as Capitalism, and a saner method of distributing the products of the earth.

Yours fraternally,
A. BOWLEY
(S.P.G.B.)

Worcester Park.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Since I was introduced to "The Word" your writings have been duly digested on practically all political subjects, and religious thought. The thoughts were lying latent in my mind, likening it to "a seed lying in the ground waiting for the right temperature to waken it up."

I seem to have experienced the same disturbances as in your evolution of thought, portrayed in "Dogmas Discarded," for which I was more than pleased since I felt that I stood alone and was just a crank. You have given me fresh hope to speak for truth.

You remember Jesus, and the rich young ruler who had observed all commandments, etc., and asked Jesus what he should do to inherit the kingdom of heaven? Jesus replied "sell all that thou has and give away and follow me." My opinion is that true "Anarchism" was arrived at by Jesus. Anarchism which means that desires and our wants should be discarded, and instead the needs satisfied. Perhaps I am wrong in my deductions, but you give me the impression of spiritual perfectness.

I admire you for the way you treat money. My own life is based around "needs" and not "wants" regarding habits useless to health and progress, smoking, drinking, gambling, and sensual musings.

"The Word" will be well advertised round these parts, where there are plenty of "red hot Communists," who don't stop to think. By the way Harry Pollitt spoke at Leigh, Lancashire, recently, and your exposition of his hypocrisy was made manifest in my mind.

What a laugh the Capitalists have, and what fools the miners are! They gave £70 of their hard-earned money for Pollitt's cant and hypocrisy.

Thanking you for your courage and toleration.

Yours sincerely,
H. ASHTON.

Hindley Green, nr. Wigan.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I think you have made it clear in your very full report of Rhys Davies' excellent speech, that this was delivered under the Armistice Convention convened by the Birmingham Council of the P.P.U. I am pleased to say that an Armistice Committee has been formed in Manchester. An encouraging feature of the Manchester organisation is that the Co-op. Women's Guild is represented. You would see in the "Peace News" that an Armistice resolution is to be moved at the annual meeting of the London Co-operative Society.

With all wishes, sincerely,
G. F. BLIGH.

Stretford, March 13.

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OLIGARCHY OF ENGLAND

By C. H. Norman.

In 1938 there was published in Germany a remarkable analysis of English political society entitled, *King, Lords and Gentlemen*, with as sub-title: *Influence and Power of the English Upper Classes*. The name of the author, who had been resident in England for a period of ten years, is Karl H. Abshagen. The book was translated into English and published by Messrs. Heinemann in 1939. It is an astonishing example of German literary efficiency and completely refutes the statement that the only political books allowed in Germany are Nazi propaganda. There is no book by any English writer which has given such a clear and plain picture of the reality of English government. The Trevelyans, the Tawneys, the Laskis, the Bagehots and the rest of English writers are left nowhere by this acute German Conservative, who has avoided all the errors which are so common when a foreigner writes of a country in which he has been temporarily, or even permanently, resident. The chapter headings (and the contents of the chapters fully bear out their promise) will show the breadth of the subject matter covered. There are chapters on *The King and his Court, Great Families and Great Houses, Society in Everyday Politics, Schools for Rulers, A Church for Gentlemen, Secretaries in Control, Society in Uniform, Limits of Plutocracy*, and one on the Scots. It is the kind of book that one might have expected from the pen of some Left-wing historian of the N.C.L.C. but these gentlemen have always felt some diffidence about giving the game away in the full sense: they tread delicately in such matters. In some English books one can find what is stated in this book hinted at, but never is the matter put in any detail. Indeed, on most subjects dealt with by this German writer, English historians and essayists deliberately throw dust in the eyes of their readers, misleading them on the fundamental question of where the real centre of government lies in England under its sham of democratic machinery.

Miss Jane Soames, in her book *The English Press*, has pointed out, on basic issues, how little self-criticism there is in English political circles. She says on page 93: "The millions of readers of the English Press are fed daily year in, year out, on this diet of boasting—there is no other available for them—it marches with their strong national insularity and patriotism, and they find it, in general, normal and palatable enough. But its effect is like too much alcohol or opium, one becomes accustomed to it, so that eventually one cannot carry on without it. We are the best, the greatest, the richest—and we are always right. The newspapers tell us so every day, and patriotism bids us believe it." This passage was written in 1936, and four years of war have demonstrated how vainglorious the English are, especially with the aid of Messrs. Churchill, Simon, Morrison & Co. on the wireless! The Countess Markievicz, an Irish observer, who disdained to take her seat in the English House of Commons, as the first woman elected to that respectable body, in referring to the English railway strike of 1919, writing from Cork Gaol, used these prophetic words: "The British Government are counting on establishing an 'aristocracy' of Labour, well-paid and satisfied, who will go to Parliament, compromise, sell every cause, act with the police, and trample on the underdog." How true that prophecy has proved of many Labour and Trade Union leaders in the period 1919-1943!

Returning to *King, Lords and Gentlemen*, the book contains a penetrating analysis of the characters of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Baldwin and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, which are interesting and certainly unnerving, especially in the case of the latter.

Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

VICTORY!

"And Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house stood, and on which it was borne up, of the one with his right hand, and of the other with his left. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein."

Judges 17 : 29.

It is worth while recalling (from his "War Memoirs") the opinion of Mr. Lloyd George, who regarded Mr. Neville Chamberlain as a complete failure in his post of Director of National Service in 1917: "Mr. Neville Chamberlain is a man of rigid competency. Such men have their uses in conventional times or in conventional positions and are indispensable for filling subordinate posts at all times. But they are lost in an emergency or in creative tasks at any time."

One important feature of this German book lies in explaining how in England men in prominent political families, or holding advanced posts in the State, can proceed from one Department to another leaving a record of incompetence everywhere, but without any risk of exposure or dismissal. Examples that occur to the mind are those of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Lord Baldwin, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir John Simon, Lord Runciman and the late Arthur Henderson, who all proceeded through many Departments, leaving a record of failure in every one of them (except Lord Simon as Lord Chancellor), and yet maintaining a high public reputation! It is a curious combination of log rolling, family and social connections, representation of powerful interests (in the case of Arthur Henderson), plus the knowledge that these men can be relied upon not to interfere seriously with any element of "the system" of exploitation, which is the basis of the government of England. When one compares the state of British towns before the war with the state of German or Swedish towns, one can only express amazement at the self-satisfaction of English statesmen. One might fairly remind them of the remark of Apollonius of Tyana to the Roman Quaestors; "You exercise a high command. If you know how to rule, how happens it that the cities under your government are in so wretched a condition?"

Herr Abshagen is quite free from anti-Semitism, though he does indulge in some ironical remarks on certain oddities of Jewish influence in England, like the appearances of Mr. Julius Salter Elias (one-time, on *John Bull*, colleague of Horatio Bottomley) now Lord Southwood, as the unseen controller of the official organ of the Labour Party, *The Daily Herald*. But he does good service by drawing attention to the powerful influence exercised in the Foreign Office by Roman Catholics, with Lord Halifax as Ambassador-Secretary of State and many of the permanent officials belonging to the Romish Church, which is certainly a strange circumstance in a country alleged to be under democratic Protestant control. His account of the astonishing careers of Lord Vansittart—(this book may explain the noble Lord's violent anti-Germanism)—and Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, alias Robinson, then editor of *The Times*, is a demonstration of the oligarchic nature of the English community in the section which matters: while the cryptic figure of Lord Hankey is given a careful study, though on this man the author is not so well informed on the mysterious character of his activities when piloting himself through the social *strata* of political success. It would be difficult to find a more subtile enemy of everything that the ordinary Englishman believes his country to stand for than this man.

It is only fair to English political writers to add that Mr. Haxey in *Tory M.P.* with its admirable diagrams, wrote a book on the English oligarchy in Parliament which is an excellent supplement to *King, Lords and Gentlemen*. It is really the only notable book of fact and propaganda that the much-trumpeted and advertised Left Book Club produced. Within its limitations its workmanship is first-class. The advent of war has rather overshadowed its importance: but, as this war is a fairly certain prelude to a desperate social conflict in England and Europe, the readers of *The Word* would be well advised to study these two books together.

There is only one place in which the German author has indulged in any kind of prophecy. That is in the closing passage of the book written before the war had begun, but written at a time when every German of intelligence had become convinced that the British ruling class, as in 1914, once again intended to bring Germany to military account by some act of aggressive intervention on the Continent. "It is probable that these ruling Conservative forces will transform into an English version the great intellectual and political changes which are in progress on the Continent in various forms—for all their present repugnance to these movements. Unless, it should be added, a new European war makes an end of their predominance. For a repetition of the events of 1914-1918 seems to be the only serious danger to the existence of this society for many years to come. The social structure of England withstood one world war, not without the timbers creaking. A second within a generation would inevitably, whatever its military issue, bring down even this proud edifice."

With that quotation, one must leave this fascinating contribution to the political literature of England, recognising that the true English social democrat has much to thank this German writer for, in having laid bare the various and devious methods by which a system of oligarchical exploitation is kept going under the facade of democratic make-believe. It is not without interest to remark that the reviews in the British Press were, with few exceptions, so contrived and written that the ordinary reader would never guess at the importance of this book to the English citizen. The nine newspaper proprietors who control the whole Press of Britain adopt two policies with any book which may be classed as critically "dangerous" to the existing order. It is either completely boycotted, or handled in such a way by reviewers that only an acute mind, or reader with special information, can judge of its worth.

The Brotherhood of The Way.

We have received the following letter from our old-time comrade, the Rev. Thomas Pickering, to whose struggle in defence of Free Speech we hope to pay tribute at an early date:

Dear Guy Aldred,—It is good reading to know that you are an ordained minister, within the realm of humanism. To me it would, of course, be better reading still to know that you had gone forward with humanism to Christianity, in fulness and liberty, whilst stedfastly holding on to Pacifism.

Our experience together for Free Speech in Glasgow (between the two wars) both of which were, according to Britishers, righteous ones, and according to Germans, on their part righteous also, will keep up fellowship in that realm as in the realm of Pacifism, even when our fellowship is not so strong in other realms.

May God and Truth speed you onwards, in all truthful endeavours.

Yours in Brotherhood,
TOM PICKERING
(Priest in Charge,
St. Columba's Episcopal Church)
St. Columba's Rectory,
Whitecrook,
Clydebank, 24/5/43.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

GUY ALDRED SPEAKS.

1st Sunday in July and August, Strickland Press Hall, 106 George Street, Glasgow, C.1, at 7.30 p.m.

1st Sunday in September, October, November, and December, Central Halls, 25 Bath Street, Glasgow, at 7 p.m. Doors open, 6.30 p.m.

Comrades are asked to make these meetings a success. Subjects will be announced later. Admission free. Collection.

(*Concluded from column* 3)

and speed things up by preparing for war and accepting the challenge when it came.

But Mr. Hyde and Hitler are not the only people who have surrendered to the temptation to do evil that good may come. Every supporter of the mass murder and organised sin of war has fallen in the same way. Most of the Churches have fallen and they will never deserve, or be able to regain, the true spiritual leadership of the country until they have repented and learned anew the lesson that their Master tried to teach them.

DOING EVIL THAT GOOD MAY COME.

A Reply to "The Daily Worker"

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The New Testament story of Christ's temptation in the desert is the record of the consideration and rejection, by the world's greatest Leader, of wrong, short-cut methods of achieving a desirable end. On the threshold of His ministry he set aside bribery, wonder-producing magic, force, fraud and fear. He chose the only sure way of obtaining lasting and satisfactory results, even though human selfishness and weakness made it also a slow way—a very slow way—involving Him and many of His most faithful followers in a martyr's death.

Mr. Hyde of the *Daily Worker* has been delivering another violent attack on the advocates of a negotiated peace. That he should demand our internment is, up to a point, logical if one accepts his premises, but he goes further than demanding internment, seeking to create the false impression that we defend the severities and injustices of the Nazi régime. Now Mr. Hyde, having met me, is perfectly well aware that I no more support the evil features of the Nazi régime than he does; in fact I support them much less, for he believes in the use of the prison and the concentration camp to suppress political opinions, but I do not, either in peace or war. Mr. Hyde, I still think, is fundamentally a sincere and honest man. He really does believe that Russia, which he has not visited, is the Workers' Paradise and that Stalin is a wonderful general notwithstanding the fact that he has had more reverses than victories though possessing a great initial advantage in man-power and war material. He also believes that only by a complete military defeat can the evils of Fascism be removed.

Mr. Hyde stifling (I hope!) the promptings of his better nature, deliberately misrepresents the position of the advocates of peace by negotiation because he feels that danger to the war *must* be removed at all costs. If he were to describe our views fully and quote us fairly, he knows that it would be much more difficult to arouse the degree of hatred and contempt he considers necessary to "protect" the war. If he were to say that we do not share the popular attitude towards the war because we are doubtful of the accuracy of many of the atrocity stories; because, when wrong acts are done, we believe that full account should be taken of the provocation and handicaps suffered by those who do them; and because our study of history and human nature teaches us that a new régime set up in a country which has been through a period of crisis is usually tyrannical: if he were to say that we believe that intelligent use of the bitter lessons of war-suffering, combined with a fair sharing of the world's economic resources and an honest and open foreign policy could even now secure and maintain a just peace, his readers might not agree with us, but some might be disposed to say "Well, anyhow that is a point of view." Much stronger measures are necessary if the insidious "poison" of the advocacy of peace is to be removed to Mr. Hyde's satisfaction, so, casting truth and fair play to the winds, he is driven to misrepresent us as the defenders of Hitler's cruel and tyrannical acts and the supporters of what amounts to unconditional surrender.

In other words Mr. Hyde has ranged himself on the side of those who believe in doing evil that good may come. Even if he is not "pro-" Hitler he is an imitator of Hitler, who, feeling, (perhaps rightly) that the statesmen and financiers of the democracies would never in his lifetime grant Germany full justice if he adopted only non-violent methods of seeking it, decided to try

(*Concluded foot column* 2.)

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

"Communists" and Economic League in Alliance.

Portrait of the Duke of Bedford, taken near Newton Stewart, in February of this year.

Last month we exposed the Communist Party campaign against the Duke of Bedford. We exhibited its contradictions and ramifications. Also we drew attention to the *Daily Worker* libel on Sir Walter Citrine in May, 1937, when it falsely accused him of having entered into a conspiracy with the Economic League to spy on trade union activities and hound militant workers out of employment. When brought to Court, the *Daily Worker* apologised, stated that there was no foundation for the libel, paid Sir Walter Citrine's costs, and paid him also £500 damages. Lord Chief Justice declared the statement to be "disgraceful libels." In advancing these libels, the *Daily Worker* denounced the Economic League as an Anti-Socialist organisation. That was in 1937. To-day, the *Daily Worker* and its Communist Party sponsors, are carrying on precisely the same reactionary propaganda under cover of patriotism—the pretence of which has been the immemorial excuse of every political scoundrel down the ages.

When Harry Pollitt addressed a Communist Party meeting in Yorkshire at the end of April, the Yorkshire Divisional Council of the I.L.P. distributed leaflets to the miners, which put the case against the Communist Party with a punch. The leaflet challenged the "Communists" to answer a pertinent question:

Because the Russians are fighting heroically in defence of their country, Pollitt now claims the war has changed. Have Britain and the U.S.A. become less imperialist?

The leaflet concluded:

The way to help Russia is to build up a Socialist Movement—not to become the handrage of British and American Imperialism and the scabs and blacklegs of the "boss" class.

Lenin said: "War is not only a terrible thing, but it is a terribly profitable thing for the capitalist class." The "little Lenins" of to-day are fighting the workers and helping the war-mongers to amass profits.

As a result of this effective reply, a letter appeared in a number of papers attacking the I.L.P. as a "defeatist organisation" engaged in fostering and prolonging strikes in war-time. The letter was published over a variety of names, but in fact it was distributed by the Economic League, the organisation denounced by the Communist Party in 1937, as being backed by reactionary employers and consistently hostile to the Labour Movement and Socialism. This, of course, is a true description of the Economic League, which has never pretended to be other than an Anti-Socialist organisation. To-day, being a reactionary body, the League feels it must identify itself with the Communist Party in its attacks on Socialists and Pacifists. The I.L.P. answered Pollitt so effectively that the Economic League had to rush to the "Communist" Party's defence with the usual libel of "defeatism."

Similarly with the Duke of Bedford.

Forgetting that Professor Haldane, defending the *Daily Worker*, said in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on Sunday, February 23, 1941, that 18B internments were wrong, and that he was "*absolutely opposed even to the imprisonment of men like Mosley and Ramsay without trial*," the "Communists" and the *Daily Worker* gang are engaged in a campaign to-day for the internment, *without trial*, of the Duke of Bedford. Their slanderous activity is endorsed by the Economic League. The Communist Party and the Economic League are running in double harness.

The *Daily Worker* for June 1, 1943, published the following addition to the "internment demand" paragraphs with which it has whetted the appetite of its stupid readers for proscriptions and humiliations of those who think about and oppose the horrors of war:

"INTERN DUKE" DEMAND BEDFORDSHIRE PEOPLE.

Internment of the Duke of Bedford was the unanimous demand made by 500 people who attended a meeting in a Biggleswade, Beds, cinema at the week-end.

Speakers were Councillors L. Chambers, J. Minhall (Lab.) and Geo. Matthews. Full support for the coming battles in Europe was pledged.

Minhall and Matthews were exposed in these columns last month. These sorry political specimens upheld the Soviet Agreements with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and opposed the war until Hitler invaded Russia. Then they changed from denouncing the war as an "Imperialist War" into demanding that every effort be made to overthrow Nazism. They forgot that the much applauded pact signed in Moscow between Germany and Russia on August 23rd, 1939 *precipitated the 2nd World War and was a crime against mankind.*

Matthews, one of the creatures who upheld this pact, and denounced the war in scurrilous terms when the British Governnment was on the defensive in almost complete isolation, writes to the *Bedfordshire Times*, for May 28, 1943, on "The Views of the Duke of Bedford" as follows:

Sir,—The Duke of Bedford knows perfectly well what is meant by the phrase "undermining the war effort." He admitted in an interview with a special correspondent of "The Daily Worker" in April that his propaganda was calculated to undermine the war effort, and that it is successful only in so far as it weakens our fighting power.

Why did not "comrade" Matthews think of this before dawn, Sunday, June 22, 1941, during the period when Palme Dutt, Harry Pollitt, and Willie Gallacher were urging a people's peace, and denouncing the war as an "Imperialist War"? Were not his efforts and those of his leaders "calculated to undermine the war effort"?But for the people Matthews then denounced there would be no war effort to-day and the champions of the Soviet Union would not be able to demand a Second Front. If the Duke of Bedford is wrong, to-day, in asking for a negotiated peace, "comrade" Matthews and his gang must have been wrong down to June 22, 1941, in urging "unconditional surrender"—to Hitler? What has this miserable apology for a Communist to say in defence of his conduct?

Matthews continued his *Bedfordshire Times* epistle in the hypocritical copy of the arguments he denounced as late as June, 1941:

The whole purpose of the innumerable pamphlets and articles which he is allowed to publish, and for which the Government allows him paper produced at the cost of our Merchant Seamen's lives, is to oppose this war, to advocate a negotiated peace with Hitler.

His latest effort is a "Personal Statement" in which he makes the following statements . . .

It does not matter what the Duke of Bedford says in his "Personal Statement," which is *not his latest effort.* How did Matthews come to think that it was the Duke's latest effort? The information was obtained from our reckless contemporary, the *Daily Worker.*

On May 5, 1943, the *Daily Worker* published an article headed:

DUKE 'JUSTIFIES' HITLERITE BESTIALITIES
From Douglas Hyde.

The Duke of Bedford has just published a document which he calls a "personal statement." It is one of the most sensationally shameless apologies for Fascism and all its bestial works published since the war began.

His technique is interesting. First he excuses the Fascists and their worst excesses; then he hastens to state that he does not, of course, agree with such things but . . .

Our contemporary proceeds to give some "typical examples" of the Duke's apologies, and adds comments, interspersed with further examples. We quote only the comments:

The Duke's reactions to Hitler and Hitlerism are not, apparently those of the people who are working, fighting and dying that Fascism may be ended. . . .

His defeatest line is made clear when he says: . . .

Finally, this aristocrat, who protests so loudly that he is not pro-Fascist, leaps in with a two-page defence of Mosley and the British Union of Fascists. . . .

But whilst the Duke sheds tears for the interned Fascists, decent people everywhere will be more convinced than ever, on the basis of the Duke's "personal statement," that there are very strong reasons why he also should be imprisoned.

The Duke's argument against the internment *without trial* of avowed or alleged Fascists is merely an argument in defence of civil liberty. It is the argument advanced by Professor Haldane on behalf of the Editorial Board of the *Daily Worker* at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on February 23, 1941, *and defended at that time* by "comrade" Matthews!

Since time plays such an important part in the political and war somersaultism of the Communist Party let us enquire when the Duke of Bedford issued this "personal statement"? Although only just discovered by the *Daily Worker*, the Duke of Bedford's "personal statement" was issued in October, 1940. It was a private statement, of which only a small quantity was produced, and it was issued for private circulation to be sent to people who demanded to know his views and the grounds for same. It was issued only for such circulation and has not been reprinted or offered for public sale or circulation. *At the time that the Duke of Bedford issued this statement, and for twenty months afterwards, the Communist Party was proclaiming the same views in the press and on the platform.* What have the admirers of the Communist charlatans to say in reply to this fact?

Here is what the *Daily Worker* was saying, and here is what G. L. Matthews was supporting in October 1940—at the time that the Duke of Bedford issued, rightly or wrongly, his "personal statement," *which was a private apology for his attitude, and not a public propaganda of his views.*

Daily Worker, Monday, October 21, 1940, carried two headings:

PEOPLES' CONVENTION
BIG PROGRESS REPORTED

The article opened:

Big progress in the campaign for the National Convention on January 12 was reported yesterday, in London, at the first national organising conference for the People's Convention.

It reported Mr. Pritt:

Mr. D. N. Pritt, addressing the conference, said the present Government and the ruling class are afraid to tell the people the truth about war aims. They cannot end the war because they are themselves the cause of the war. Only a Government of the People could do this.

This issue of the *Daily Worker* gave enthusiastic headings to strike news and much space to reporting. "2,000 *miners on strike*" was heading to its account of the strike at Upton Colliery, near Doncaster. "*Six Hundred Shipyard Men Stay Outside*" was its heading of a great north-east shipyard dispute account.

Walter Holmes in "A Worker's Notebook," which appeared in the same issue of the *Daily Worker* attacked both Bevin and Winston Churchill. He quoted the editorial written by Mr. Winston Churchill in the *British Gazette*, for May 8, 1926, denouncing Bevin.

Walter Holmes wrote:

The British Gazette was the organ of the Government against the workers in the General Strike. Its editor was Mr. Winston Churchill. Here is the passage:

The excerpt he made from Churchill's editorial included this passage which Holmes displayed in bold type:

The chief apostle of this "G.H.Q." idea was Mr. Ernest Bevin, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union—the man who is the real Commander-in-Chief of the present General Strike.

Holmes proceeded to requote from the speech made by Mr. Bevin at the Convention of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates at Herts. in 1917. Holmes had quoted it already in the "Daily Worker" for July 15, 1940. He was proud of the quotation. The Bevin 1917 speech quotation concluded with the words:

I believe that even in our own country there will have to be the shedding of blood to attain the freedom we require.

Holmes commented:

Now the question is, just what is the freedom Mr. Bevin requires to-day, and whose blood is he prepared to shed for it?

Daily Worker, in its issue for October 30, 1940, published a heading:

ALL SAY "TRY OR FREE MASON"

This demand was made by the Huddersfield Trades Council. Quoting this, the Daily Worker puts in bold type the following item:

Commenting upon the case, Councillor Perry, the President of the Council, said "When such a thing as this happens it is approaching Nazism."

The Daily Worker, in its issue for Monday, December 30, 1940, carried this slogan:

For a People's Government that will defend the people and lead forward to peace and a free Socialist Britain.

That was the defined purpose of the paper at the top of its editorial page. Immediately beneath this slogan was the chief leader, headed *"The Net,"* and this is what the leader said:

Defending Defence Regulation 18B and the abominable treatment of refugees in Britain, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, declared in an interview yesterday: "We are often not concerned with proving what a man HAS done. We are concerned with what in certain circumstances he MIGHT do." . . .

It is clear that in practice the tribunal is just given a free hand to keep people locked up solely because its reactionary chief does not like their political opinions.

The people who demanded the internment of the Duke of Bedford at the meeting at the Biggleswade Cinema at the end of May, 1943, circulated this attack on Regulation 18B in December, 1940. They continued to attack Regulation 18B down to June, 1941.

On Tuesday, December 31, 1940, the *Daily Worker* boosted its pamphlet *"on the life of John Mason, Mexborough shop steward detained without trial under the Defence Regulations"* and championed Sir Hugh Roberton, whose broadcasts were banned because he was a pacifist. It headed the article on Sir Hugh Roberton *"Conductor on Freedom."* The same issue of the *Daily Worker* described Lord Kemsley's Manchester *Daily Dispatch* and Glasgow *Daily Record* as *"these ugly sisters of journalism"* and referred, in quotes, to Kemsley's "Scottish 'Organ of Opinion'" and complained that it *"screeches for suppression of the National Convention."*

And now!

Last month we quoted the "Intern The Duke of Bedford" demands from the *Daily Worker* for April 20, 26, 27, and 30. This campaign has been going on for some time, however.

In its issue for March 6, our contemporary published an article by Douglas Hyde, headed:

"INTERN DUKE" CALL FROM ENGINEERS.

Then followed the letter-press:

A call for the internment of the Duke of Bedford, advocate of a negotiated peace with Hitler, has gone to the Home Secretary from the Duke's "own" county of Bedford.

"This branch deplores the activity of the Duke of Bedford," says a resolution passed by the Luton Round Green branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, "and calls on the Home Secretary to intern him under Regulation 18B."

The same writer, Douglas Hyde, in *The Daily Worker*, for March 9, has another paragraph, headed:

STEWARDS WANT BEDFORD INTERNED

This precious piece of scurrilous writing opens:

A thorough drive against Hitler's friends in Britain, their organisations, their publications and their leaders—this is the demand being made to the Home Secretary by working-class organisations all over the country.

A De Haviland's shop stewards' committee, for example, calls upon Mr. Morrison to intern the Duke of Bedford . . .

This paragraph is issued by the people who were staging *Press Freedom Demonstrations* and asking the Strickland Press to exhibit their posters as late as September, 1942!

The Daily Worker proceeds to attack the Duke of Bedford's pamphlet, "Is This Justice?" It accuses him of defending Mosley and "the infamous Captain Ramsay, M.P. (interned under 18B)." It admits that the Duke of Bedford condemns the anti-Semitism of both Mosley and Ramsay.

Concerning "Is This Justice?" pamphlet, the *Daily Worker* says:

Publishers of the pamphlet are the notorious Strickland Press.

"The notorious Strickland Press"! Notorious! Why? Because it publishes Freethought literature, the writing of Richard Carlile, the "life" of John Maclean, of Bakunin, the prison thoughts of Carlile, pamphlets in defence of Anarchism. Anti-Parliamentarism, eh? The Strickland Press is the direct successor of the Bakunin Press and, is indeed, that press renamed, without any break in its work.

But what about this Luton Round Green Branch of the A.E.U.? What about this De Haviland's shop stewards' committee? Did not these groups oppose 18B? Did they not support the People's Convention? Did they not demand negotiated peace with Hitler between August 23, 1939, and June 22, 1941? Let us see.

Under the heading "Socialist Unity," the *Daily Worker*, in its issue for March 25, 1943, says:

The current issue of the Glasgow crank publication, "The Word," features, under the headline, "Towards Socialist Unity," the following letter to the editor, Mr. Guy Aldred:

Then follows most of John McGovern's letter, written from the House of Commons on February 4, 1943, and published in these columns for March.

The *Daily Worker* comments on John McGovern's description of *The Word* as *"your very fine publication"*:

The present issue of this "very fine publication" gives the usual prominence to advertising the views of the Duke of Bedford, advocate of peace with Hitler, features the defeatist pacifism of Mr. Rhys Davies, prints an attack on the Beveridge Report and even gives a little display to the latest publications of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Interesting that three M.P.s give their cash to support such a "very fine publication," and are hailed as forwarding SOCIALIST unity!

One would think that there was no case for a Socialist attack on the Beveridge Report. And why should not even Jehovah Witnesses be defended when they are resisting violence and war? Certainly, McGovern, Maxton and Stephen were forwarding Socialist unity. One cannot say the same for the *Daily Worker*.

As against the I.L.P., so against the Duke of Bedford, the Communist Party is allied with the Economic League.

The *Yorkshirre Observer*, Bradford, in its issue for May 25, 1943, publishes the following letter:

"ADMIRATION OF NAZI REGIME"

From the Duke of Bedford.

Sir—Will Mr. Calder (secretary of the Economic League) indicate what objectionable features in the Nazi regime I admire and say upon what evidence he makes the assertion that I admire them.

BEDFORD.

Cairnsmore,
Newton Stewart,
Wigtownshire, 215/43.

Communist Party! Economic League! What a fraternity. We suppose Mr. Calder's authority is the *Daily Worker*.

SOUTH PLACE NOTES.

The Monthly Record of The South Place Ethical Society published some interesting notes in its issue for June, 1943.

Concerning our comrade, the Rev. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A., it says that he was formerly a minister of the Church of England, and adds:

The development of his thought impelled his resignation and he joined the Unitarians for whom he has been Minister at Southampton. He has recently been appointed to Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester, where he will shortly take up his duties. It is interesting to note that this famous Chapel, now much damaged by enemy action dates from 1693. It has a long tradition for liberality and for the support of advancing religious and political ideas. Its members are to be congratulated on having secured as their Minister a man who will uphold their great reputation. Mr. Micklewright is a member of the Committee of the Secular Education League for which he was until a month or two ago the Corresponding Secretary.

Readers of *The Word* will recall that our comrade, Micklewright contributed to these columns whilst still a priest of the Church of England. We have some most interesting articles in hand from his pen. These will be published at an early date.

The Monthly Record draws attention to our association with the Humanist Society of Friends in the following note:

Our friend and fellow member, Mr. Guy A. Aldred, Editor of "The Word" . . . has been ordained a Minister by the Humanist Society of Friends. This organisation which appears to have associations both with the Quakers and the Unitarians has received full official and legal status as a religious body from the State of California and the Government of the United States.

Our contemporary notes our "great efforts to secure the greatest possible publicity" for the centenary of Richard Carlile. It also expresses "sincere appreciation of the interest" in South Place Ethical Society "which has been shown so practically by Mr. Aldred."

The publication of the important and interesting work on "Carlile and The Surgeons" by Dr. Charles Brook completes our centenary activity. We hope that every rationalist, ethicist, humanist, secularist, will secure this great and interesting study of Richard Carlile and his times.

Concerning the South Place anniversary, we shall publish in our next issue an illustrated account of the useful cultural work of this society and its history and traditions.

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YOUNG FARMER MATTHEWS

"COMMUNIST" AGITATION SCANDAL

As was made clear in these colums last month, Mr. George L. Matthews, the Communist Party fire-eater since June 22, 1941, up to which date he opposed the war, is a young man of military age. Yet, as pointed out in another article in this issue, he has attacked the Duke of Bedford for his pacifism, and on June 1 spoke at the Biggleswade Cinema, demanding the Duke of Bedford's internment, and *pledging his, Mr. George L. Matthew's support of the coming battles in Europe.* This support means sentencing so many young men from the cities and villages of the world to a terrible death the while Mr. George L. Matthews stays at home, play-acting at word-politics, in the safety of rural Bedfordshire. What damnable hypocrisy!

Mr. Matthews is taken to task in *The Bedfordshire Times* for June 4, 1943, in some excellent letters to the Editor.

Under the heading *"A Service Man on The Second Front,"* sub-title, *"With a Further Word on Free Speech,"* Gunner A. G. Carruthers writes attacking the resolution of the Bedford branch of the Communist Party demanding that the Duke of Bedford be interned, etc.

Gunner Carruthers wrote:

I notice that those who are most vociferous in calling for a second front now are young men in reserved occupations who, apparently, have no scruples about demanding that other people embark upon risks from which they are exempted. To my mind there is something rather indecent about this agitation, especially when one considers the fact that it is being conducted by people who are in every respect so much better off than the men in the Services.

Mr. Carruthers proceeds to "deprecate the tirade of abuse which is poured by the Communist Party on the Duke of Bedford for expressing publicly the views which he holds towards the war." He describes the hearing given in the House of Lords to the Duke's speech in defence of conscientious objectors, and concludes:

This is free speech, which should be the most cherished of British possessions. Let us guard it well.

Another writer, "Viewpoint," who writes from Ampthill, and unfortunately withholds his name and full address, gives some extracts from the Duke of Bedford's "Personal Statement," to show the falsehood of the attack on the Duke made by Mr. G. L. Matthews and Mr. Hill of the Communist Party.

Here are the extracts "Viewpoint" culls from the "Personal Statement":

"The objectionable features of Fascism may be summarized as espionage and acts of brutality by police agents . . . absence of a free Parliament . . . and a propensity to militarism. To all these evils of Fascism I am completely opposed."

"I am opposed to the war not because I approve of Fascism, but because as a pacifist I consider war to be a hopeless method of getting rid of the evils of Fascism."

"Sir Oswald Mosley is a militarist and an imperialist who puts the interest of the British Empire first and the rest of the word second. I am a pacifist, and I put the world first and the British Empire second."

"Viewpoint" concludes his excellent letter on a note of challenge:

Are we to be bludgeoned into a collection of robots? Are we to be so puerile that we rub names off memorials? Is the nobility of individuality to be obliterated at all costs? If this is so, then we are endangering the tendrils which join man to God.

The Duke of Bedford is a man of high principle, courage and Christian feeling. When those qualities are no longer honoured in the County of Bedford, then Bedfordshire will be no longer an asset to the country.

Mr. Frank H. Summerford, of Mill Farm, Salford, Bletchley, deals so effectively with Mr. Matthews that his letter must be produced in full:

Sir,—One does not know whether to take Mr. George Matthews seriously as he has changed his colours so many times the last few years that one wonders where his next jump will be.

True to the type of the political tub-thumper, he wants a scapegoat and he finds one in the Duke of Bedford. As for his cheap sneer about the Duke being a Fascist, he knows this to be utter nonsense. What the Duke wants, apparently, is fair play all round—for Fascist and Communist alike. He, like a few more of us, was for fair play for the Russian Communist long ago, when Mr. Matthews was hob-nobbing about with other political parties. We realized that Bolshevism was the product of a tyrannical aristocracy just as Hitlerism was the product of tyrannical Allied policy around the peace table at Versailles, and the cure is not so much mud-slinging at the product as penitence on the part of the producer. Mr. Matthews, while feigning court-ship of the one, slings his mud at the other.

As for Fascism, a pacifist can hold no brief for this way of life, entirely opposed as it is to his own, but I think it is an everlasting shame that its leader in this country, an ex-Service man wounded in the last war, should have already spent over two years in an English prison without even ever having had a trial, and this after all the prating of politicians about the Atlantic Charter with its plethora of freedoms.

Mr. Matthews is in a privileged position, for after spending the day on his farm in East Bedfordshire he can retire to the quiet of Kimbolton Road and there snipe away to his heart's content at all and sundry, with innumerable locks and keys in hand for all those who do not agree with him. But if anyone tells me that this well-to-do young Bedfordshire farmer will finish his political career a Communist, then I'll eat my Sunday hat.

FRANK H. SUMMERFORD.

Mill Farm,
Salford.

EDITOR'S APPEAL: A small response has been made to our June appeal. Full acknowledgments and a special announcement of great interest to readers will be made next month. The appeal will close then. Donations may be sent still. Send your donation to: THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C.1.

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"The Glory of Life is found in learning to think, to feel, to know, to love and to serve."

(Concluded from column 3.)

decision. No one in that room appreciated more than he did the courage and self-sacrifice of the men and women of the Forces and of the Civil Defence services. The stand he took was in no way critical of those people, but it was an emphatic protest against a system which bred war—a system which permitted, in fact demanded, that millions of young lives should be cut short by the beastliness of war, instead of being lived to the full as God surely intended they should do, in peaceful constructive work.

"Instead, we have Russians and Germans counting their casualties in millions. We, too, I imagine, if and when the invasion of Europe is undertaken, shall have to count our losses in those enormous figures."

The Chairman, intervening, said that matter had nothing to do with the Court, who had to administer the law.

Defendant replied he appreciated that, but the point he wanted to make was that to-day they had the appalling fact that millions of people—in fact, almost all the peoples of the earth—were using all their energies and resources in efforts to destroy one another, and to him that was absolutely against all Christian principles. He was a Unitarian, and the basis of their faith was the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and war for any reason whatever seemed to him to be a complete negation of such faith. Therefore, he must say, without any defiance, but very definitely, that he must refuse to become even the smallest cog in this destructive war machine.

The Chairman, announcing the Bench would convict, said as a matter of fact there was no alternative.

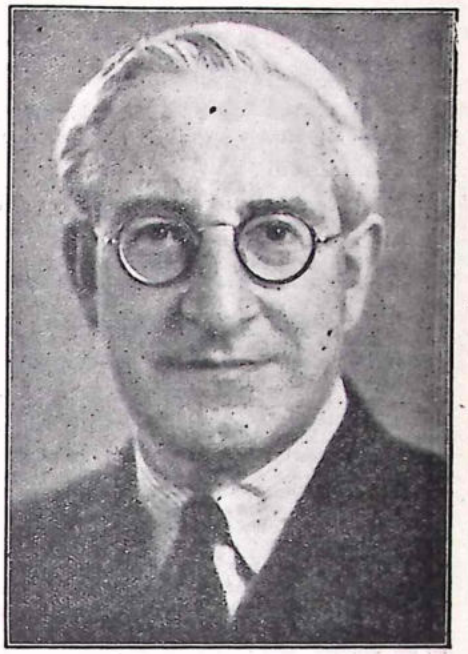
Supt. Webb said on December 4, 1941, defendant was fined £25 or two months for failing to register for fire watching. The superintendent suggested that hypocrisy moved the accused.

"Well, Mr. Earl," said the Chairman, "you probably realise that the members of the Bench are very sorry to see you here again. We have our duty to perform, and have to administer the law. We have decided to impose a fine of £25, or in default two months' imprisonment."

Defendant replied the Bench knew the course he must take—the imprisonment. Despite what the superintendent said, it was a matter of principle with him, and he could not allow anyone to pay the fine for him.

Several friends in Court shook hands with comrade Earl as he left for prison.

CHARLES A. EARL



[Last month we published the first instalment of comrade Earl's account of his first imprisonment in Wandsworth Prison. His story finishes this month. It is a digraceful thing that such a system should continue in England and Scotland alike under Labour Secretaries of State. Earl has published this account in pamphlet form, and this can be obtained direct from his wife, Mrs. N. H. Earl, 3 Molyneux Road, Farncombe, Surrey, post-free for 3d. Every Labour group should obtain a copy and circulate same. The prison and detention conditions questions should be raised in both Houses of Parliament by our so-called Labour members of the Legislature.—Ed.]

For the second time, our comrade, Councillor Charles Albert Earl, of 3, Molyneux Road, Farncombe, a member of Godalming Town Council, chose, on Thursday, June 3, 1943, to go to prison for two months rather than pay a fine imposed at Godalming Police Court for refusing to register for fire watching.

He is 55, and was summoned for failing between September 30 and October 10, 1942, to make application to be registered under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1942, he being a person required to make such application in pursuance of notice. He pleaded guilty.

Magistrates present were Mr. R. M. Palmer (in the chair), Mrs. Fletcher, Mrs. Ritchie and Mr. F. Harrison.

Ernest W. Verstage, committee clerk to the Godalming Corporation, gave evidence of the publication of the prescribed notices under the Order, and produced a letter stating that the Regional Commissioner concurred in the prosecution.

Supt. Webb: Was that at the request of your committee?—Yes.

Henry L. Hunt, borough fire guard staff officer, said to his knowledge defendant had never applied to be enrolled under the order of 1942, and there was no record of his ever having applied.

Defendant told the Bench he did notify the town clerk of his intention to refuse to register. He did not want it to be thought he shirked his responsibilities in any way.

P.S. Forehead said on May 4th he interviewed defendant at his residence, cautioned him, and told him that proceedings were being taken against him for failing to register for fire watching. He replied:

"In September, 1942, I notified the town clerk I must again refuse to register under the 1942 Act. I do not intend to register, and if I go to prison a dozen times I shall not alter my decision."

Defendant said in 1934 he, with about 250,000 other people, answered a call by a well-known and well-loved clergyman, Dick Sheppard, who asked well-wishers to undertake a pledge to renounce war and to refuse to sanction or support another. He was afraid a good many of those 250,000 had fallen by the way, but he wanted, if he could, to hold to his pledge.

"It does seem to me, sir, having already paid the penalty once, it is not particularly British in the way of justice to punish a man twice for the same offence."

The Chairman told defendant he must stick to his case, and Mr. Earl replied it was his case. Answering the chairman he said he still refused to register.

Continuing, defendant said he must give his reasons, because it might make a difference to the Bench's

(Concluded foot column 2)

SOCIALIST VETERANS' REUNION.

The jubilee conference of the I.L.P. in Bradford reunited famous veterans of the movement.

The Jubilee Conference of the I.L.P. in Bradford has reunited famous veterans of the movement.

Our contemporary, the *Yorkshire Observer*, in its issue for Saturday, April 24 last, described Maxton and Jowett greeting each other:

JIMMY AND FRED: HAPPY REUNION
By A Staff Reporter
Hello, Jimmy.
Hello, Fred.

Jimmy and Fred shook hands and gazed at each other in silence for a moment after this exchange of simple greeting.

Then they smiled and released the handclasp. Mr. James Maxton, M.P., leader of the Independent Labour Party, and Mr. Fred W. Jowett, treasurer of the party, had met once again.

The meeting took place yesterday morning at the Alexandra Hotel, Bradford, headquarters of the delegates to the jubilee conference of the party. These two stalwarts first came together over 30 years ago at an I.L.P. conference at Barrow House, Keswick, which was then a holiday home run by the Fabian Society. They have, of course, met many times since as officials of the party.

Maxton's characteristic long hair is greying now; Jowett's is white. But their enthusiasm for the work with which they have been associated so long has not lessened with the years.

"Fred Jowett has been wonderful in his wisdom on our council," said Jimmy to me, generously and fervently. And Fred, no doubt, feels the same about Jimmy.

In the brief chat with the reporter, Maxton attacked the Labour-Tory Coalition. Maxton said:

I think the Labour Party are making a profound mistake in remaining inside the Coalition. There may have been a case for them at one emergency period, but I feel that it was a panic decision.

From a long term point of view, it is wrong that the Government of this country should be in the hands of a mixed Government who have no real identity of interest. Labour Members and Tories are poles apart.

The reporter proceeded to describe the veterans present at the conference:

Among other interesting personalities at the conference is Mrs. Annie Swan, now aged 83, who is a special delegate.

"I was a pioneer with Mrs. Pankhurst in the women's suffrage movement, and one of the founders in Glasgow of the militant suffragette organisation," she told me.

Mrs. Swan was sent to prison twice for her activities in that movement—once for two months, with hard labour, and once for one month.

"I served the first sentence fully," she said, "but was released after only a week of the second. Evidently, the authorities had not enough evidence to keep me there. On both occasions I went on hunger strike, and on the second I was on thirst strike as well."

Her bright little eyes sparkled at the memory of those hectic times. "My word," she said, with a mischievous chuckle, "I could tell you some exciting stories. . . .

Another veteran of the movement among the delegates is Mr. William ("Wullie") Stewart, who is aged 86. "Aye, Ah'll be 87 in July," he told me in a fascinating Scottish accent.

"Wullie" has been in the movement since he was 21. He joined the Fabians at Dunfermline (his native town) 65 years ago, and later became a member of the I.L.P.

He was last in Bradford in 1914, when the party held its coming-of-age celebrations in the city. For 25 years he was organiser of the I.L.P. in Scotland. "Jimmy Maxton is one of my boys," he said.

Readers of the old "Clarion" will remember "Wullie" for his articles, under the nom-de-plume of "Gavroche," a character in Hugo's "Les Miserables," whom he greatly admired. He is also the author of Keir Hardie's biography, which is regarded as the best of all the life stories of that giant of the movement.

"Aye," he said, "Keir Hardie, Bob Smillie and I were great friends. All three of us were born in 1856. So was George Bernard Shaw. Some famous men were born in that year, ah'll tell ye."

And he smiled and winked a roguish old eye as he left me to join the other delegates for their private conference.

JAMES MAXTON
greeting
F. W. JOWETT
at the
JUBILEE CONFERENCE
of the I.L.P.
in
BRADFORD,
Friday,
April 23, 1943.

Yorkshire Observer copyright.

WHEN JOWETT BECAME M.P

[The recent Jubilee Celebrations of the I.L.P. at Bradford call attention to the career of F. W. Jowett, who was M.P. for West Bradford, 1906-1918, and for East Bradford, 1922-24, and 1929-31. Jowett's story, and our Anti-Parliamentary reaction to his splendid Anti-War and Anti-Militarist stand down the years, are related in an appendix to "Socialism and Parliament," Pt. I., 1942 edition. When Jowett stood for West Bradford, at the General Election, 1906, his meetings were addressed by Dr. Stanton Coit, the famous ethicist, Mr. D. J. Shackleton, who managed to become Sir David and a Government official subsequently, and Miss Margaret MacMillan, Michael Davitt, and Keir Hardie. Below we revise from the Labour election sheet, "The West Bradford Bulletin," for Saturday, December 30, 1905, the record of comrade Jowett, when he stood for Bradford at the 1906 General Election.—Ed.]

F. W. Jowett was born in Bradford in 1864, and commenced work as a half-timer in a Bradford factory at eight years of age. At the age of thirteen his studies at the half-time college of St. Michael's, City Road, came to an untimely end, and he endeavoured to make up the loss by attendance at the Mechanics' Institute's classes in the evenings after he had finished his day's work in the factory. Later on he became a student at the Technical School, and continued his studies for some years under the direction of Mr. T. R. Ashenhurst.

Jowett's experience of the staple trade of Bradford was of an extremely varied and useful character. In the weaving branch of the industry he familiarised himself with almost every occupation by earning his livelihood for years together by most of them in turn. From the age of 18 to 28 he was a weaving overlooker, and at the latter age he became a manufacturer's assistant, a post which he occupied until he was prevailed upon by his friends to relinquish it, so as to be more free to devote time during the day to public duties.

Jowett first came into public notice in 1887 as a frequent contributor to the newspaper columns. Previously from time to time he had written letters to the Press, but the first letter which appeared over his own signature was one in the early part of 1887 on the subject of Labour Representation. This letter contained the first local statement of the case in favour of a separate Group in Parliament to act independently of either party. To this belief he adhered, and successfully withstood in turn periods of torrid flattery and freezing abuse, the like of which had not been seen in the annals of Yorkshire politics since Oastler's days.

In the next few following years Jowett endeavoured, along with others, to secure an Independent Labour movement by assisting in the formation of what was then known as the Labour Electoral Association, but this attempt failed for the time. When, however, the Manningham strike took place and the Liberal majority on the Town Council took the part of the employers and used police and soldiers to defeat the rights of public meetings, things took a turn. Innoffensive citizens who had seen or suffered a cracked head from a police bludgeon, directed by a Liberal Watch Committee, failed to see why Mr. Gladstone should call upon them to "remember Mitchelstown" as he was then doing. Bradford rose *en masse*, in evidence of which it mustered 30,000 to 40,000 strong in Peckover the Sunday after the so-called riots had taken place.

At one of the three platforms in the midst of that dense crowd F. W. Jowett was one of the chief speakers, and when, as the result of these occurrences, the Bradford Labour Union was formed, he was one of the first to be enrolled in its membership. Shortly after, Jowett, in company with Edwin Halford, and along with others, singly and in pairs, canvassed from house to house in the Eastern Division for signatures in favour of contesting the Eastern Division with Robert Blatchford ("Nunquam") as candidate.

When Blatchford found it impossible to proceed on account of his duties as editor of the *Clarion*, the centre of political gravity, so far as Labour politics was concerned, shifted its position to West Bradford, where Ben Tillett took up the fiery cross and F. W. Jowett became one of his chief lieutenants. The Non-conformist ministers ranged themselves on the other side in the struggle that ensued, and called a meeting of Non-conformists in the Mechanics' Institute to assist them. Jowett was then an active member of the Congregationalist section, and he and others attended the meeting in response to the invitation, and in spite of all attempts on the part of the chairman, Briggs Priestley, then M.P. for the Pudsey Division, to prevent him doing so, he succeeded in moving an amendment to the resolution before the meeting. This he supported by a speech in which, amid the wild enthusiasm of the Labour section present, and the answering howls of Illingworth's supporters, he proceeded to formulate an indictment against the anti-Labour Liberals for their opposition to Labour legislation. Briggs Priestley, in particular—in the chair as he was—served appropriately to point the moral on account of his

WORD BOUND VOLUME, For 3 years May 1939 to July 1942. inclusive Green Cloth, 12s 6d. Post Free 13s 6d.

opposition to the Particulars Clause in the new Factory Acts which had just been passed in the teeth of the Liberal millocracy by the Tory Government.

In 1892 Jowett was returned as a councillor for the Manningham Ward, and he immediately commenced active work in health, housing, land, and municipal ownership questions, for which he became famous. As a rule, each subject that he took up met with the same fate. First, unbridled opposition and few votes, outside those of the members of his own party; then toleration, with an increased number of supporters; and finally success, accompanied by the earnest protestations of both parties that the subject is having their favourable attention.

On one occasion in the early part of 1895, when the unemployed had undergone terrible months of starvation, Jowett made a speech in the Jollity Theatre, in which he condemned the Council for deliberately refusing, in an official report to the Local Government Board, to acknowledge that there was any distress arising through trade depression. The report with such reference struck out he branded as untrue, and at the following Council meeting he was bitterly attacked by both parties, refused a hearing in his own defence, and a vote of censure passed on him. Jowett is the only member, or one-time member, of the City Council against whom a vote of censure is recorded in the books, and he is proud of the entry. Shortly after he was re-elected for Manningham, and within twelve months after it had censured him the same Council elected him an Alderman.

Amongst the many reforms for which Jowett fought in the City Council we must not forget the battle for free scholarships. Year after year, in those days when the Corporation used to make big contributions out of the public funds to different outside education institutions, he used to oppose the grants, except so far as the institutions concerned would consent to give scholarships to the number and value of the grant proposed to be given. The large number of scholarships that later became available to scholars of Bradford was chiefly the result of his activity in this direction.

Jowett was elected in 1898 as chairman of the Health Committee of the Corporation, then known as the Sanitary Committee, and his ability and fairness in the chair secured him his unopposed re-election on eight separate occasions subsequently, though his own party was never in a majority on the committee.

At the expiration of his term of office as Alderman in 1901, Jowett did not submit himself for re-election, but contested Heaton Ward, for which he was returned by a handsome majority. In the meantime (October, 1900) Jowett fought a keen Parliamentary contest in West Bradford, and narrowly missed winning—forty-two more votes would have secured his return.

With the advent of a Liberal candidate in the constituency and the ascendency of the anti-Labour section in the Liberal party, there came another period of freezing abuse for Jowett such as he had undergone ten years before. No stone was left unturned in the attempt to injure his standing and influence with the workers. The Trade Unionists, whose cause he had fought for 15 years, were beseeched and baited to desert him. The Liberal evening paper for nearly two years running vilified and misrepresented him.

Jowett's experience of nearly every separate branch of public work, and especially those branches which concern the working portion of the community, with whose cause he has been specially identified, afforded him a training for Parliamentary work which could not be surpassed.

This is based on the supposition that reform under capitalism is possible and that parliamentarism helps the working class. To this idea we do not subscribe. The working class movements subscribe to this notion however.

Below we give a list of the chief public and semi-public offices filled by Jowett at different times during the 20 years prior to the 1906 election:

1. Member of the Bradford City Council 13 years.
2. Chairman of the Corporation Health Committee 8 years.
3. Member of the Education Committee 2 years.
4. Member of the Board of Guardians 3 years.
5. *Ex-officio* Member of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce 6 years.
6. Secretary of the Bradford Trades and Labour Council 3 years.
7. Member of the first Bradford Board of Conciliation between Employers and Workmen.
8. Director of the Bradford Provident Industrial Society.
9. Director of the Airedale Co-operative Manufacturing Society.
10. Member of the Committee of the Power Loom Overlookers' Society.

Jowett also acted as secretary to a committee which made an exhaustive enquiry into the wages and working conditions of the operatives in woolcombing establishments. His Saturday afternoons throughout a whole summer were spent in hearing—along with other members of the Trades Council—witnesses who gave evidence of the hours, wages, temperature and customs prevailing at every important woolcombing shed in Bradford. As a member of a joint committee of employers and employed he assisted to draw up a standard wage list for weavers which, had there been a strong union to enforce it, would have compelled the low wage firms in Bradford to increase their wage and meet their competitors on fair terms. He also took an active part in drawing up rules for the protection of woolsorters and others from anthrax, again representing the workers on committees composed of both employers and employed.

As bearing on the manner in which Jowett fulfilled his public duties we may mention that on one occasion, after he had been under examination and cross-examination for nearly two and a half hours at a Local Government Board Enquiry, the Government Inspector publicly tendered his thanks to him for the valuable information he had given at the enquiry.

Even Liberals—when there was *no Liberal candidate in the field*—testified to their admiration of Jowett's fidelity and ability in the public service. When Jowett was first adopted as Parliamentary Candidate for West Bradford in July, 1897, the *Observer* in a leading article, commented as follows:

"Whatever may have been the origin of Mr. Jowett's public life he has ceased to be the exclusive ornament of a section. He has done sterling work, both on the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce, and has earned the approbation of many of his fellow citizens who formerly did not believe that any good could come out of his coterie."

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Every Freethinker, Rationalist, Ethicist, and Humanist ought to attend these meetings and join this historic society, so as to continue its traditions, and maintain its services to mankind.

July 4—C.E.M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.—The Brains Trust: A Retrospect.
" 11—Professor G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—The United Stated: (3) The Growth of a World Power.
" 18—Professor J. C. Flugel, D.Sc.—New Light on Hypnotism.
" 25—S. K. Ratcliffe—Belief and Conduct.

Meetings suspended until September 12.

The illustrated history of South Place and its Ministers and Lecturers will appear in the August "Word."

THE BIRTH OF THE I.L.P.

Speech made in the name of the Foundation Members of the Party at Bradford, Easter Conference, 1943,

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works 1924 Labour Government)

[Since September, 1941, articles by and on our veteran comrade, F. W. Jowett, have been a feature of these columns. From all parts of the English speaking world we have received letters of tribute to our comrade and appreciation of his vigorous and vital essays. In October, 1941, we reproduced the Edith Cavell statue, showing her last words of fearless challenge to a militarist world mad with war, placed thereon by instruction of our comrade when he was Minister of Works. Below we reproduce the speech made by our comrade, for the Foundation Members of the Party, at the Easter Conference, at Bradford, 1943.—Ed.]

It was an industrial upheaval brought the I.L.P. to birth 50 years ago. The dockers' strike for "the full round orb of the dockers' tanner" (as John Burns put it at the time) had only just before been fought and won, when Lister & Co. Ltd., then an over-capitalised concern, announced a reduction in their already miserably low wage rates. The workers, practically unorganised and without funds, resisted.

Then the struggle began. From December, 1890, to May, 1891, the fight continued. Led by W. H. Drew—probably the most unjustly abused man living in Bradford at that time—the workers (such of them as did not emigrate to the United States—to the great advantage of the American textile industry) held together for six months on *voluntary subscriptions.* They borrowed waggons to make street collections of bones for soup, and for any food they could get.

In the end, the employers, being in no danger of starvation, won. But it was a Pyrrhic victory for the employers, for fresh from the dockers' successful fight came Ben Tillett to give hope and encouragement to the workers in spite of their defeat. He addressed a great Sunday night meeting in St. George's Hall. There was need of an overflow meeting for which people assembled in Town Hall Square, that night and the two following nights. On the Tuesday night, mounted police rode into the crowd and provoked resistance. The Riot Act was read. Military force was called from Bradford Moor Barracks. The crowd was blundgeoned indiscriminately by the police. Whereever the police saw a head they struck it. The following Sunday 40,000 people assembled in Peckover Walks to demonstrate in protest against the Watch Committee.

The Bradford Labour Union, local precursor of the National I.L.P., was the outcome of this huge mass demonstration.

Robert Blatchford ("Nunquam" of the *Sunday Chronicle*) was adopted candidate for East Bradford. This was too much for the proprietors of the *Sunday Chronicle* to swallow. Blatchford had to quit the *Sunday Chronicle.* But with him from the *Sunday Chronicle* went E. F. Fay (the inimitable "Bounder"), A. M. Thomson ("Dangle") and Montague Blatchford (Mont Blanc). Together they founded the *Clarion.* Blatchford's East Bradford candidature had, consequently, to be abandoned. Undaunted, the Bradford I.L.P. approached Tillett and he became candidate for West Bradford.

And what a fight it was! Katherine St. John Conway (Mrs. Bruce Glasier), Pete Curran, and Bernard Shaw took part in it. Huge crowds massed at indoor and outdoor meetings and kindled a flame of enthusiasm which seemed irresistable.

Ben Tillett lashed the employers of half-time and sweated labour with scalding invective. Nonconformist Liberal supporters of Alfred Illingworth, the sitting Member, attempted to mobilise Bradford influence to protect Liberalism. Nonconformists were called to a meeting in support of Illingworth in the Mechanics Institute.

Who is there now living who was present at that meeting will ever forget it? I never shall.

Passing the Mechanics Institute that memor-

able evening on my way to a Directors' Meeting of the local Co-operative Society, I was stopped by W. H. Drew and Fred Pickles—Fred Pickles who afterwards became Keir Hardie's private secretary. "You are just the man we want," said Drew. There is a non-conformist meeting here at the Institute to-night in opposition to Tillett. . . . You are a non-conformist. We want you to move an amendment to the platform's resolution: They intend to move one supporting Illingworth."

I agreed. The hall was crowded. On the platform was a solid phalanx of non-conformist parsons. But in the chair was Mr. Briggs Priestley, M.P., the man of all others it was unfortunate for the promoters of the meeting to have there, for he, quite recently, had moved a sabotage amendment to defeat a vital clause in a new Factors Acts Amendment Bill.

Weavers' wages, for example, had to my knowledge, been surreptitiously reduced by lengthening their piece lengths, yards at a time, without notice, from 56 yards to 70 yards. So when the time came I rose to move my amendment. But the Chairman said I would be given an opportunity later, before the motion to support Illingworth was put. Accordingly I waited. When the time came, the chairman put the motion, although I was on my feet addressing him. Then pandemonium ensued. Led by the late Tom Keighley, an engineer with a big voice, who was at that time the I.L.P.'s Number One bellman, a large section of the audience demanded that I should be heard. The Chairman persisted in his refusal, whereup I was literally hoisted on the platform by I.L.P. supporters.

The Chairman's own sabotage action against the particular clause of the Factory Acts Amendment Bill gave me the text of my speech. I told the full story in proof of the need for I.L.P. representation. "Thou art the man," in effect, I said, addressing the Chairman, and turning to the assembled clergy on the platform I warned them that the workers would not forget their opposition to Labour: that Labour would have its own Church. So it followed that the Labour Church was actually established and for some years did good service.

Tillett at the subsequent election polled 2749 votes, which was only 550 less than that of Alfred Illingworth, the sitting Member.

Never shall I forget the scene after the poll was declared. The Dyers' Hall in Barry Street was crowded. Women, previously expectant of victory which had come so near, were weeping. Tillett, bless his memory for it, notwithstanding our differences later, sized up the situation. He started "Cockles and Mussels." Singing the chorus acted as a safety-valve to our overwrought emotions.

The following January, 1893, the National I.L.P. was established—fifty years ago. It was established when Bradford's working class population lived in back-to-back houses, with privy middens in the backyards, emptied by a contractor's night-soil men, who stood in the filthy mess and shovelled it into the yard. When men woolcombers, working exclusively at nights, were, in effect, casual labourers, lucky if they made a full week at 18 shillings or a pound; when their children went hungry to school and there were no school meals. When unemployment was only considered as a fitting subject for charity. When there were slums and cellar-dwellings, but no municipal houses. When the Bradford I.L.P.s world-famous Margaret MacMillan's Nursery School and school clinics were not in existence.

But then, in that dark hour, came Keir Hardie, Member for the Unemployed. Then came the I.L.P. with its enthusiasm for Socialism, National and International, and its crusade for peace.

The party has stood steadfast for peace through two wars. It is now going through its third trial. We were jeered at and mobbed during the Boer War. Hartley and myself were shouted down on Peckover Walks by an immense crowd. A dead cat was found and thrown, again and again at us. At the following general election only Keir Hardie was elected. But in 1906 twenty-nine Labour members were elected, seven of them directly representing and financed by the I.L.P.

Again, during the first world war, the I.L.P. made its stand against Imperialism and war. At the next succeeding election we lost all our seats. But the I.L.P. rose again. For in 1922 and 1923 all the previously despised and rejected I.L.P. leaders were elected and in 1924 the first Labour Government came. The once powerful Irish Nationalist Party which had supported the war, were almost completely wiped out by the Sinn Fein movement. The Liberal Party, which had supported the war, was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self.

And so, although at present the I.L.P. is, so to speak, swimming against the stream, we know the tide will burn, and, as fifty years ago a great after-war upheaval gave birth to the I.L.P. and a great Labour and Socialist movement, so it is to be expected it will be again at the next after-war upheaval.

From this war-scarred tormented world in travail a new world will be born, and the I.L.P. and its foundation members will have no small share of the honour of having brought it to birth.

CARLILE PERIOD BOOKS

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A DREAM.

To have a cottage all my own,
A garden, and some trees around,
But not so sheltered that the storms
Would never sound;
To have a wife both kind and sweet,
And children who would laugh, and cry;
That was my dream of life complete.

But War has taken both my eyes;
My limbs are mangled, and my brain
Is uncontrollable at times—
The greatest pain;
So I can only sigh and dream
Of joys I might have known, if Christ
Had not, for all the evil things,
Been sacrificed.

JOE CORRIE.

NEGRO RIGHTS DEFENDED.

In these days of war and hatred, and racial oppression and discrimination, it is a pleasure to record examples of protest and courage in defence of racial minorities. Negro discrimination, or Jim Crowism in the United States of America is a sorry blot on the principles of democracy as proclaimed by the fathers of the Republic, great and expansive thinkers like the immortal Jefferson. We congratulate an American Jewish judge on the stand he has taken in opposition to white discrimination against negroes.

Our contemporary, *The Jewish Standard*, the national Jewish weekly, published in London, in its issue for Friday, June 4, publishes the following important news-item from the United States:

AGAINST DISCRIMINATION.

Protest by Jewish Judge.

Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, American Jewish leader, has resigned from the American Bar Association because of its failure to admit Mr. Francis E. Rivers, Assistant District Attorney and a leader of the negro community in New York.

Mr. Rivers, a graduate of Columbia Law School and a lieutenant in the last war, was proposed for membership by Judge Goldstein last November. He is a member of the New York Bar Association, which accepted him after the late Louis Marshall threatened to resign if the Association discriminated against negroes.

Judge Goldstein's resignation promptly drew a statement from Mr. William B. Herlands, Commissioner of Investigation, that he, too, will withdraw if the Association fails to admit Mr. Rivers. Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, National Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, announced that he, also, has resigned from the Association in support of Judge Goldstein's protest, and called upon other members to resign.

In his letter of resignation Judge Goldstein said:

"I have been a member of the American Bar Association for 29 years, and desire to continue my membership if I can do so without stultifying myself. To be a member of a professional organisation which bars negroes from its membership would in essence be contributing to the perpetuation of bigotry. This I refuse to do. Unless I receive concrete evidence that the Association is not pursuing this discriminatory and un-American practice, you may regard this letter as my resignation from the membership of the American Bar Association."

Judge Jonah J. Goldstein is entitled to universal respect for his stand which must hasten the collapse of racial persecution and speed the dawn of true democracy. The necessity in the twentieth century of the Christian era, for sincere lovers of true citizenship to have to make protests against race discrimination is both criminal and absurd.

ANOTHER SPRING IN ANOTHER WAR.

When in the sweet Spring
I hear the birds sing,
Full-throated with love,
And the spirit of joy,
I think me of Man,
Since the world began
And I wonder if he
Would be better to die.

To him comes the Spring,
But he never can sing,
For his mind is too numb,
And too far from the truth,
To know that his blood,
And the sap in the wood,
Are one and the same,
And that Springtime is youth.

I see the sleek coat,
And I hear the clear note
Of the creature whose brain
Cannot think much at all,
And I see the dull eyes,
In the skull of the "wise"
And the greed, and the hate,
And the ugly black soul.

I hear the guns roar,
On the red fields of war,
And I hear the fools' hopes,
And the glib statesmen's lies,
And in this bloody slime,
Through the eons of Time,
Is the proof that he never
Had sense to be wise.

And if millions of years
Haven't banished his fears,
And shown him the joy
And the beauty of Spring,
Then surely 'tis time
That he left this fair clime
In the innocent keeping
Of things that can sing?

JOE CORRIE.

WANDSWORTH PRISON IMPRESSIONS

By Councillor CHARLES A. EARL

An Account of Six Weeks' Imprisonment in H. M. Prison, Wandsworth.

(Concluded from page 128)

Safety razors are issued every fourth day, the blades had to be used over and over again and I used to amuse myself by stropping the blade on my hand; it was quite effective, but using cold water as we had to was not so good. The razors were brought round at dinner time and collected again after dinner. Most convicts were very glad when shaving day came round. We all looked rather "tough" with four days' beard.

"Exercise" means walking round and round a small yard (no extra coat is provided). First offenders were permitted to walk three abreast and talk quietly; other convicts walked in single file and were supposed to be silent. Several warders are stationed round the marching convicts and they continually shout, "walk faster," or "not so fast," "close the gap," "open up there." It seemed impossible to please some of them.

Conversation at other times was supposed to be forbidden, but some of the warders permitted it, provided the convicts were reasonable, which they mostly were.

According to the regulations prisoners could at any time make application to see the Chaplain, Doctor, Governor, or Visiting Committee. They could also make complaints, but I think it would be a very reckless individual who had the temerity to complain.

All prisoners were allowed to write and receive one letter at the beginning of their sentence, and in the case of first offenders one letter a fortnight could be written and received. All letters both in and out are read by officials in the prison. First offenders were also allowed a visit of 30 minutes once a month. One two, or three people at a time may visit a prisoner. At Christmas time an extra letter is allowed to be written or received. Christmas cards may also be received.

The food was no better on Christmas Day, indeed it was not so good, because, being a Thursday, no cheese was issued for tea, but two cigarettes were given to each man. Our solitary confinement on this happy day was 22½ hours, and the Governor after reading the lesson in chapel that morning about the Prince of Peace wished the convicts a happy Christmas.

The services in the chapel seemed a mockery; 600 or 700 men would sing the hymns in great style, thoroughly enjoying the singing, but during the prayers the most dreadful language could be heard and frequently during the lesson the men would laugh and jeer at what was read. One Sunday the lesson included the words "Judge not that ye be not judged," and on another Sunday, "Where thieves do not break in and steal," and on each occasion the laughter was loud and derisive. On either side of the altar are two wooden enclosures in which prisoners condemned to death attend the service unseen by the other convicts. First offenders attended chapel in the mornings and the other convicts, or "ordinaries" as they were called, attended in the afternoon. Jews and Roman Catholics attended their own services, and on Wednesdays Nonconformists and Quakers held their own services.

Attendance at these services was compulsory, unless permission for absence was obtained from the Governor. I made application to attend the Quakers or Nonconformist services but was not permitted to do so. I had registered as a Unitarian and there was no service for them, so I was obliged to attend the Church of England services. The chaplain never once visited me in my cell.

I have tried to give a fair account of the routine of prison life, and the following is some general information and personal impressions.

There was no attempt made at Wandsworth to reform or educate the prisoners, no trades were taught, no lectures or concerts given, nothing but bullying and degradation. One old man of 74 was serving a sentence of 18 months for criminally assaulting a small girl. He had served two sentences previously for the same thing. Sex crimes are numerous, yet the authorities apparently refuse to recognise that long hours of solitary confinement over months and years are no cure for sex perversion. Sex was the chief subject of conversation with many of these unfortunates.

Two young men, one 23 and the other 24 years old, had both spent eight years in Borstal or prison and they both told me that their first trouble was at the age of 13. They were sent to Borstal for interfering with girls, and since then had committed various crimes, such as burglary, petty thieving, and drunk and disorderly conduct. One of them told me that three years ago he determined to pull himself together. He got a job as a builder's labourer and had kept working steadily for two months, then the police informed his employers that he was a convict out on licence and they dismissed him. He was in prison again in less than a fortnight.

There were large numbers of deserters from the Forces, and many of these men told me they were "fed up," that their wives and families were not being properly looked after, and they didn't see why they should do all the dirty work while a favoured few made big money, and so on, and so on.

There were also a large number of soldiers who had not deserted but were so tired of army conditions that they committed civil offences in order to get into a civil prison and away from army conditions for a few months. Some of them had been in prison several times since the war began. Many others were "in" for "receiving" and petty thieving. I felt that very few of these men were inherently criminal but that prison life as spent at Wandsworth was the most certain way of turning them into permanent enemies of society.

When working in the shop one day we were all startled by an old convict suddenly stopping his work and shrieking aloud, finishing up with a horrible laugh. He was taken to the medical officer, and I afterwards heard he had been sent to Broadmoor, which is a prison asylum.

The first Sunday I was in prison, at about 6.30 p.m., the air raid alarm sounded. All lights were immediately turned out; in a moment or two hysterical shouting and banging from many of the prisoners broke out. Many of them had been in prison during previous raids, and the prison had been bombed and some of the convicts killed. They knew that no matter how fierce the raid they would have to stay in the cells in the dark, even if seriously injured, until the "all clear" was sounded. On this particular evening the alarm lasted only a few minutes.

Executions in the prison have a curious effect on most of the convicts, a tense atmosphere seems to pervade the place until after the execution. There were three executions during my imprisonment, and as these take place at 9 a.m. when in the ordinary way convicts are leaving their cells for the workshops, the time for work is put forward to 8.30 so that the prison is clear.

A prisoner will sometimes get very hysterical and violent. The second night I spent in prison I was startled by a violent banging on a cell door close to my own, and a frightened screaming of "let me out!" "unlock me!" "let me out!" This went on for several minutes, until eventually a warder came and removed the man to hospital. This occurred after "lights out." A similar thing happened a few days before I left the prison. One of the "ordinary" prisoners told me that the officials take a serious view of these outbursts because they are often the beginning of mental trouble. Bells are fitted in each cell, but very few, if any, were in working order, and they were only to be used in the event of serious illness.

I was surprised to discover that the only difference in the treatment of the man sentenced to "hard labour" and other prisoners is that the former has no cokernut fibre mattress on his board bed for the first two weeks of his sentence.

Prison discipline is maintained by inflicting severe punishment upon defaulters. A printed notice is hung in each cell giving a list of these punishments. They include:—

Loss of part of or all of remission of sentence.
Deprivation of privilege to send and receive letters for a given time.
Deprivation of privilege to receive visits for a given time.
Bread and water.
Deprivation of mattress.
Solitary confinement.
Flogging.

The "bread and water" punishment is usually inflicted for a period of seven days. This is acknowledged to be a severe physical strain and men undergoing this penalty are watched every day by the medical officer.

Solitary confinement is undergone in basement cells, practically without light, sleeping on boards, and no one sees the prisoner except the warder who brings his food. This sentence varies from three to fourteen days.

I personally met no one who had been flogged, but it is still given for such offences as assaulting warders or inciting to mutiny.

Most of the prisoners are perpetually hungry and would gladly eat more of the disgusting food provided. They quickly learn when the occupant of a neighbouring cell is new or ill and therefore likely to leave his ration uneaten, and when the time comes for collecting tins and washing plates, will quickly make for the new or sick man's cell, grab with their hands the food in the tin and stuff it into their mouths or pockets. This has to be done very speedily while the warders' back is turned. I say quite deliberately that the food is purposely kept below a reasonable level in order that the convicts' constitution should not be too virile: it is part of the punishment, and a very torturing part too.

I have written this statement in the hope of showing my friends that in our prisons no attempt is made to reform the prisoners. The long hours of solitary confinement, the insufficient, dirty and badly cooked food, the physical and mental pain caused by the inadequate sanitary conveniences, and the lack of air and sufficient exercise, must inevitably have injurious effects—spiritual as well as physical.

In a democratic country we cannot lay upon the State sole responsibility for our prison system. It is your responsibility and mine to demand that such punishment should give place to reform, and offenders helped to become self-respecting citizens. I appeal, especially, to Christians seriously to ask themselves if the conditions I have described can in any way be reconciled to the teaching of Jesus Christ concerning the saving of sinners.

THOUGHTS FROM A PRISON CELL

A Sermon preached in Hope Street (Unitarian) Church, Liverpool, by its Minister, The Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A.

When I came out of Walton Gaol a few days ago, I was overjoyed to be free once more. Yet I can truthfully say that I am profoundly thankful for the experience of imprisonment. I am glad to have had the opportunity of bearing witness in this way to the cause of freedom of conscience; and I am thankful also for the extension of knowledge and understanding and human contacts which prison has brought. I want to tell you something of my impressions and thoughts during the past month.

I have been in prison. During my first few days at Walton I experienced from time to time a shock of surprise and dismay at realising where I was. For many years I have been interested in the prison system; more than once I have spoken on the subject. But it is one thing to view the system from the outside: it is quite another thing to experience it from within. What is it like to be confined within the walls of a gaol?

My most marked feeling was the sense of exile. You are banished from your home and friends and from the life of the community to which you belong—cut off from those contacts which form the texture of your normal existence. You are not allowed to read papers, to write letters (save one) in the first month, to receive visits. You hear the news at Walton only twice a week from the Chaplain—immediately before the Sunday afternoon and Thursday morning service—and what you hear is only a meagre selection (though we had the football results in full).

Then, again, you enjoy a strictly limited freedom of intercourse with your fellow-prisoners. At the present time at Walton you are locked up in your cell for about 18 hours in the 24. (I was fortunate in having half-a-dozen of my own books sent in, and they were a great solace.) There is to-day, happily, no absolute rule of silence, as there was years ago. Conversation is now permitted while you are on exercise, walking two abreast (for two half-hours most days). During the hours of "associated labour," conditions vary considerably. Three of my four weeks I spent in the "Part-worn Stores," where I had a very comfortable job sewing buttons on coats and trousers; and there was ample opportunity of conversation with my four companions. But in the "Mail-bag Shop," where I spent my first week, and where far more men are working, talking is not officially allowed.

All the time you are in prison, you are, of course, under orders, following a fixed routine decided for you in every detail. In your cell you have a "task" which is supposed to occupy the greater part of your time—apart from the 9½ hours of darkness. For most prisoners this consists in sewing mail-bags. Your job is decided for you; you go on exercise or to chapel at the stated hours. As far as compulsory chapel is concerned, you are either "R.C." or "C. of E." For those who register as Quakers there is a meeting on Sunday afternoon. Having naturally registered as a Unitarian, I was not allowed to attend. The prison system is a warning to those who emphasise "security" as the main social objective. In prison you have complete "security"—food, shelter, employment—but no effective freedom of expression.

In prison there is a superabundant supply of a commodity not unknown outside—"red tape." Everything is done according to fixed regulations. Personally, I have an inveterate habit of marking my books when I read them, so I made a special application to the Governor for the use of a pencil. But as the use of pencils is only permitted to "stage" prisoners—serving a longer period—my application was refused. A small instance, but significant of much. The system is essentially mechanical and undiscriminating. People are all lumped together in a common category as law-breakers who have to be punished. No matter what offence you have committed or for what reason, you must be treated in the same way. The attitude which all prisoners are supposed to adopt is admirably expressed in the words of the collect used on one of my Sundays: "We who are justly punished for our offences . . ."

My own experience was sufficient to show how widely people in prison differ among themselves, and how impossible it is to generalise about them. There is one type of offender who is always in and out of prison—who, through some twist in his character (whatever its cause) seems incapable of keeping straight for any length of time. There is the unscrupulous egoist who is guilty of swindling and gets found out. There are men of normally good character who are guilty of some temporary lapse. And there are the victims of social circumstance or of legal harshness and injustice. The men I was with in the "Part-worn Stores" were all serving several months' imprisonment, but they were all men I am happy to have known. One of them—a married man with six children—was doing several months for stealing crockery worth 6/-. They all displayed an extraordinary kindness and solicitude on my behalf.

"Prison," as we know it, is a very rough and crude and altogether insufficient means of dealing with offences. In some instances it may have a deterrent effect. I heard more than one man say, "This is no place to be in, an I certainly shan't come back again." But the atmosphere is definitely bad, and is bound to exercise a corrupting influence on the young and susceptible. In some respects the attitude of prisoners is better from the Christian standpoint than that of many more respectable members of society. There is no Pharisaism; there is none of that self-righteousness which was, in the eyes of Jesus, so great a sin. I can understand more fully in the light of my own experience how it was that he felt that the publicans and sinners were nearer to the Kingdom of God than the Pharisees. In prison you are looked on primarily as a fellow-sufferer. "How long have you got?" you are asked, and "what are you going to do when you go out?" There is plenty of sympathy and friendliness; but at the same time there is a very general moral laxity. And the system is doing nothing whatsoever to overcome it. Through prison we are dealing with evil in a wholly mechanical and external way—by punishment. We are not getting at its roots. When you go in, one of the first questions you are asked is, "What is your religion?" But the system has no religion in it.

During the time I spent at Walton I had ample opportunity for reflection. One day a prison-officer asked me whether I had reconsidered my position in the matter of registration for Civil Defence. I replied that I had certainly thought about it over and over again, but that my reflection had served only to confirm and strengthen my attitude.

People suggest sometimes that the issue is a trivial one. They say, in particular, that those who, like myself, are at the present time prepared to do fire-watching, yet refuse to register, are guilty of "hair-splitting." Actually the position as I see it is perfectly clear and straightforward. I am unable to commit myself unconditionally (as by registration I should naturally be doing) to the acceptance of any duties which the authorities may choose to impose upon me in the way of Civil Defence. I am unable, in other words, to accept compulsory enrolment for a defence-system which is in practice necessitated by a form of warfare actively engaged in by the British Government. Two of my fellow-prisoners refuse to do fire-watching at all. I don't share their attitude, but I respect it. The essential thing is that the persecution of conscience (in any form) shall cease. As a friend of my own—who is not a Pacifist—put it recently in a letter to the Home Secretary, "The whole point of the recognition of conscientious objection is to recognise it when you don't agree with it, but when you meet it."

This issue of conscience is one that goes down to the very roots of civilisation, and one that affects the whole future of mankind. What kind of a world are we going to have after the war? Is it to be a world like the Prison—in which everything is determined mechanically, in which individual personality is completely submerged? Or is it to be a world based fundamentally on respect for human dignity and human freedom? Are material or spiritual forces to be supreme?

One thing is clear: that issue can never be decided on the battlefield. If spiritual and not material forces are to prevail, there must be a new uprising of life out of the very depths of the spirit. For myself I feel that the time I spent in my prison-cell was not lost, because it was a time of renewed consecration, of renewed devotion to the love of God. I was cut off from the world, but I was not cut off from the presence of God; I was not cut off from the fellowship of Christ. And there was born within me with fresh assurance the conviction that it is only through the deep inner contact of the soul within us with the divine and universal Love that we can find the renewal of life, not only for ourselves, but for mankind. There and there alone is the ground of hope and rebirth. I pray to-day (as I prayed in my prison-cell) that even now, amid the tragedy and darkness of a world at war, the Fire of the divine Love may be kindled in our souls—that the spirit of the living Christ may dwell in us, and may work through us to bring healing and redemption to the world.

FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU.

COLONIAL CONFERENCE to be held at the PRIESTLEY HALL, CITY SQUARE, LEEDS, on Saturday, July 10th.

Afternoon Session, 3 p.m.

Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P., will take the Chair and Open the Conference.

Speaker—Lord Faringdon:

"A SOCIALIST LOOKS AT THE EMPIRE."

Tea Interval.

Evening Session, 6 p.m.

Chair: T. E. Harvey, M.P.

Speakers—Mr. Rudolph Dunbar:

"A WEST INDIAN LOOKS AT THE EMPIRE."

Dr. Hastings Banda:

"AN AFRICAN LOOKS AT THE EMPIRE."

Summing Up: Dr. Rita Hinden
(Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau).

Mr. Rudolph Dunbar comes from British Guiana. He has achieved a wide reputation as a conductor of orchestral concerts throughout the country, and received great publicity recently when he conducted an Albert Hall Concert.

Dr. Hastings Banda was born in Nyasaland. He received his medical education in the United States and Edinburgh, and is one of the few African doctors to be employed by a public authority in this country.

Prices of Admission: Delegates—1/- each delegate, 2/6 for three or more.

Visitors—1/- for 2 sessions; 6d. single session.

Conference Conveners:

Councillor Albert E. Roberts, 114 Shipley Fields Rd., Frizinghall, Bradford.

Miss M. Brett, Leeds Fabian Society.

Treasurer: A. Stirk.

To Councillor A. E. Roberts, Colonial Conference Con. 114 Shipley Fields Road, Frizinghall, Bradford.

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All Socialist comrades and other citizens interested in Colonial questions are asked to make this conference a great success.

WINSTANLEY AND THE UNIVERSALISTS

Church's Three Hundredth Anniversary

By a remarkable coincidence the year 1943 in which has been celebrated the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the congregation of Universalists which developed into South Place Ethical Society, is the 300th Anniversary of the Universalist Church. Within the building at 57 Cavendish Road, Clapham Common, London, known as the South London Universalist Church, is preserved the shrine of Jerrald or Gerrard Winstanley, the leader of the Commonwealth days who held fast to Universalist teachings. It bears the date 1643.

Winstanley is known to history as Winstanley the Digger, the great Socialist leader, or leveller of the Commonwealth days. He held fast to Universalist teachings but gave to Christianity not merely an anti-theological interpretation but also a great economic significance. With him, Christianity meant commonwealth and individual integrity. Quaint now the language of his many pamphlets and songs must seem, but the message is clear and the vision splendid. Winstanley was a humanist pioneer and a thinker who did not believe that the Kingdom of God was a dream for a world beyond that which we know. He believed that the duty of the Christian was to labour to bring the Kingdom of God on earth. He hated authority, was loud in his protests to priests and politicians, and won from them much hatred and persecution. His ultimate fate is one of the mysteries of history.

In the preface to Sir Walter Strickland's powerful anti-militarist studies, "The March of Homicide" (1942), we draw attention to Strickland's reference to the Colonel Aldred who turned Communist and left the Cromwellian Army to uphold the struggle of Winstanley.

Travelling in the train from Dieppe to Paris in 1912, and in long walks through Paris, Strickland entertained us with eulogies of Winstanley, and comments on the Digger's clear views, great teachings, and mysterious arrest and disappearance. Strickland thrilled with personal pride as he spoke of the Digger. He recalled the republican tendencies of his direct ancestors, their associations with the Aldreds, and endeavoured to cast me for the part of a disciple of Winstanley because of the name association. He saw me as the modern disciple of the great pioneer of Universalism. As we pay tribute to the Universalist Church to-day and its minister, the Rev. W. Arthur Peacock, we cannot help recalling Strickland's enthusiastic description of its founder. Much of what he told us during his picturesque talks in France will find its way into the present narrative. Only we write dully, even when recording the story of the martyrs.

Winstanley wrote much that will be dismissed to-day as being so theological and mystical as to seem unintelligible. Yet his ideas were clear and simple and his attitude towards religion was so practical and realistic, so vital, that it must be described as tending towards rationalism and humanism. That his gospel was a social gospel is evidenced by the famous "Diggers' Song," published in 1649, which is preserved in the Clarke papers. This song is only chanting doggerel but it indicts the cavaliers, the gentry, the lawyers, the clergy, and the tithes. It bids the Diggers: "*Stand up now, Stand up now.*" What a pity, that down the ages, so many Christians, so many men of thought and vision, so many folk destined to be prophets have failed to "*Stand up now*"! What a pity that, down the ages, men and women have failed to realise the great message of Jesus maintained by the pioneers of Universalism.

"*I receive not glory from men!*" "*I receive not honour from men!*" The honour and glory of the man of Truth in untrue society is imprisonment, persecution, torture, agony, and violent death, the mob and the classes applauding. The Universalists suffered for their heresies of doctrine, which more and more clear the Christian gospel of the weeds of tradition and theology inspired by power politics, and their fearless gospel of social justice.

The lusty clarity of their call to social justice is seen in their "Diggers' Song." We omit only the three concluding verses which repeat and sum up the previous ten verses here reproduced:

You noble Diggers all, stand up now, stand up now,
You noble Diggers all, stand up now,
The waste land to maintain, seeing Cavaliers by name
Your digging do disdain and persons all defame,
Stand up now, stand up now.

Your houses they pull down, stand up now, stand up now,
Your houses they pull down, stand up now;
Your houses they pull down to fright poor men in town,
But the gentry must come down, and the poor shall wear the crown.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

With spades and hoes and plows, stand up now, stand up now,
With spades and plows and hoes, stand up now,
Your freedom to uphold, seeing Cavaliers are bold
To kill you if they could, and rights from you withhold.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

Their self-will is their law, stand up now, stand up now,
Their self-will is their law, stand up now;
Since tyranny came in they count it now no sin
To make a gaol of gin, to starve poor men therein.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The gentry are all round, stand up now, stand up now,
The gentry are all round, stand up now;
The gentry are all round, on each side they are found,
Their wisdom's so profound to cheat us of our ground.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The lawyers they conjoin, stand up now, stand up now,
The lawyers they conjoin, stand up now;
To arrest you they advise, such fury they devise,
The devil in them lies and hath blinded both their eyes.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The Clergy they come in, stand up now, stand up now,
The Clergy they come in, stand up now;
The Clergy they come in, and say it is a sin
That we should now begin our freedom for to win.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

The Tithes they yet will have, stand up now, stand up now,
The Tithes they yet will have, stand up now;
The Tithes they yet will have, and lawyers their fees crave,
And this they say is brave, to make the poor their slave.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

'Gainst Lawyers and 'gainst Priests, stand up now, stand up now,
'Gainst Lawyers and 'gainst Priests, stand up now;
For tyrants they are both, flat against their oath,
To grant us, they are loath, free meat and drink and cloth.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

The club is all their law, stand up now, stand up now,
The club is all their law, stand up now;
The club is all their law to keep poor men in awe;
But they never vision saw to maintain such a law.
Stand up now, Diggers all!

S. R. Gardiner, in his work on *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, writes:

In February, 1652, Jerrald Winstanley, the most thoughtful of the "Diggers", who had established community of landed property on St. George's Hill, dedicated to Cromwell a pamphlet, entitled the "LAW OF FREEDOM IN A PLATFORM." . . . The scheme which he recommended was nothing less than Social Revolution. Not only Kings, but Lords of Manors, Lawyers, Landlords, and a Tithe-supported Clergy were to vanish from the face of the country. In the place of the existing life of Competition, was to be established a Collectivist Society, in which all worked under the superintendence of Elected Overseers for the good of all. No Money was to be tolerated in this strange Commonwealth; and the death penalty was reserved for two Crimes, Murder on the one hand and Buying and Selling on the other. Winstanley's Socialist effusion was too far removed from the actual world to move Cromwell either to approval or indignation.

Many years have elepsed since Morrison Davidson rescued from oblivion the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, the Leveller. The Cavileers called him "Free-born John" and respected him as the Man of Action of the Extreme Left in the English Commonwealth. Hume describes him as "*the most turbulent, but the most upright and courageous of mankind.*"

Lilburne was the author of the famous "*Agreement of the People*," the very foundation-stone of democracy as constitutionally developed later in Europe and America. He concerned himself with the problem of *political* reconstruction. Jerrald Winstanley concentrated on the economic struggle and the problem of social reconstruction. He considered economic security true Christian Community.

Davidson describes Winstanley as the "*great Communist Thinker of the Levellers, the most Left of the Left.*" He refers to Bulstrode Whitelocke's invaluable contemporary *Memorials of English Affairs.*

Under date, April 17, 1649, Whitelocke notes:

The General (Fairfax) sent two troops of horse to have account of certain Levellers at St. Margaret's Hill, near Cobham, and St. George's Hill, inasmuch as they digged the ground and sowed it with roots and beans.

Three days later occurs the following instructive entry in the diary:

Evarard and Winstanley, the chief of those that digged at St. George's Hill, in Surrey, came to the General and made a Large Declaration to justify their proceedings.

The "Large Declaration" is reproduced. This opens by declaring that "the People of God," meaning the Diggers and common people, in England, since the coming of William the Conqueror, "*had lived under tyranny and oppression worse than that under the Egyptians.*"

The declaration stated the diggers intended:

. . . . only to meddle with what was common and untilled land to make it fruitful for the use of man, and that the time will be that all men shall willingly come in and give up their lands and estates and submit to the community.

Whitelocke's diary notes:

While they were before the General they stood with their hats on, and being demanded the reason thereof, they said he was but their fellow-creature.

It should be noted that Comber, Dean of Durham, in his *Christianity No Enthusiasm*, published in 1678, maintains that Winstanley, and his fellow "Diggers," were the real founders of the Society of Friends.

Winstanley followed up the *Large Declaration* with a vigorous *Letter to the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of War, with divers Questions to Lawyers and Ministers: Proving it an undeniable Equity, that the Common People ought to dig, plough, plant, and dwell upon the Commons (lands) without hiring them and paying Rent to any.*

In this *Letter*, Fairfax is advised that the Diggers are Anarchists in these very clear terms:

We told you upon a question you put to us (when you were at our works upon the Hill) that we were not against any that would have magistrates and laws to govern, as the nations of the world are governed; but as for our parts, we should need neither the one nor the other, for our land is common, so our cattle is to be common, and are not to be bought and sold amongst us, but to remain a standing portion of livelihood to us, and our children without the cheating entanglement of Buying and Selling.

What need, then, have we of any outward, selfish, confused laws, made to uphold the power of Covetousness, when we have the Righteous Law written in our hearts, teaching us to walk purely in the creation?

Winstanley then addressed a number of questions to his Lordship and his Worshipful Council's advisers learned in the law. His point was that the Commonwealth was a failure unless it was founded on Communism and that the people were more important than parliament.

He addressed 10 questions to the lawyers;

We desire that your Lawyers may consider these questions which we affirm to be truths.

These questions asserted that William the Conqueror became King of England by conquest; turned the English out of their birthrights; compelled them to be servants; and King Charles I. was successor to William. Since the common people of England had cast out the kingly power, the Lords of the Manor had lost their royalty to the common land. Winstanley concluded that

the people ought to

have the land of their nativity for their livelihood freed from the entanglement of lords, lords of manors, and landlords, who are our taskmasters.

He concluded that all sorts of people had overthrown the Norman yoke, and so

all sorts ought to have their freedom, not compelling one to work for wages for another.

He affirmed that all laws not founded on Equity and Reason, not giving universal freedom to all, but respecting persons, *ought to be cut off with the King's head.*

He denounced the buying and renting of land, working for hire or wages, and the existence of clergy and gentry.

Addressing himself to "Public Preachers that say they preach the Righteous Law," Winstanley demanded to know

whether the earth, with her fruits, was made to be bought and sold from one to another? And whether one part of mankind was made a lord of the land, and another part a servant, by the Law of Creation before the Fall.

He wanted this question answered *in the light of itself* which was the Law of Righteousness, the Word of God dwelling in man's heart, and not by some text of Scripture or example since the Fall.

Winstanley developed his powerful indictment of the Preachers to great lengths, and asked them to lay aside their multitude of words, their selfish doctrines, because by these means they confounded and deluded the people.

Winstanley delivered his letter, by his own hand, to the General and Chief Officers. They promised to read and to consider it. Actually they cast Winstanley's letter to the one side as being the ravings of a dangerous and disaffected "subject." Discussing the matter with his Ironside Colonels, Oliver Cromwell asked:

What is the purport of the levelling principle but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? I was by birth a gentleman. You must cut these people in pieces or they will cut you in pieces.

Oliver Cromwell believed in the class war as well as Winstanley the Digger. But he was on the other side.

Winstanley denounced Cromwell's attitude in "The Law and Freedom in a Platform," to which he prefixed an incisive and wholly unanalogous "Epistle Dedicatory to Oliver Cromwell."

To Cromwell, Winstanley says:

It ['The Law of Freedom'] was intended for your view about two years ago; but the disorder of the times caused me to lay it aside, with a thought never to bring it to light. I said I would not make it public; but this word was like fire in my bones ever and anon: "Thou shalt not bury thy talents in the earth; therefore I was stirred up to give it a resurrection, and to pick together as many of my scattered papers as I could find, and to compile them into this method, which I do here present to you, and do quiet my own spirit." . . .

When the Norman had conquered our forefathers, he took the free use of our English ground from them, and made them his servants. And God hath made you a successful instrument to cast out that conqueror, and to recover our land and liberties again by your victories, out of the Norman hand.

That which is yet wanting on your part to be done is this: To see that the oppressor's power be cast out with his person, and to see that the free possession of the land and liberties be put into the hand of the oppressed commoners of England.

And, now you have the power in your hands, you must do one of two things: First, either set the land free to the oppressed commoners, who assisted you and paid the army their wages: and then you will fulfil the Scriptures and your own engagements, and so take possession of your deserved honour. Or, secondly, you must only remove the conqueror's power out of the king's hand into other men's, maintaining the old laws still. And then your wisdom and honour are blasted for ever; and you will either lose yourself, or lay the foundation of greater slavery to posterity than you ever knew.

Winstanley argued that the real enemies of the people were not so much the Kings as the Kings' Allies—the Clergy, with their "clowning doctrine" (theology) and the Lawyers with their law. He wrote with rare insight and almost in modern terms:

The main work of reformation lies in this: To reform the Clergy, the Lawyers and the Law; for all complaints of the land are wrapped up within these three.

He complained that large tithes are paid to the Clergy for preaching "imaginary and ungrounded doctrines" which fill "the minds of many with madness, contention, and unsatisfied doubtings."

Winstanley declares: "This is oppression."

He turns to the lawyer:

If we go to the Lawyer we find him to sit in the conqueror's chair, though the kings be removed, maintaining the king's power to the height. If we look upon the custom of the law itself, it is the same as it was in the king's days, only the NAME is altered; and if the commoners of England had . . . shed their blood, not to reform, but to baptise the law into a new name, from KINGLY LAW TO STATE LAW; and so, as the sword pulls down kingly power with one hand, the king's old law builds up Monarchy again with the other.

Shall men of other nations say that, notwithstanding all those rare wits in the Parliament and Army of England, yet they could not reform the clergy, lawyer, and law, and must needs establish all as the kings left them?

Will not this blast our honour, and make all monarchical members laugh in their sleeves to see the government of our Commonwealth still built upon the kingly laws and principles?

I have asked divers soldiers what they fought for: they answered they could not tell; and it is very true indeed they cannot tell, if the monarchical law is established without reformation.

Winstanley explains why the soldiers could not tell him for what they fought. It was because the Commonwealth was not a true Socialist Republic. It was based on property and oppression, on the principle of monarchy. It denied the unalienable "Creation Rights" of each individual human being and Winstanley enlarged on what was wrong and what had to be done:

"For you must either establish Commonwealth freedom in power, making provision for every one's peace, which is righteousness, or else you must set up Monarchy again. Monarchy is twofold, either for a king to reign, or for many to rule by kingly principles; for the king's power lies in his laws, not in his name. And if either one king rules, or many rule by king's principles, much murmuring, grudges, troubles, and quarrels may and will arise among the oppressed people on every gained opportunity."

Winstanley described economic oppression and rent as slavery:

"And is not this a slavery, say the people, that though there be land enough in England to maintain ten times as many people as are in it, yet some must beg of their brethren, or work in hard drudgery for day wages for them, or starve, or steal, and so be hanged out of the way, as men not fit to live on the earth? Before they are suffered to plant the waste land for a livelihood, they must pay rent to their brethren for it. Well this is a burthen the Creation groans under; and the subjects (so called) have not their birthright freedom granted them from their brethren, who hold it from them by club law, but not by righteousness."

Winstanley was opposed to State Socialism, or to its parody, Fascism or the Corporate State. He was not a Communist Dictator. He believed in voluntary co-operation: *"for all Commonwealth's rulers are servants to, not lords and kings over, the People."* He defined his position in these terms:

"I do not say nor desire that every one shall be compelled to practise this Commonwealth's Government; for the spirits of some will be enemies at first, though afterwards they will prove the most cordial and true friends thereunto."

Winstanley develops in detail the theory that buying and selling is the law of the conqueror and not the righteous law of creation. He asks:

How can that be righteous which is a cheat? For is not this a common practice, when one hath a bad horse or a cow, or any bad commodity, he will send it to the market to cheat some simple, plain-hearted man or other, and when he comes home will laugh at his neighbour's hurt, and much more.

When mankind began to buy and sell, then did they fall from innocency; for then they began to oppress and cozen one another of their Creation birthright: as, for example, if the land belong to three persons, and two of them buy and sell the earth, and the third give no consent, his right is taken from him, and his posterity is engaged in a war.

When the earth was first bought and sold, many gave no consent. Therefore, this buying and selling did bring in, and still doth bring in, discontents and wars, which have plagued mankind sufficiently for so doing. And the nations of the world will never learn to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and leave off warring, until this cheating device of buying and selling be cast out among the rubbish of kingly power.

Winstanley answered the question whether one ought not to be richer than others, thus:

No man can be rich, but he must be rich either by his own labours or by the labours of other men helping him. If a man have no help from his neighbours, he shall never gather an estate of hundreds and thousands a year. If other men help him to work, then are these riches his neighbours' as well as his, for they be the fruit of other men's labours as well as his own.

Winstanley believed in Communism, in wealth, but not in sex:

Shall every man count his neighbour's house as his own, and live together as one family?

No; though the earth and storehouses be common to every family, yet every family shall live apart as they now do; and every man's house, wife, children, and furniture for ornament of his house, or anything which he hath fetched from the storehouses, or provided for the necessary use of his family, is all a propriety of that family for the peace thereof.

He deals with the question of lawyers:

Shall we have no Lawyers? There is no need of them, for there is to be no buying and selling; neither any need to expound laws; for the bare letter of the law shall be both judge and lawyer, trying every man's actions. . . .

At first view, you may say this is a strange Government, but I pray judge nothing before trial. Lay this Platform of Commonwealth's Government in one scale, and lay Monarchy or Kingly Government in the other scale, and see which gives true weight to righteous Freedom and Peace. There is no middle path between these two; for a man must be either a free and true Commonwealth's man, or a Monarchical, tyrannical Royalist.

This epistle-dedicatory was dated November 5, 1651. Winstanley signed himself: *"A true lover of Commonwealth's Government, Peace, and Freedom, Jerrald Winstanley."*

Turning from Cromwell, and addressing himself to the unbiassed reader, Winstanley says powerfully:

Here, take notice: That Common Freedom, which is the Rule I would have practised, and not talked about, was thy pretence; but particular Freedom to thyself was thy intent. Amend, or else thou shall be shamed, when knowledge doth spread to cover the Earth, even as the water covers the seas.

In this writing, Winstanley struck, with unerring aim, at the root of the tree of monarchy and oppression. Cromwell and even Milton are play-actors by contrast. Winstanley is worth all the Utopians from Plato to Bellamy and even William Morris. He outdistances the economists from Adam Smith to Karl Marx. Yet the man has no memoir but his writing, the greatest and simplest memoir of all. Writing of Thomas Paine and rebuking William Cobbett, Richard Carlile said no man of worth required a greater memoir than his writings, if he wrote for liberty. But Winstanley wrote and lived and died for liberty.

(To be concluded)

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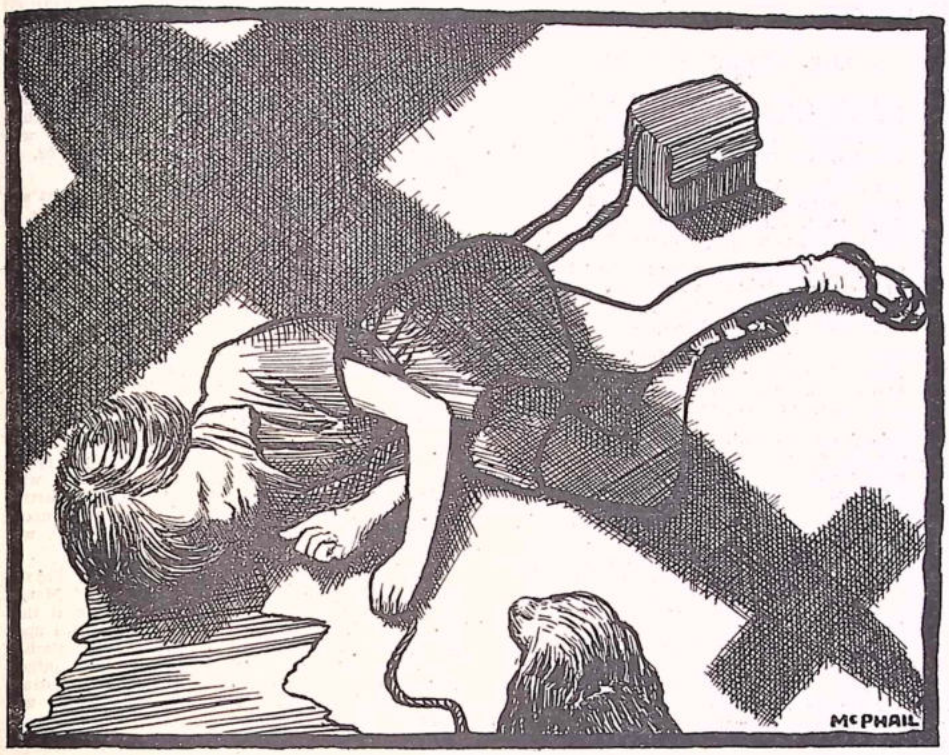

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by McPhail

ANY COMMUNIQUE—ALLIES OR AXIS.

"OUR AIRCRAFT REACHED THEIR OBJECTIVES"

WHY WARS ARE SUPPORTED

By C. H. Norman.

The flood of mendacity which the various propaganda machines of the warring states have loosed upon a listening world reminds one of the exact truth of Isaac D'Israel's warning, in his essay on "Political Forgeries and Fictions," when he declared: "When one nation is at war with another, there is no doubt that the governments connive at, and often encourage, the most atrocious libels on each other to madden the people to preserve their independence and contribute cheerfully to the expenses of the war." It is admitted that was done by the Allied propaganda department during 1914-1918, and the same admission will be made in due course in the period at the end of this war when all the dupes will find they have been more effectively tricked or lied to than even in 1914-1918. Patriotism is a more terrible disease in its inflictions on humanity than cancer, for whereas the latter corrupts the body and the blood, the former corrupts the mind without the unhappy victims being aware of the rotting process which has them in its corroding and terrible grip. It is the most poisonous disease which has ever afflicted mankind.

When surprise is sometimes expressed at the great support on which governments can generally rely in embarking upon war policy, it must be remembered that large sections of the community in all states at all periods have a direct interest in supporting a successful war, and every government cherishes the delusion that it will succeed in the war upon which it is about to embark, notwithstanding thousands of historical examples of the defeat of the boastful.

In Britain, the following classes and sections of the community can generally be relied upon to support a war with more or less vehemence. There is the financial class which does so well out of raising the loans necessary for carrying on the war. Then there are the landlords of agricultural land and the farmers, as the prices of agricultural produce always reach in war-time profitable levels never approached in times of peace, so increasing the capital value and revenue-production of agricultural land to a vast extent. The landed aristocracy and the farming class in Britain have always supported wars as redounding to their economic advantage. *The Sunday Times* of October 8, 1939, reported as follows: "In Canada war prices are expected to add £60,000,000 to the income of Western farmers during the present year." The "value" of land has risen to a colossal extent since 1939 in certain of the warring states. The controllers of large nickel mines at Sudbury, Canada, were instrumental in influencing Canadian intervention in the war.

Then come the commercial interests represented by that section in the City which recorded in their day on the portrait of Pitt in the Guildhall that, under his administration, "commerce was united with and made to flourish by war," an instructive commentary on the "peace loving England" of the political fairy tales.

Next come the professional military and naval classes, whose attachment to the families of the landed aristocracy add an economic influence to their professional interest, as during war rapid promotion and glory are more possible than in peace-time for such classes. They are supported by the small but influential political class for which war provides opportunities for hidden and unchecked graft, such as the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee which operated at enormous cost to the country during the last war. In this war the same kind of thing has shewn its head in the Ministry of Information and its dispersed sections under various aliases.

Then there are the large interests concerned in the production of munitions, which in 1916-1918, represented more than half the total production of the country. In 1943, the munitions industry represents about 65 per cent. of the total production of the warring states.

The Trade Union bureaucracy, which has rendered itself more immune almost than any other section from the direct perils of war, has shewn a militant ferocity only equalled by the parasitic legal and clerical classes of all denominations and shades of belief. Indeed the Trade Union bureaucracy, since the defeat of the General Strike of 1926, has adopted the practice of concentrating the attention of the rank and file of the unions on the iniquities which have victimised the European working class in certain countries,largely to hide the fact of their own failure to maintain the standards of the British working man. They have carried out in this respect the policy of all despots and reactionary governments, which, faced with discontent at home, have sought to withdraw attention from their misgovernment by concentrating public thought on the misdeeds of rulers of foreign states. It is an old device at which the General Council of the T.U.C. has shewn its mastery from 1931 till to-day. They have taken good care to avoid any criticism of the abuses of British Imperialism which one would have thought they had more than a passing responsibility for.

That section of the professional class whose skilled assistance and qualifications are required in the organisation and development of war-industries also has a tendency to see its interests forwarded by war. The rank and file of the working class engaged in mining, shipbuilding, the chemical industry, engineering, wool and cotton, generally speaking, support war, as they believe that war gives them better opportunities for employment and higher wages. This comment is also true of the large number of men and women directly engaged in the production of munitions.

It is well to face the extremely unpleasant fact that, in this world of capitalism and war, very few men and women ask themselves the question whether they should engage in the production of bombs and other deadly instruments for the destruction of their fellow beings. As all such employments have the blessing of the Archbishops, the Popes, and the leaders of Nonconformity, the individual does not question the rightness of these employments, and patriotism enjoins their task as a national duty. But, as Professor Beesly remarked in his famous but uncomfortable essay, "England and the Sea," "Patriotism is now only a specious name for national insolence."

The sections of the community not quite so impressed with war slogans are those engaged in strictly peace-time avocations, such as internal transport, the postal service, the bureaucracy managing the administration of the social services, and the artistic and musical professions.

The teaching and journalistic occupations are so closely allied to the administration of the capitalistic state that they can be counted among the supporters of war, even though often their direct professional interest is injured by the circumstances of war.

There are individuals (only a few unfortunately) throughout all these pro-war classes whose independence of mind may lead them either to stand out against the dominant class feeling, or stay critical of the extremer antics of the patriotic majority in their classes.

This analysis of the elements which are blended into the war propaganda machine is not limited to Britain but is of general application in Europe and elsewhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that a declaration of war should find in all states, an almost unanimous block of opinion behind each particular government. The psychological futility of appealing by leaflet to the German people immediately on the outbreak of war to overthrow their government should have been apparent. Such propaganda, if the above analysis be accurate, could only act with any effect at the conclusion of the war when its tragic course may have disintegrated the block of class feeling in any country by the pressure of individual suffering and misery, eventually reaching such a pitch as to dissipate class interest, as occurred in the Russian Army in 1917, and the German Army in 1918, and, to a lesser extent, in the French Army in 1916-17.

As Englishmen, considering the tactics being pursued by the British Government and the polemics issuing from its propaganda machinery it is wise to reflect upon these two passages written by specially upright men of British race. The first is from Professor Beesly's essay already referred to: "Such is the nature of British maritime supremacy. I have briefly sketched its rise, growth, and maturity. No impartial judge will deny that it has been marked in all its stages by flagrant violation of the simplest principles of morality, by contemptuous disregard for the rights of the weak, and by an assumption of superiority intolerably wounding to the legitimate dignity of our neighbours."

The second quotation is from a speech of Mr. John Bright on the 31st March, 1854, in denunciation of the Crimean War: "It is not my duty to make this country the knight errant of the human race and to take upon herself the protection of the thousands of millions of human beings who have been permitted by the Creator of all things to people this planet. I am told, indeed, that the war is popular, and that it is foolish and eccentric to oppose it. I may ask what was more popular than the American War? Where is now the popularity of that disastrous and disgraceful war and who is the man to defend it? The past events of our history have taught me that the intervention of this country in European wars is not only unnecessary but calamitous. . . . I believe if this country seventy years ago had adopted the principle of non-intervention in every case where her interests were not directly and obviously assailed that she would have been saved from much of her pauperism and brutal crimes by which our government and people have alike been disgraced. This country might have been a garden, every dwelling might have been of marble, and every person who treads its soil might have been sufficiently educated. We should indeed have had less of military glory. We might have had neither Trafalgar nor Waterloo, but we should have set the high example of a Christian nation, free in its institutions, courteous and just in its conduct towards all foreign states, and resting its policy on the unchangeable foundation of Christian morality."

This passage is of particular importance to members of the Labour Party now that Transport House has told the world that their purpose in the war is the abolition of dictatorship, which means the abolition of the actual method of government in Germany, Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Russia, China, Japan, France, Spain, Afghanistan, Portugal, Iran, Greece and a few other places, including Great Britain.

Finally, on the 20th January, 1864, Mr. John Bright made a declaration which is of equal truth to-day: "I will say, further, that if there be a government possible in our day that will plunge this country into war under the pretence of maintaining the balance of power in Europe and sustaining any kingdom there, be it little or great, I say that government not only is not worthy of the confidence of the people of England, but deserves our execration and abhorrence."

THE WORLD IS OURS.

O, woeful world, where shall we find
The power to heal thy frenzied mind:
The thought, the courage, and the deed
By which thy spirit could be freed?

The carpenter of Nazareth
Taught healing, truths: and suffered death.
Then priests with pagan rites confused
His teaching: and men's minds abused.

Dogma and creed soon dimmed the glow
Of that clear thought, which we all know
Might have imbued humanity
With wisdom and sweet sanity.

Powers now flout the Nazarene:
Blind men to all that might have been,
And all that, even now, could be,
If minds would struggle to be free.

Behold mankind; entrapped, enslaved:
For war made murdrous; depraved:
By tyrannic powers driven,
Till world reason's racked and riven.

A hopeless world? Not while we strive
To keep the flickering flame alive
Of thoughts that dares to flout the powers,
And challenge them—"The world is ours!"

E. E. BRISCOE.

Hewart, L. C. J.: More Musings

Dear Comrade,—Lord Hewart was a reactionary Chief Justice except on the question of the proper administration of the Factory Acts where he was active in compelling justices of the peace and stipendiary magistrates to carry out their duties under these Acts.

But "The New Despotism" was really a fake. Its real purpose was to criticise the setting up of quasi-judicial tribunals presided over by persons with non-legal qualifications which inquired into various questions as against such matters being referred to the Law Courts. From my experience of both methods, the persons affected received better justice at the hands of the Inspectors of various Ministries than they received from the professional judicial body headed by Lord Hewart.

The decision in Thomas v. Salmon was an example of Lord Hewart's reactionary trend of mind, for in that case he decided, contrary to previous decisions, that the police could attend a public meeting as of right without any request from the conveners of the meeting. Lord Hewart gave short shrift to any person of Communist or unusual opinions who came before him, e.g. he presided in the Court which affirmed the shocking miscarriage of justice in the Count de Potocki's case concerning poems. Hewart presided in Court of Criminal Appeal in the Potocki's case in appeal from Old Bailey trial by Ernest Wild, Recorder.

C. H. NORMAN.

London, W.C., 9/6/43.

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CHARLES BROOK, RICHARD CARLILE, and the SURGEONS

"The South London Press" in its issue for June 22 publishes an interesting review of Dr. Brook's recently issued work on Richard Carlile, under the heading:

Ex-L.C.C. member writes surgeon's biography

The review falls into error by describing Carlile as a "devotee of William Cobbett," which he was not. This blemish we have removed, for it is factually wrong. The reviewer complains that Carlile's writings are devoid of literary graces. We consider this charge to be incorrect also but have retained the statement as an expression of opinion.

The reviewer writes:

Dr. Charles Wortham Brook, formerly L.C.C. member for North Southwark, has written a biography to mark the centenary of Richard Carlile, "Libertarian and warrior against ignorance," who died in Bouverie-st., London, at the age of 52, on February 10, 1843.

A Cambridge M.A. and graduate at "Bart's" Hospital, the doctor is as virile and provocative in character as was the man whom his pen delinates so thoroughly in "Carlile and the Surgeons" (Strickland Press). It is an open secret that his departure from his County Hall seat, some months back, was the outcome of a party wrangle.

As forthrightly as he spoke his politics does he clear away the rubbish of public ignorance and indifference from around the figure of his hero, hoping that as a result of his labours, "There will be fewer who have either never heard of Richard Carlile, or who confuse him with Thomas Carlyle."

A second reason for his interest in Carlile lies in the fact that the latter was a contemporary of distinguished surgeon William Lawrence, who, "although he was born in 1783, was still an active member of the Bart's staff when my great-uncle, Charles Brook, who died as recently as 1930, was house surgeon to Mr. Skey."

In 1819 Lawrence published "Lectures on Physiology, Zoology and the Natural History of Man," almost, apparently, as revolutionary a work as that on the Darwinian theory, for he was prevailed upon to suppress the book. Four years later, Carlile, "without the sanction or consent of the author, indeed, in spite of anything he could do to restrain him, printed and published a volume which was simply a copy of Lawrence's two."

"Why?" wonders Dr. Brook, and proceeds to supply the reader with something like seventy closely printed pages of Carlile's life and writings, which make heavy reading because they are, for the most part, devoid of any literary graces.

But the mere reiteration of this tale of the son of a Devon cabbler, who left his father's last to hammer home truths into politics and the medical profession, carries with it an aura of romance.

It is sad to reflect that in this England a man should have to languish in an early nineteenth century gaol for expressing in print principles of politics and physiology that are platitudes to-day.

By publishing "Age of Reason" and "Principles of Nature," he drew down upon himself a savage sentence of three year's imprisonment and a fine of £1,500, and in addition was ordered to provide substantial securities. The charge? Several indictments of blasphemous libel.

DUKE'S DEMAND

He refused to pay the fines or furnish the securities, and the poets, Keats and Shelley, protested against the sentence. Against them sounded the ponderous tones of the Duke of Wellington, demanding in the House of Lords that Carlile should be outlawed and transported for life. The Czar of Russia forbade any mention of the trial in the newspapers of his country.

The book deals with Carlile's fervour as an out-and-out reformer and tells how, even while enduring the discomfort of Dorchester Gaol, his mind was oppressed with the ufferings of operatives slaving in Manchester cotton mills.

He exposed this and much more that was corrupt in industry and medicine, flaying Wilberforce for weeping over the lot of enslaved coloured folk while his own countrymen were treated as bad and worse.

His wife shared his cell for two years and one of his children was born behind the bars. To the last, in or out of gaol, he wrote and published for the poor at prices which they could afford. Comments his biographer, bitingly: "That was his real crime in the eyes of the ruling class."

This work contains, also, a sketch of Joseph Hume, "the surgeon who became a party leader, and who founded the Lancet."

Dr. Brook's book may be summed up as a deserved tribute to a great man, and one that is teeming with attractive facts.

MILLY WITCOP.

LONDON and BERLIN

The Bombing of Two Great Cities

A Prophetic Letter

EDITOR'S FORWARD

We all recall the terrible air-raids on London. This has passed into history as "The Battle of Britain." The censored news mentioned districts known to many of us as crowded working-class areas, in which the Socialist and Radical Labour Movement had made history during the past fifty years. In the bombed tenements and mean streets many Socialist M.P.'s had their political beginnings as propagandists. German airmen, the sons of German Socialists and Anarchists, bombed homes where German and Russian Anarchist exiles lived for years, and carried on their libertarian propaganda. At that time, the Soviet Union had not been invaded, and the Communist Party saw no crime in the bombings.

The morale of the people of London was not undermined by the bombing. They reacted, as did the people of Madrid and Barcelona. Militarists cried for reprisals. In due course, the tide of battle turned. And now we have the Battle of Germany. Berlin is being bombed or has been bombed as London never was bombed.

We make no undue complaint about these bombings. If it was right "to soften" Britain, or to attempt to do so, it is equally right "to soften" Germany. But we see the bombing as waste, a waste of culture, of progress, of humanity. We see war as a crime. And we fain would cry "Halt!" Also, we indict as responsible for the circumstances that made for the war, the very newspapers and politicians who rejoice in the war—to end the Fascism they evolved and nourished. Their screeches of "unconditional surrender" merely repeat the criminal cry of 1918, which has given us a quarter-of-century of want, fear, hate, hypocrisy, and a second world war!

When Nazism first threatened Germany, and Communists and Social Democrats, in their Marxist unwisdom, laughed, Neukolln was the centre of resistance to the new Imperialism from the gutter. Neukolln sought to arrest Hitler's advance to supremacy. It was the famous working-class Socialist and Anarchist district of Berlin. It bitterly opposed the creed of the Swastika.

Many working-class folks left Germany, only to find refuge in the East End of London, now bombed. After the Kaiser's fall, they returned to Berlin and lived in Neukolln, now bombed.

Milly Witcop, more often called Milly Rocker or Milly Witcop Rocker, the companion of Rudolf Rocker, has lived in the East End of London, and also in Neukolln. She was active in the Jubilee St. *Workers' Friend* Group: and she was active in the Berlin Anarchist Groups. To-day, she lives in California.

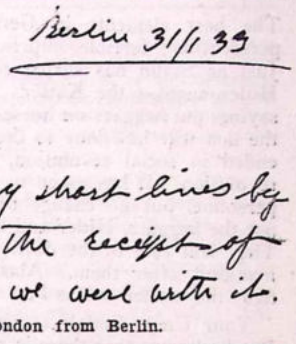
When the war broke out in 1914, she was interned, as was Rudolf Rocker. When the war ended, both were returned to Germany. She has close friends and comrades in East London and in Neukolln. Because of this simple fact, which has an eloquent appeal of its own, we print the folowing letter that she wrote in 1933.

We have the letter before us as we write: and we were tempted to reproduce it in facsimile, as also the envelope. But that can wait.

The envelope is addressed to: "*Mr. Annesley Aldred, 17 Richmond Gardens, London, W. 12, England.*" The stamps on the envelope seem to be two of Hindenburgh and one of Ebert. The cancellation on the stamp was: "Berlin-Britz, 31-1-33. 18-19."

To-day, this letter makes excellent and useful reading.

We have reproduced a charcoal sketch of the author of the letter, done by her son, Firmin Rocker, when they both lived in the East End of London. He now dwells in New York.



Berlin 31/1 33

My dearest Annesley,
you have most probably got my short lines by now, in which I have acknowledged the receipt of your dear letter and how delighted we were with it.

Opening sentences of Milly Witcop's 1933 letter sent to London from Berlin.

MILLY WITCOP'S PROPHETIC LETTER.

Berlin, 31/3/33.

My Dear Annesley,

You have most probably got my short lines by now, in which I have acknowledged the receipt of your dear letter, and how delighted we were with it.

We were sorry to hear that you have lost your job. Have you any prospects of getting another one? Work is probably just as scarce in England as here. It is a terrible state of things, the world over. If only we could hope for a favourable change in the near future! Unfortunately, there is no such prospect in view.

Do you know that I have not seen you since you were about six years old? It is a long, long time. Each time when I was in London, since after the war, you were not there; and so the years went on, without us meeting each other. Now you have grown into a big handsome fellow, to be sure, quite a man; and I have turned into an old woman, which is quite natural. Well, dear boy, let us hope that your castles in the air will turn out reality, and that we will see each other at last.

Your view of the political situation in England is not a bit inspiring. But where is inspiration or hope to be found these days? Spain makes the only exception. Also, there, the comrades have had hard times; but, at least, they fight for their rights. They do not take slavery and oppression as a matter of course in the same way as they do in other countries: especially here in Germany. Spain will yet astonish the world and give hope and inspiration to the workers in every country. In Spain, there are really Anarchists and Bakunin has left a tremendous influence on the people.

You might have seen, in yesterday's press, that our Hitler is in the principal place at last. The new Cabinet is the most reactionary imaginable, and what shape things will take in the near future, it is difficult to predict. There is no ground of optimism as to the future of Germany or of the workers here. And this pessimism will spread to Europe. Military reaction will not only establish itself in Germany, but it will spread to France, and overrun Europe, East and West. Europe will be divided between Germany and Russia: and both are dictatorial and reactionary powers.

The tragic thing about Germany has been the splifting within the ranks of the working class, and the absolute absence of any unity at all. There has been no class integrity. If the two Marxian parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists could have remembered that they existed to express the interest and will of the working-class; if they could have discovered agreement in the most vital matters of working-class struggle, on special occasions when specific attacks were made by the reaction, we would never have reached the political pass in which we now find ourselves. The Hitler party would *never* have developed, nor have become as powerful as it is. Now, the Hitler party will become Germany. Hitler will become Kaiser and Bismarck in one. A second-world-war must come. It is inevitable. A war, in which Germany and Russia will forge an ailiance, most likely, to destroy Britain and France. Has not Clara Zetkin preached German patriotism, with Communist Party approval? Has not the Soviet conspiracy to equip Germany with arms been exposed very fully by the Dutch Anti-Parliamentarian comrades? Germany and Russia will do worse than to unite to destroy Britain and France. They will not only attack capitalist democracy in Britain. They will threaten and destroy the anti-militarist movement of the workers throughout the world. They will make the workers feel that resistance to war is hopeless. They will uproot all Socialist idealism and spread slavery and desolation. I see a coming dictatorship-powers-alliance in Europe. This will indeed justify the Anarchist and Anti-Parliamentarian resistance to Bolshevism, to Leninism, and the New Economic Policy. It will justify our martyrs, now in exile or Soviet dungeons. But it will prove a terrible experience for the world—the death of all Socialist hopes: an anti-climax to our revolutionary struggle of half-a-century.

The Social Democrats, with all their errors, careerism, and reformism, are less to blame for the present state of affairs than the Communists. The Social Democrats have often approached the Communists, and proposed common action, but always in vain. Now, even if the Communists would bethink themselves, it is too late. We expect that the Anarchist organisations will be the first ones to be suppressed by the new government. The Communist Party will follow. The Social Democrats will follow a little later, unless the workers here take very drastic action. And they are incapable of doing this. The Bolshevik Revolution has wasted the world struggle of the working-class and delivered them to reaction in every country in the world, including Russia itself. What a climax to the 1917 days of revolutionary dreams of liberty and happiness!

The Communists, who have declined repeatedly to respond to the approaches of the Social Democrats, will come to their senses too late, much too late. They will want to make common cause with the Social Democrats when neither has any power left to make any cause. The consequences we shall all have to bear. Especially will the most radical organisations suffer.

The best elements in Germany must expect persecution; terrible imprisonment, and death. Just as Stalin has surpassed the Czar, so will Hitler surpass the Kaiser. You know the old saying, put beggars on horse-back. This is what the last war has done to the world. It has not ended in social revolution, but minor political revolution. It has given us a radical change of personnel but no change of character. It has put the beggars, Hitler and Stalin, on horseback. They will ride to the devil: but they will drag mankind after them. Alas, we shall have to fight the matter out as best we can.

Your Uncle Rudolf is well, and works hard. But he knows that there is no hope in Germany now. The social change must come from without. He is looking to Spain but no one can tell what the future has in store. Social Democracy and Communism have broken down completely. Perhaps Anarchism will get its chance of fighting the reaction. Unlike Marx, Prondhon always said that reaction would triumph for a time. After that, he saw the end of authority and of military society, and the commencement of a new social order. Unless Prondhon was right, the world, and all that we struggle for, would seem to be lost. Prondhon was right.

Love from us all, and hoping that we shall all live to make the world a better place in which to live.

I am, Your Affectionate Aunt,

MILLY.

P.S.—I hope that you may be able to read my scribble, and that you will not find my prophecies too gloomy or too shocking. I am sure that the Socialists will be horrified yet, not only by the crimes of the Russian Government, but by its attitude towards Hitler's Government and policy. Russia is the most dangerous counter-revolutionary government or State in the world to-day.

CIVIL DEFENCE VICTIMISATION

For refusing to take part in a parade for "Wings for Victory" week, four C.O.'s in the Hendon Civil Defence Services were each fined £1 at Hendon on May 3. These prosecutions constitutes a grave public scandal and are an outrage on every principle of democracy.

The accused were A. E. Rippingham, A. C. Southon, George Rust and Sydney Pickering, who had been in Civil Defence for two and a half years. They had worked well and there had been no complaints against them. They objected to appearing in a parade on March 6 with members of the Armed Forces and other groups on national service.

Robert S. W. Pollard, joint legal adviser to the Central Board for C.O.'s appeared for all four. The magistrates announced their decision after a short retirement.

"We find that there has been a breach of the law," said the Chairman, announcing the decision.

To our mind, the breach was on the part of the prosecution.

WAR

War I abhor
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of drum and fife, and I forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul.

Without a soul—save this bright drink
Of heady music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace abiding feet
Go marching with the marching feet
For yonder, yonder, goes the fife,
And what care I for human life!
The tears fill my astonished eyes
And my full heart is like to break;
And yet 'tis all embannered lies—
A dream those drummers make.

Oh, it is wickedness to clothe
Yon hidden grinning thing that stalks
Hidden in music, like a queen
That in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe.

Oh, snap the fife and still the drum,
And show the monster as she is!
Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

"FORGOTTEN WARRIOR"

[Under the heading, "Forgotten Warrior," our contemporary "The Medical Press and Circular," in its issue of June 23 last, reviews Dr. Brook's recently issued work, "Carlile and the Surgeons." We make no apology for reproducing this excellent article.—Ed.]

Not many of us to-day are familiar with the name of Richard Carlile, the centenary of whose death, appropriately enough, fell early this year. And yet we ought to be, for he was a notable man in his day. Notable and, indeed, notorious.

History has seldom known a more irrepressible and a more unflinching democrat. He was an atheist and freethinker (he once set out on a tour as an infidel missionary!), an iconoclast, an anti-militarist, a reformer, and a persistent champion and practitioner of freedom of thought and speech. So fiercely did the fires of conviction burn within him that, though he was persecuted and prosecuted repeatedly by the authorities—he spent an appreciable part of his adult life in prison—he never hauled down the flag but went on to the end. Wellington wanted to have him outlawed and transported, but Keats and Shelley rallied to his defence. He was an indefatigable writer and controversialist—he edited his "Republican" from jail, and edited it very successfully—and he wrote and published for the poor at prices the poor could pay. One of his chief crimes was to publish cheap editions of Tom Paine's "Age of Reason" and Elihu Palmer's "Principles of Nature." For this he was fined £1,500 and sentenced to three year's imprisonment. Clearly, it is inconvenient, if not downright perilous, to get oneself born before one's time.

GALLIPOT LATIN

"Carlile and the Surgeons" is the title of Mr. Brook's monograph, in which he recalls Carlile to our attention. For Carlile, among his multifarious activities, found time to enter into many medical controversies, general and particular.

One of his bitterest particular controversies was waged, perhaps not unexpectedly, with a certain Mr. Christopher Arden, coroner and surgeon to Dorchester Gaol, where Carlile was imprisoned for so long. The causes of this lay deep, but on the surface there appeared and reappeared an endless argument about the administration of mercury, Carlile swearing by crude mercury, the surgeon by calcined. With charming directness Carlile begins an open letter to him: "I told you, and told you correctly, **that you were a disgrace to your profession.** I now tell you that you are **a disgrace to your profession.** And," he warns him, "unless directly poisoned or otherwise despatched, you will find me a pretty tough stick. . . . I am in a very fine trim as to health."

One of Arden's prime mistakes—or was it a prudence?—was to refuse to argue with him, but the ground he chose—that Carlile was an "unlearned man"—was unfortunate.

"By learning," retorted Carlile, "I suppose you meant Gallipot Latin? . . . Nothing would do, you were a professional man, a dealer in mystery, and I told you that I was at war with all dealers in mystery, such as you and our worthy chaplain, who was by."

MEDICAL CURRICULUM, 1825

Not that Carlile was against all doctors—"for I may venture to say that the majority of the more intelligent part of them are my sincere friends. But," he adds, "some of you, country doctors in particular, combining in yourselves every branch of the profession, such as physician, surgeon, and apothecary, are as wicked a set of imposters as the priests. You first learn to read in Gallipot Latin, then to mix different drugs, and to act as surgeon-barbers. This is the amount of your country apprenticeship study, if an apprenticeship is served. Next you are off to London, to have **a walk through the hospitals,** as it is termed, and with many of you it is a mere walk. You enter your names to attend certain courses of lectures, as students, and, whether you attend or not, you find no difficulty in getting your certificate of qualification, to act as surgeon, apothecary, etc.; just as the priest can make sure of a call by the Holy Ghost after his name has been entered as an attendant upon a given number of divinity lectures. Thus inspired, the one hies off into the country, or back to his native neighbourhood, to cure or to kill the bodies of his neighbours, as luck may have it, and the other to cure the soul or the diseases of a religious mind. Both cheats: both imposters: both grossly ignorant."

DEATH'S CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

He certainly knew how to hit hard and to hit where it hurt most. And, indeed ,some of his criticism was shrewd and even farsighted, and only too well justified.

"The basis of all medical practice," he says, "should be a knowledge of the human body, and the basis of all knowledge of the human body is to know that it is but one of the many kinds of animals. . . . Until of late the medical profession had not extended its own knowledge beyond a knowledge of recipes; and, in point of professional skill or respectability, can rank no higher than a cook who has a good set of recipes to make all her preparations pleasant to the palate. Indeed, it is a slur upon the art of cookery to put medical recipes on an equality with it. For each individual can judge of the professional skill of the cook, whilst the meat is in process of mastication; but it is a desperate risk to trust one's body to the doctor, whose knowledge is confined to a knowledge of recipes. It is, at least, ten to one on the side of death. If an atheist may venture to speak figuratively of death, he can only consider a doctor of your stamp to be his 'chargé d'affaires.' In plainer English, I will say that you are one of Death's prime ministers for Dorchester Gaol, in particular, and for Dorchester and its vicinity, in part. It seems anomalous to me," he adds, "that, after you have sent a patient to heaven, you should empanel a jury and preside to report how it was done. But," he warns him again, "if I die in gaol all the opinions . . . will never persuade the present and future publics but that I have been murdered. And," he continues darkly, "you know that the affair of my prosecution and imprisonment will not end with my liberation. I have thieves to punish, villains to whip, and tyrants to pull down."

LAWRENCE AND GALILEO

Carlile championed Lawrence (later the celebrated surgeon) in his battle with Abernethy and the Elders of the College of Surgeons. Lawrence had been accused of atheism for hinting at evolution and questioning the biblical account of creation. Later he recanted. Carlile published his recantation in parallel columns with the abjuration of Galileo!

Wilberforce excited his supreme contempt. In that terrible, almost unbelievable, era of child labour and human slavery in the Manchester cotton mills, Wilberforce "kept up his clamour about slaves in another part of the world" but was blind to what went on under his nose. Of those "dark satanic mills" against which Blake raged, he wrote that by the end of the century they were likely to be the refuge of bats and owls.

A queer fish certainly Carlile, with perhaps more than one bee in his bonnet, but some of his prose has the ring and bite of Swift with much of Swift's terrible logic and much, too, of his "saeva indignatio." It is curious that he should have been so completely forgotten.

Mr. Brook has done very well to bring him once again to our notice, and his monograph contains much of the greatest interest to students of the medical history of a century ago. We commend it cordially to our readers.

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THE DUKE OF BEDFORD
LANCASTER MEETINGS

A well-mixed audience in which there was more than a sprinkling of members of the Forces listened to the address given by the Duke of Bedford, at the Armistice meeting, which was held in the Friends' Hall, Fenton Street, Lancaster, on Saturday evening, June 19, says the "Lancaster Guardian."

The Chairman, Mr. James Hudson, formerly M.P. for Huddersfield, said that the end which Mr. Churchill intended proved that when the war was over the German would be worse off in peace than he was in war. It was said that we should retain conscription and continue the great expenditure. Their task was not to destroy Nazis in Germany, but to improve things here.

The whole nation was becoming demoralised by this mass murder. Surely they could find some other way to peace. They should insist on knowing from the British Labour leaders just what it was that Churchill and Roosevelt intended, and get them to sign a declaration to that effect, even if they could not reach an agreement. Once hostilities ceased he felt sure there would be a different way of settling peace.

In introducing the Duke of Bedford, the Chairman remarked that many people said he (the Duke) was very unorthodox, and although it was the first time that he had been on the same platform with him he liked people who were outspoken, and in any case the orthodox people had made a mess of things.

The Duke spoke of the qualities of a negotiated peace and the desirability in doing everything possible to promote such a state. They should intimate that they were prepared to consider a conclusion of a just peace and the victorious country should agree to treat the vanquished as they themselves would wish to be treated if their positions were reversed. That was the golden rule, "to do unto others as you would they did unto you." The economic resourses of the world should be shared out according to the needs and numbers of each country, the wealthy nations helping those which were not. Selfishness did not pay and before the war we were definitely the "haves" and Germany and Italy the "have-nots." If they played their cards wisely it didn't matter very much whether they felt they could trust the Axis leaders or not; by putting forward sound proposals of peace they would be successful, but there was not the slightest possibility of peace so long as people threatened them with humiliation such as we would never stand. All this talk of the re-education of the Axis countries by an army of school teachers was mere "bunk." But they could have a system of inspection whereby representatives could watch that the peace terms were carried out. He did not expect that the United States of America wanted to police Europe after the war any more than we should. These rights of inspection followed with a fair share of the world's goods would do much to solve the problem. The moment they got bad reports they could use the machine of propaganda in a practical way and they would find the people themselves would not stand for their leaders' backsliding and placing them in danger of losing their supplies.

He was not by any means suggesting a one-sided disarmament, but they must have common sense and fairmindedness. They could mobilise the important factors of psychology. To get a policy which would work there would have to be sacrifice on both sides. They had also to break the tyranny of big finance. There were varying opinions as to whether peace should be negotiated when we were having setbacks or when we were on the move. Some people said that in the former the Axis would think we were afraid, and when we were winning why should we bother about a negotiated peace. But it was his opinion they should negotiate when their fortunes were on the up-grade.

Continuing, the Duke said some people may feel inspired to return to true religion by being in contact with God, but he felt no new evangelistic effect would cut much ice. The longer war went on the harder would be the peace. They must have fair play toward their opponents and one could not judge a man until one had tested him. God judged people not by what they were but by the use they made of the opportunities afforded them.

The Chairman expressed cordial thanks to the Duke, who, in reply, said he appreciated the welcome he had been given and also the courteous way in which he had been questioned. And he wished to thank especially the members of the Forces who had shown outstanding forbearance.

This above report is abridged from the "Guardian."

"The Peace News" (June 25) account of the meetings reads somewhat differently and merits reproduction, even where repeating some point:

Presiding, Mr. Hudson said it was because he resented the wickedness of war that he was willing, as was the Duke of Bedford, to argue and reason anywhere in favour of some better policy then we were pursuing now. We were conducting the war not to fight Nazism in Germany but to impose it here. We ought to insist on the Labour Party, Churchill, and Roosevelt telling us precisely what it was they expected to get at the end of the war.

The Duke said we should intimate to the Axis countries that we were prepared to negotiate a just peace on the basis of the Golden Rule.

We should suggest peace be concluded on the basis that, for the first time in the world's history, the vast economic resources of the world were to be fully developed without financial hindrance; and shared out, regardless of political considerations, according to the needs of the nations. Wealthier nations would help poorer nations, if need be, by actual gifts of goods.

To people who said, "We can't trust the Nazis" his reply was: "If you play your cards well it doesn't matter two hoots whether you trust them or not; their own people will see that they accept good, equitable peace terms."

The suggestion that we should police Germany after the war and re-educate her children was bunkum (applause).

In our peace terms we must tell the Axis that there would be a fairer sharing of the world's resources, no military domination, and a fairer financial system. Only by a real living communion and co-operation with God could the world's problems be solved.

The Duke, answering questions, gave chapter and verse for each reply. The audience, fairly equally pacifist and war-supporting, were clearly impressed and even enthusiastic about the meeting.

Announcing this meeting, and the Duke of Bedford's Sunday meeting following, the "Peace News," for June 18, published an interesting and almost amusing item under the caption, "Real Brotherhood" from a Morecambe correspondent. The latter wrote:

Lancaster Brotherhood, very largely war-supporting and non-pacifist, have generously and most tolerantly handed over the complete organisation and ordering of their meeting, at Lancaster Centenary Church, at 3 p.m. on Sunday (the day after the public meeting) to the local P.P.U. and the Duke of Bedford will speak to the Brotherhood.

Our President, Arthur Knowles, will preside, and Tom Rhodes (who recently served three months—imposed by the J.P. President of the Brotherhood—for refusing to register for fire-watching) will read the lesson: Luke 6, 27-28.

Quite a study in brotherhood! Almost a democratic cynicism.

DUKE'S C.O. SPEECH
New Zealand Commentary

The Duke of Bedford's speech in the House of Lords on March 2 last was reported and commented on widely in the New Zealand press. Resentment was expressed at the Duke's reference to the harsh conditions prevailing in New Zealand. The news-summary of the views expressed by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Ponsonby, and the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Barnes) were fair. Reports appeared in the "Wellington Evening Post," and the "Auckland Star," and other evening journals on March 3 and in "Dominion," Wellington, the "Otago Daily Times," and other New Zealand daily papers the following day.

"Dominion" published an editorial on the Duke's speech, side by side with its news report, in the course of which it argued, somewhat absurdly:

Frequently in references made to men kept in detention in this country because of their refusal to give military service, misleading use is made of the term "conscientious objectors." Such use of this term causes misunderstanding, as may be seen in a cable message, published this morning, which reports the Duke of Bedford as having stated in the House of Lords, during a discussion of the conscientious objection problem in Britain, that "the position is even harsher in New Zealand where about 700 conscientious objectors have been imprisoned or placed under detention for periods of two years." This, of course, is not the case. These men who have been imprisoned for brief terms, and afterwards placed in detention camps, have been dealt with thus because they are military defaulters. Their claims to genuine conscientious objection were examined by tribunals appointed for the purpose, and rejected. They refused to accept the rulings, defaulted in their consequent obligations, and—very rightly—have been deprived of their liberty. Conscientious objectors, accepted by the tribunals as such, are enjoying full freedom of wartime citizenship—a position, incidentally, which many people regard with strong disapproval. There will be still stronger disapproval of the tendency, which is creeping into public utterances, to look upon detained men as martyrs to their conscience. They are defaulters and, as such, are receiving treatment of peculiar leniency.

The idea that a man ceases from being a genuine conscientious objector because a Tribunal has rejected his claim is both legal and moral nonsense. Even the **National Service Acts** reject this idea. The 1939 Act has special clauses protecting the C.O. who finds himself in this position and the 1941 Act extends the protection. Hence the contention is not even officially or statutorily recognised as sound in law or in fact. Nor was it so recognised in 1916, under the conscription acts of the first world war.

Mr. Lowry (Government, Otaki) referred to the Duke of Bedford's speech, in the House of Representatives, Wellington, when he questioned Mr. Mason, the Minister of Justice. The Minister said:

The position in New Zealand is that an appeal system has been established in which any reservist refusing military service on the grounds of conscientious objection may place his case before a competent tribunal. Many conscientious objectors have succeeded in their appeals and have been released from military obligations or are engaged in non-combatant duties. Approximately 650 persons have failed to convince the appeal boards of the genuineness of their conscientious objections, and others have not taken the trouble to appear before the boards. They have since defaulted in their military obligations and by magisterial direction have been placed in detention for the duration of the war or such time as they continue their refusal to serve."

Mr. Mason, answering a further question, explained that defaulters in the camps were required to engage in general farming pursuits, flax and vegetable cultivation and production, forest thinning and pruning and the breaking in of the land. It was deemed advisable to use the services of defaulters on outside work.

Duke's "Mixed" Impressions of Miner's Houses

"In my opinion it is a disgrace to any civilised country that that sort of thing should be allowed."

The Duke of Bedford made this statement to "The Glasgow Herald" recently, at a press interview in Glasgow, at the close of his two-day investigation into housing and social onditions of miners in Lanarkshire. He was speaking about what he saw of men living under some of the old housing conditions.

"My impressions were very mixed," the Duke said. "The new housing estates that were finished before the war were very good indeed, and I was very favourably impressed."

Asked if he met with any very bad examples of large families living in small houses, he replied—"I went into one house in a miners' row. There were two or three young children and a man and wife living in one small room, and there was, I think, no water laid on, and only one lavatory and one adequate washhouse for several houses.

"There was another one, in a tenement building. The family was of seven or eight, and they had two rooms, wretched dirty places, where they had a sort of water tap in one room—which the other had not. But the place was very dirty, the windows were broken, the walls were all falling to pieces, and it was completely unfit to live in."

Replying to a question about the purpose of his visit, the Duke said that he simply came to get some first-hand knowledge of housing conditions.

"I may possibly raise the matter in the House of Lords some time," he said. "It may be desirable to draw attention to these things, even if the Government can do nothing. Obviously, in war-time you cannot have anything like the ordinary peace-time housing programme. I don't think housing should stop completely. If the Government insists on going on with the war indefinitely, there should be a small attempt at carrying on with housing programmes."

The Duke stated that he had originally made arrangements to live with a miner, to get a closer view of social conditions. The arrangement, however, had to be cancelled. "It was purely by accident that I did not stay with a miner," he said.

The Duke said he was not particularly interested in production committees when he was asked if he supported them. He knew little about them. When their functions were explained, he said that he was against them in that they helped in the prosecution of the war; but he approved of them if they eased a coal shortage among the people.

—"Glasgow Herald," 29/6/43.

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS, AND CULTURE.

In 1893 Moncure D. Conway, M.A., invited public attention to one hundred years of labour and vicissitude of South Place Ethical Society in his famous "Centenary History" of the Society. The author had delivered four discourses on the subject. But as his research caused him to dig out the Society's up to then unpublished story, from its manuscript archives, old magazines and pamphlets, and the memory of aged persons with whom he conversed, he felt that the record might claim the interest of a larger public. The historic sense, he said, could not fail to recognise the picturesque, and to some extent representative, relation of the Society to the tremendous events amid which it was born, and find in its conservative radicalism, unbroken by any incitement of violence or iconoclastic insanity, maintenance, in its modest sphere, of the healthier traditions of English progress. From the victorious American Revolution came the torch that kindled the revolution in Europe; from it also came the lamp which an American, who in youth had seen General Washington besieging Boston, brought to the little chapel in London, where it continued to burn, after the revolutionary torch was quenched seemingly in blood.

It would be a mistake to suppose that in the wayfarer from New England, Elhanan Winchester, or in those who with him founded the Society, there was any consciousness of their relationship to the revolutionary era. Winchester was not a Winstanley and he did not realise the full social economic import of Universalism. He was a Scriptural enthusiast of a new gospel—the ultimate salvation of all mankind in a future world. In France, maddened, by the invading league of despots, hurling at them the head of a king, Elhanan Winchester heard only the apocalyptic trumpet and recognised its prophesied "Woes." Yet in his doctrine of universal redemption there was an essential spirit and force of humanity which, after the pattern of a new heaven, must inevitably shape the vision of a new earth. Even in the world whose millennial consummation seemed at hand, the London "Philadelphians," as Winchester's friends called themselves, wished to clear away African slavery, and inhuman punishments, and penal statutes against religious liberty. Even amid their raptures, in view of a celestial paradise enjoyed by all, began unconsciously their pilgrimage from the world to come to that which now is. They glimpsed a little of Winstanley's vision but developed their message differently.

These generalizations find little place in Conway's "History." The occasion appeared to him one rather for the recovery of interesting details, illustrating the interior life of an unorthodox Society of educated people, animated by a comprehensive principle of religious liberty, at successive stages of struggle and progress; and also casting some fresh light on individual characters, and on their services to each just cause as it arose, and each new truth. This appeared to him the most important contribution that the South Place archives could make to the yet unwritten religious and cultural philosophic history of England.

The South Place Society, in its origin, was made up of waifs and strays of many sects, united only by an enthusiasm for the Universal Love which consumed sectarianism. It has remained unsectarian. It has never possessed any denominational trade-mark to stamp on its own productions. The story, so briefly and so ably told by Conway is that of a religious Society founded at a time of extreme degeneration, when government mainly consisted in "lynching" the Liberals, burning in effigy the author of the "Right of Man," and

ELHANAN WINCHESTER
1781—1792

imprisoning those who circulated such works; when Edmund Burke was insisting on the penal statutes for even moderate religious heresies; when Charles James Fox declared the English Constitution cut up by the roots, and obedience to such "despotism" no longer "a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence": of a Society which, animated by a devout enthusiasm of humanity, maintained steadfastly, and by purely moral and intellectual weapons, under four successive English monarchs, against a persistent attack, principles that are now the air we breathe. Its own interests as a Society were subordinated to the rights of those whose views it did not share, mainly indeed its antagonists—Catholics, Jews, Deists, Atheists. During that long period, from the English Reign of Terror to the Restoration of the Constitution, members of the Society, men and women alike sharing equally in its struggles and responsibilities, lived fairly happy lives, in active co-operation with social reformist and practical enterprises of the community, in close relationship with the literary and artistic world around them. In Harriet Martineau's "Five Years of Youth, or Sense and Sentiment," whose characters are Benjamin Flower and his family; in letters and writings of Hazlitt, Carlyle, Mill, Leigh Hunt, and Browning—to mention only some of W. J. Fox's circle—glimpses are given into the intimate life of the South Place Society. Its history, therefore, belongs not to South Place only, but to the general world.

In gathering the history from many sources, not aided much by any book, Moncure Conway spared himself, and indeed his friends, no pains to secure accuracy; and he expressed especial gratitude to Mrs. Eliza Bridell Fox (daughter of the Society's most eminent minister) for her generous and unwearied assistance.

Moncure Conway claimed no literal continuity with the particular doctrines of his predecessors, but believed that their spirit animated the changes he developed. Under its successive names, adopted or given—"Philadelphians," "Universalists," "Society of Religious Dissenters," "South Place Unitarian Society," "The South Place Society," "The Free Religious Society," "The South Place Ethical Society"—is traceable a constant endeavour to study carefully, and keep abreast of, the growing knowledge of the world, at whatever cost to traditional prejudices or opinions; to do this in a spirit of tolerance and liberalism no less than of radicalism and sincerity. As the Society grew from no theological creed, and never adopted any opinion that could fetter its members, the religious or philosophical theories taught in it necessarily varied with the teachers it invited or employed; but beneath these variations there has been developed the spirit of human religion; potential in its first minister's Universalism, and clearly defined and expressed in Moncure Conway's long and useful record of service. During and since Conway's time, the Society possessed and has possessed no machinery of propagandism for any particular tenets. For those who knock, its doors have been and are open.

Elhanan Winchester, founder of the South Place Ethical Society, was a true forerunner of Channing, Emerson, and Theodore Parker in the United States of America, and of William Johnson Fox in England. Born September 30, 1751, near Boston, Massachusetts, eldest son of a mechanic who named his fifteen children out of the Bible (boys out of the Old, girls out of the New Testament), and brought them up as solemn citizens of ancient Judea. Elhanan was given only a fair common school education, and taught himself Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French. He was old at twenty, became a rigid Calvanist preacher; summoning the elect—the already saved—but offering no hope to the rest of mankind. In his travels he casually met a young lady, who answered that all must be saved; she "beheld an infite fulness in Christ for all mankind." He interrupted her with denials and texts, silenced her, passed on his way; but her one sentence carried his destiny with it. He never saw her again, he never knew her name or abode; he carried to the end of life a hurt that he could not tell her that he had discovered his error and her truth. Her soft word, a little seed cast on Puritan rock, took root, crumbled the rock into a robust tree of faith (of course called heresy), whose fruitful slips were planted in various parts of America and England. One of those slips is represented to-day in the hundred and fifty years of the South Place Society; the seed of it was planted by a maiden in the depths of New England, nearly two hundred years ago. She lived and died, dreaming not that the still small voice of her spirit would be heard in distant lands, would animate leaders of men; or that her words, two centuries later, would be reminding countless men and women of the immeasurable influence of the true word spoken in fit season, in obscurity.

Elhanan (signifying "God-given") made good his name. He travelled through the United States and then through England, publishing his new gospel, that all mankind would be saved. The ranters and revivalists raged against a doctrine ruinous to their whole stock—terrorism. Huntington S.S.—Sinner Saved—printed his "Advocates for Devils refuted." It was a common belief, even among Unitarians, that it might be dangerous to mitigate the fears of mankind, and for other reasons they hardly ventured sympathy with Winchester. When he came to England (1787) no Unitarian assembly heard his eloquent voice. Unitarianism was still under penal laws, and, though they were not enforced, Unitarian ministers had to be cautious. These laws had not anticipated Universalism, and Winchester did not assume anti-Trinitarian ground. But in private, he was received well by Priestley, Price, and some others. He also met John Wesley, then in extreme age, and good evidence is given in Winchester's biography that Wesley strongly inclined to the Universalist doctrine. Winchester's biography is by E. M. Stone (1836). The biography (a sort of Universalist tract) is in the British Museum Library, and contains a portrait, showing Winchester to have been a commandkind of man, something like Washington, who once wrote him a friendly letter. He had been the leading Baptist preacher in Philadelphia, but lost his place by adopting Universalism.

Winchester reached London, September 21, 1787, and preached in Blackfields (Southwark); in Moorfields; in a schoolroom in Store Street (Tottenham Court Road); at "Mr. Thwait's chapel, Southwark"; and for a year in Petticoat Lane, where the Baptists met in an ancient

church, originally Catholic. Next he had a connection with Glasshouse Yard Chapel (whose foundations were traceable a century later under a paperhanging factory); and in the evenings he preached at a Baptist Chapel in Worship Street, which afterwards became Unitarian.

Winchester was not much interested by Wesley's preaching, but loved the man. John Wesley died March 2, 1791, and on the 10th, the day after his burial, Winchester preached a funeral sermon in his honour. Wesley died in his 88th year, and his critics declared that he had "passed into the lake of fire." Winchester rebuked them for their want of charity, and declared that they had their religion to seek. Outside of Wesley's own connection, Winchester's was the only memorial service in his honour.

On the 12th of October, 1792, the tercentenary of Columbus' landing in the New World, Winchester delivered an oration, apparently by request of his countrymen in London. It was printed along with a biographical sketch of George Washington, and also a descriptive plan of the unbuilt city of Washington. The oration concludes with a glowing prophecy:

I look through and beyond every yet peopled region of the New World, and behold period still brightening upon period. Where one continuous depth of gloomy wilderness now shuts out even the beams of day, I see new states and empires, new seats of wisdom and knowledge, new religious domes, spreading around. In places now untrod by any but savage beasts, or men as savage as they, I hear the voices of happy labour, and behold beautiful cities rising to view. Lo, in this happy picture, I behold the native Indian exulting in the works of peace and civilisation. . . . I hear the praises of my Creator sung upon the banks of those rivers unknown so long. Behold the delightful prospect! See the silver and gold of America employed in the service of the Lord of the whole earth! See slavery, with all its train of attendant evils, abolished! See a communication opened through the whole continent, from North to South, and from East to West, through a most fruitful country!

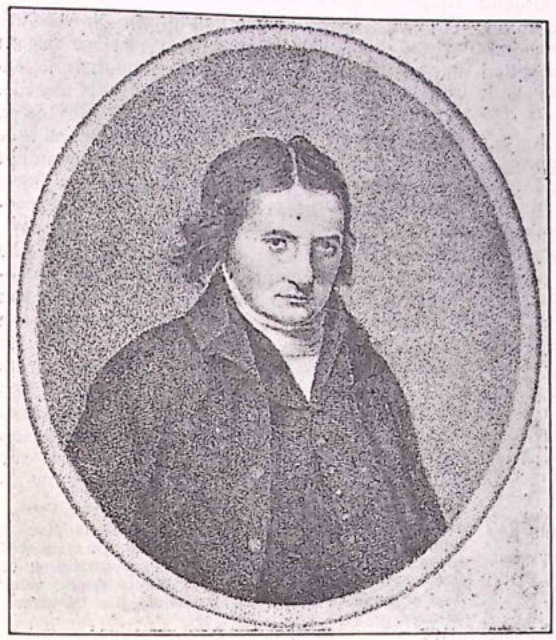
Winchester's congregations outgrew their chapels, they also outgrew some of their Baptist notions. The dissenters of various shades who gathered around the American prophet built or purchased for him the Parliament Court Chapel, Artillery Lane. There the Society was organised, February 14, 1793.

Elhanan's pet aversion was Hell. He did not preach Trinitarianism, but he never assailed it. He was content to preach Universal Salvation. He wrote an earnest but mild and non-abusive reply to Thomas Paine, and would have grieved to think that one day his successor would defend Paine's principles and write Paine's biography.

Winchester was a youth at Boston when Washington raised an English flag against un-English despotism; he had learned the fate of all tyranny, whether on earth or in heaven; he had never forgotten that gentle protest of the maiden's heart against the vindictiveness he once worshipped. The fire kindled in Parliament Court was from a spark of the great human insurrection against deified inhumanity. The new society was named "The Philadelphians," that is, "loving brothers," or "brotherly lovers." In the Book of Revelations the Spirit saith to the Church in Philadelphia, "I have set before thee an open door which none can shut." Winchester wrote to his friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, in the city of Philadelphia, that in England "many doors are opened (i.e. for the doctrine of universal restoration), especially among the Baptists and Presbyterians."

Winchester preached in many towns and cities. He arraigned the slave trade. He denounced capital punishment. He instituted a true Ethical Society. After nearly seven years of such service in England, he was compelled by domestic troubles to return to America (May 1794). Here he died at Hartford, Connecticut, April 18, 1797.

William Vidler, the second minister of the Society, was Winchester's first ministerial convert. He was a stonemason in Battle, Sussex, and incurred the anger of his father



EDWARD WM. VIDLER
1758—1816

Winchester's successor, who developed Universalism into a broad Humanist Unitarism, and prepared the way for complete Ethical Humanism. Considered all mankind one family equally interested in the love of a common Father. Paved the way for William Johnson Fox and Moncure Conway and to-day's Radical Humanists.

(also a stonemason) by inclining to dissent. Miss Sweetingham, whom he afterwards married, persuaded him to hear a sermon from Rev. George Gilbert in her father's house, and this ended in immersion (1780), and in him becoming a Baptist preacher in Battle, in his twentieth year. In 1787 he was supporting a wife and five children on a salary of £50, and wrote a pathetic prayer to God for help, which he believed was answered by his call to Northiam, which paid more. In 1784 an entry in his diary discloses doubts concerning the godhead of Christ and the eternity of hell. Elhanan Winchester preached at Battle in 1792, and on the last Sunday of that year Mr. Vidler announced his conversion to Universalism. His congregation went with him, and in 1793 they all were excommunicated formally at Chatham, the presiding elder expressing to Vidler, who was present, a wish "that the hell he advocated might be his portion." After Winchester's departure for America, Vidler was invited to Parliament Court, where his first sermon was given, Feb. 9, 1794. He still preached part of each year at Battle.

In 1793, Thomas Paine, author of "The Rights of Man," was burnt in effigy at Battle. The mob stopped at the doors of prominent dissenters, crying "No Paine!" When they shouted at Vidler's door he stepped out and congratulated them on the ingenuity shown in their effigy. They demanded whether he was for Paine, "No, my lads," said he "be assured I have no liking for **pain**; I am for ease." The mob laughed, gave him three cheers, and passed on.

Vidler edited (1797-1801) a monthly periodical, "The Universalist Miscellany, or Philanthropist's Museum. Intended chiefly as an Antidote against the Anti-Christian Doctrine of Endless Misery." Except for the belief concerning hell, he did not assail orthodoxy, but his magazine shows signs of misgiving concerning the Atonement.

Vidler held on to the Trinity until 1802. When he criticised that doctrine as unscriptural, his adherents began to leave him; and the congregation was so reduced that he hardly had any salary at all. Denial of the Trinity cost his Society £320 per annum. He tried to make something selling books. While the Society was flourishing, the minister had ordered an organ (1801), and not having raised enough to pay for it, he had pledged his salary for the remainder (£50). But the salary left as Unitarianism entered (from £250 was reduced to £30), and it was only by his disinterested fidelity that the Society was saved from dissolution. Two gentlemen, Wood and Andrews, paid for the organ. By the help of the Rev. Robert Aspland, of the New Gravel Pit Chapel, Hackney, the magazine was revived in 1802, under the title of "The Universal Theological Magazine." The Society marched on bravely, with its invincible and earnest minister.

Curiously enough, the Baptist notion of a "chosen people" survived at Parliament Court the Universalist and Unitarian conversions, holding its traditional exclusiveness at the Communion table. Only in 1808 did our Philadelphians awaken to a perception that their door was not yet wide open. On October 6 they resolved "that, instead of the former mode of close communion (so called), an open communion of all the congregation be adopted in future."

Having thus reached the Philadelphian substance, they gave up the name. There had been a Society within the Society, called "the Church," which seems to have communicated at a different time, and to have seceded about the time when the open Communion was adopted. Vidler's Society applied for admission to the Assembly of General Baptists, and was admitted by a small majority; but this caused a division in that Assembly. The Baptist connection lasted long after the Society had become actively associated with the Unitarian body.

South Place was animated by a missionary spirit, and permitted its minister to preach in other places. In 1812, Vidler founded the Unitarian Church in Reading, remaining there five months. Among South Place records is a filial and grateful letter from the Reading Church to Vidler, saying they are "proud to acknowledge that their existence as Unitarians was owing to your instrumentality"; and the South Place Society wrote to Reading, saying of Vidler:

"His boldness and the sacrifices he has made in support of the truth as it is in Jesus, will, we trust, be had in everlasting remembrance."

Vidler was interested in public and philanthropic matters, and not theology alone. So early as 1801 he wrote this paragraph in his magazine concerning the neglected subject of cruelty to animals:

There are several species of barbarity in this CHRISTIAN country which reflect dishonour on our national character. Throwing at cocks, we believe, is pretty generally disused since our moral mentor, Addison, so compassionately pleaded their cause in one of the papers of the "Spectator"; but cock-fighting and bull-baiting yet continue; and we fear that the practice of pinning the cockchaffer among children is yet frequent. Parents and tutors of youth ought to discourage anything of the kind; from cruelty to animals the transition is very natural to cruelty to our own species.

He includes the pleasures of the chase under his ban, a Radicalism on which no one had previously ventured.

Vidler was soft-hearted, and once pawned his watch to help a poor man named Javel, who sometimes appeared in his chapel. But Javel was a footpad, and one night attempted

to rob Vidler in Bethnal Green. Later on, Javel was executed at Chelmsford.

In 1810, the South Place Society discarded Winchester's and adopted Aspland's (Unitarian) collection.

Vidler died August 23, 1816, and was buried at the Unitarian Chapel at Hackney five days later. On being offered payment for the ground, the Hackney committee declined it, saying that they "considered it an honour that they should have his ashes deposited" with them.

Vidler was the first preacher to say a word in defence of Judas. He retranslated the Greek, to show that Judas did not hang himself, but "departing, was strangled." He declared that Judas was strangled with grief. He described how this happened, in July, 1798, in the public theatre in Liverpool, to Jack Palmer, the comedian, who fell dead while playing the title role in **The Stranger**. Vidler showed that the idea of Judas was not covetousness, but really to advance the cause of Jesus. This theme has been developed since by other writers in the form of historical romance.

Vidler developed this theme in 1799, while he was still a Trinitarian. It is one of the boldest suggestions of that intimidated time. And indeed, in that miserable period following Paine's "Age of Reason," when freethinkers were often imprisoned, and some Unitarians were swearing like St. Peter in denial of religious liberty, Vidler maintained that principle with fidelity; he exercised it steadfastly, progressing to larger views and bolder utterances to the day of his death.

(To be continued)

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND POLITICS

Australian "Witch Hunt" 1943.

The Christchurch, New Zealand, "Star-Sun," for April 10, 1943, publishes an interesting report from its Sydney, Australia, correspondent, dated April 7.

A big argument was caused in Sydney during the previous week-end by remarks concerning religion and education delivered at the New Education Fellowship by Professor John Anderson, Professor of Philosophy at Sydney University. Declaring that teachers should resent the introduction of religion into the curriculum, Professor Anderson stated:

Religious doctrines are a direct attack and assault upon a child's commonsense. When religious instruction is combined with other instruction the effect can only be one of uncertainty. The child either becomes credulous, without a proper appreciation of evidence, or he becomes cynical and given to humbug. In any case, religious instruction prevents the child from becoming a solid critical thinker. If a child is forced to swallow doctrines of a religious nature, it will undermine his understanding of things in general.

The teaching of religion has an important political character, because it promotes an extension of credulity, which is a very desirable thing from the point of view of the ruling order. It spreads the habit of submission, which induces people to accept authority without questioning.

The New South Wales Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cahill), whose office confers on him no right to interfere with questions of education, said he would

use his influence to ensure that this man, holding a position in a State-subsidised university, is not allowed to affront public opinion.

To this impertinence, Professor Anderson replied boldly and clearly:

I have before now combated the view that in making grants to the university the State purchases the opinions of university teachers. It is the business of a university to see that all views, orthodox and unorthodox, get a hearing, and are critically considered. I may add that it is peculiarly the business of a philosopher "to affront public opinion," or, as Shaw has it "to call the righteous to repentance."

In reply to a further question, the Professor said simply and directly: "**Yes, I am an Atheist.**"

The matter was debated in the New South Wales Parliament on April 6, on an urgent motion by the Rev. D. P. Macdonald, Independent Member for Mosman. Before his election to Parliament, Macdonald was Presbyterian minister at Mosman. One would not conclude from this man's speech he could be independent member for anywhere, for the man is a poor, pettifogging sectarian dogmatist and ignoramus, the type of Pharisee who in other days applauded the execution of Jesus and the stoning of the prophets. His spiritual ancestors danced with joy at Smithfield when Bartholemew Legate was burnt and at Geneva when Servetus was martyred. Macdonald is in direct line of descent from the murderers of Bruno and the theological savages who hunted, tortured, and burned at slow fires witches, the while they gloated in righteous sadism. On the motion of this creature, the stupid New South Wales Parliament unanimously carried the following resolution:

That Professor Anderson's statements are a travesty of the Christian religion, and are calculated to undermine the principles of the constitution of the Christian State. That this House should bring the statements under the notice of the University Senate.

Of course, training to bomb, rejoicing in war, upholding racial discrimination, are not traversies of the Christian religion, or of the brotherhood teachings of Jesus! Only Professor Anderson's statements against God, and the idea of God, and the authority of the Church, and the principle of dull unquestioning obedience and errors in a democratic community! Macdonald believes that his resolution is democracy! This Gestapo theologian and "educationist" commands a unanimous vote. What mockery! And what outrage ! !

Creature Macdonald, Presbyterian persecutor, patriot, democrat, and war-monger, told the House in his best priestly fashion:

THE RECOGNITION OF ALMIGHTY GOD IS DEFINITELY LAID DOWN IN THE COMMONWEALTH CONSTITUTION. ANY REMARKS SUBVERSIVE OF OUR CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTION DEMAND REPUDIATION OF THIS HOUSE.

The Opposition Leader (Mr. Mair) and the Country Party Leader (Mr. Bruxner) also bitterly attacked Professor Anderson.

Replying to these political charlatans, who should be chased from public life in the name of civic decency and every principle of patriotism, by Christian and Freethinker, Militarist and Anti-Militarist, alike, Professor Anderson told a press reporter on April 6:

It was a pitiful performance, unworthy of the pettiest rural council. It was motivated by prejudice and the spirit of repression. This is the body that some think should have greater control over education. It has no conception of the spirit and conditions of education.

Most contemptible of all are the sentiments of Mr. Bruxner. With the whole apparatus of orthodoxy on his side, he fears the influence of one man. Nothing better could be expected of the U.A.P. and U.C.P. It is extremely regrettable that Labour should cringe before the religious vote, and go back on the principle of freedom of discussion.

Professor Anderson is right and his opponents are pitful creatures.

We congratulate our contemporary, the "Daily Telegraph" of Sydney, for the following leader, which it published on April 7:

A WITCH HUNT IN 1943 A.D.—

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION HAS NEVER BEEN SO ELOQUENT AS WHEN HE ASKED FOR THE SACKING OF THIS PROFESSOR. SOME MAY WONDER WHY, IN THE CAUSE OF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES, MR. MAIR WAS SO MUCH LESS ELOQUENT, WHEN IN OFFICE AND SINCE, ABOUT THE SURELY EQUAL ENORMITY OF SLUMS.

But the point at issue is whether in New South Wales a man may still speak what is in his mind, even though every other man in the community may disagree with him. Professor Anderson expressed an opinion. Opinions are a subject for debate. If they are false opinions, debate will demolish them. That, anyway, is the theory of democracy, which substitutes for the rack of the Inquisition, the concentration camp and the economic terrorisation of the totalitarian State, the appeal to reason.

When teachers are afraid to open their mouths for fear of offending orthodoxy, and orthodoxy is defined by the clique of politicians who happen to have a majority at the moment, we will certainly bid a lasting farewell to freedom—of speech, thought, action and religion as well.

We understand that Professor Anderson was asked to submit a full account of his statement to the Sydney University Senate.

CIVIL DEFENCE

Cowdenbeath "Conchie" Jailed.

On Tuesday, May 4, 1943, our Rutherglen comrade, Thomas Hyslop, at that time working as a chemist and druggist in Cowdenbeath, and residing c/o Galloway, 2 George Street, Cowdenbeath, was charged at the Dunfermline Sheriff Court, before Sheriff MacLean, that, being conditionally registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he undertook Civil Defence duty, during the period between July 1, 1942, and March 31, 1943, he failed to comply with the condition to undertake any part-time Civil Defence duty.

Accused told the Court that Civil Defence was part of war service and he objected to that on reasons of conscience.

Mr. R. J. Waugh (Procurator Fiscal) said in June and July last year accused was before both a local and an Appeals Tribunal and exempted from military service on condition that he would do part-time work. He was asked to take up part-time work with a First Aid party in Cowdenbeath and had refused to do that, stating that the only thing he was going to do was dispensing work. He had also refused fire-watching duty.

"Apparently he just wants to do work he chooses for himself," the Fiscal added.

Sheriff (to accused):

You were registered as a conscientious objector subject to special conditions and one of the conditions was you were to do part-time Civil Defence duty. You were told to do fire-watch and you refused to do that.

Accused said he appeared before an Appeals Tribunal in the High Court at Edinburgh, and when asked by Lord Elphinstone, the chairman, what he was prepared to do he said he was prepared to any kind of work that had no connection with war. He stated quite definitely he was not prepared to do any war service.

Verbally, that was accepted by the Court, but when the decision was given to me in writing it said I was to do part-time Civil Defence. Of course, that was not in keeping with the tone of the actual conversation that took place in Court, because they agreed to accept what I said. . . .

Passing sentence, the Sheriff said:

You have, because of your religious views and conscientious objector views, got very special privileges which very few people in the country have got. You got them on those conditions, and you knew the conditions quite well, and yet you have not observed them. You have let the country down and let your brethren down. You are not prepared even to protect the women and children of this country against the dangers of fire.

The Procurator Fiscal and the Sheriff are both supposed to have legally trained minds. The remarks of both were irrelevant and had no right to be made. When will legal civil servants, as fiscals are, and Sheriffs understand the nature of judicial functions and learn to discharge them. An abuse of function is a public error and should be censured.

"Unconditional Surrender"

The Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends, held 7th of Fifth Month, 1943, passed the following minute:

This Meeting desires to express its conviction that the demand for "unconditional surrender" by Germany, Italy and Japan" can only prolong the war. There is still a great need for the Allied Governments to put forward concrete terms on which they would be prepared to negotiate with the peoples of the Axis countries. These terms should be based on the three essentials: reasonable freedom, reconciliation, and co-operative service in the family of nations.

This Meeting unites wholeheartedly with the concern of the Peace Committee in this matter and desires to encourage it to publish a statement on the lines of the draft presented to this Meeting.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC

By A. Creech Jones.

(Reprinted from "Empire," for May, 1943)

[Our comrade A. Creech Jones, M.P., Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, was one of the British delegation to a recent international conference in Canada, organised by the Institute of Pacific Relations of New York. Representatives of about ten different countries attended. This article discusses some of the questions that were raised and summarises certain of the conclusions.—Ed.]

There is a tendency for Africa and the West Indies to dominate our discussions on colonial policy. The British collapse in the Far East awakened us to the fact that there are other large and important areas which have problems of no less complexity and perplexity. The British territories in South East Asia (and I exclude Burma from these figures) cover 134,000 square miles and a population of nearly 7 millions, while those in the Western Pacific cover 24,500 square miles and over 400,000 people. These dependencies offer to us to-day many and varied difficulties. They are difficulties which must be understood and tackled before long. I mention only a few. What is the place of Hong Kong in a United China? What is to be the future of the Chartered Company which controls North Borneo? How shall we meet the demand for full self-government in Burma? How solve the social problem and the position of the Sultans in the Malay States?

Britain is not the only Imperial Power in the Pacific area. Both the Dutch and the French have responsibilities there for considerable territories and populations. The Portuguese have colonies there and the United States cannot terminate abruptly her interest in the Philippines. The American President has also given some guarantee about the integrity of the French Empire. In the shaping of policies for this area Russian opinion and Chinese claims are of great moment. In Malaya the opinion of these two powers cannot be ignored. It is already clear that even after the destruction of Japanese war power, social progress and prosperity are dependent on the subordination of imperial, national and racial interests to a common purpose.

That is undoubtedly the prevailing view of the American people at present. A distinguished Republican submitted to the recent Pacific Conference in Canada a view which was little disputed by other Americans present. It is worth recording:

There seems to exist throughout Asia a conflict of interest between those people of the West who wish to exploit these regions primarily for their own profit and those who would develop then primarily for their own good . . . the American people will not permit their government to be an agent in the restoration of the old order in Asia . . . American policy cannot be formulated or forecast until Britain speaks clearly . . . if there is to be a return to the old way even under new names Americans are likely to be very cautious as to the commitments they will make . . . the resumption by Britain of its pre-war status (in Malaya for instance) unaccompanied by evidence that the new administration would be more philanthropic and less exploitive, would seem to Americans an unsatisfactory solution. . . . The American soldier, by and large, is out to crush the Axis . . . but he does not understand that he is fighting to restore any European colonial power its lost position in Asia. . . .

America will in all probability play a part in maintaining security, but she will not co-operate in placing imperial domination over any people nor in restoring the old order in Asia; she will participate internationally on terms consistent with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. But even in this ragard Americans must inevitably qualify their views by reservations about their constitution.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

It was one of the aims of the recent Pacific Conference in Canada to examine the emerging problems of the Pacific area, to find the objectives of the powers and peoples in that zone and see what common basis existed and was necessary for their co-operation in the days ahead. Mr. Churchill has talked of a Council of Asia. India and China will undoubtedly play a dominant part in such a Council, but the guarantors of a Far Eastern Settlement must be Russia and China on land, Britain and America at sea. The Dutch and the Dominions must also carry greater responsibilities for the peace of the southern Pacific. Moreover, an enduring peace depends not only on common objectives in Asia and the Pacific and strategic co-operation among the Powers, but also on the recognition of national and racial rights and the establishment of conditions of economic development and social wellbeing.

Lord Hailey in approaching this problem at the Conference stated on behalf of the British members present the following ideas:

I suggest that there should be created a Council for the Pacific Zone, consisting of the representatives of the sovereign powers concerned. It would have a double function. It would, in the first place, be the local agency of whatever organisation may be established by the United Nations for safeguarding the peace of Asia in common with other parts of the world. The preservation of peace demands not merely the provision of air, naval and military forces, but of a wide range of civil activities ancillary to them. These civil activities would be the direct charge of the Pacific Zone Council.

Its second function would be to secure, by joint consulation and by co-operative action, a common policy, so far as may be, in the economic development and of the tariff and customs arrangements within this Zone. It would maintain a technical staff, available for advising the administrations concerned on health, agriculture, economic or cultural problems. It would be the agency through which areas unable to finance their own development would obtain the assistance required. It would receive regular reports from the different national administrations in the area, and be empowered to require information and explanation from them. It would finally—and I desire to emphasize this point—be charged with the periodic review of the progress made in the promotion of self-governing institutions in the dependencies, and in the improvement of their standard of living.

A POLICY FOR SOUTH EAST ASIA

These ideas gathered strength as the Conference proceeded and resulted in a far-reaching creative effort to formulate a policy for the dependencies in South East Asia. This policy laid down that the main objective must be to secure at the earliest possible moment for each territory of colonial or dependent status conditions which will permit complete self-government. Colonial powers were not only trustees but they owed a moral obligation towards the rest of the world to account for their stewardship. This depended on the recognition of "third party interest," on international supervision and the introduction of "an intermediate authority." The surrender to some international authority of direct practical administrative power was rejected for many reasons. But some body representative of independent as well as colonial powers and of the indigenous peoples should be set up as early as possible to concern itself with the tempo of development of self-governing institutions and the liquidation of colonial rule and with general social and economic development. This international authority could suggest to the colonial power general lines of policy for the progress of self-government, should receive and publish regular periodic reports on political and social policy and progress thereon; could suggest lines of economic and social policy for securing the well-being of the people concerned and with its permanent staff advise and inspect and investigate reported grievances. But all this was conditioned by the fact that the power of the colonial trustee should not be divorced from responsibility.

I have not attempted to indicate any more than one part of the Conference's discussions. It was generally agreed that out of the United Nations must come a system begun in war, of co-operation on global lines for the purposes of security and economic and social advancement and that in particular regions international authority must assume through appropriate associations, responsibilities for securing the conditions essential for these purposes. The proposals formulated in the Conference will be discussed in all the United Nations and by the peoples in the Pacific Zone. It is for us to study them, remembering colonial as well as American opinion; to find accurate and satisfactory answers to the kind of question mentioned in the first paragraph of this article; to see whether in British colonial administration third party interest can be translated into genuine international and intercolonial collaboration, or whether the principle of accountability to some suitable international authority can be made acceptable by all the imperial powers. In the Pacific area it will not do only to defeat Japan or for Britain to take possession again and restore the regimes interruped by war. It will not do to restore the old authority to the Sultans in Malay, to neglect the beginnings of genuine local government, to reintroduce political discrimination on racial lines, to ignore the claims of those who permanently reside in the states and settlements. These are all negative policies. What matters more are our positive and constructive proposals for this complex area. It is for us to formulate them quickly.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Sir,—Your issue for June calls upon your readers to acquire The Labour Party's manifesto "The Communist Party and The War."

This is no ordinary manifesto, its political importance is world wide, its significance belongs to the province of political history and in view of our relationship with the Soviet Union wild and inconsidered allegations had to be eschewed. The high office of Secretary for State and Minister for Home Security is held by a powerful and respected member and executive of the Labour Party and it is only to be expected that he was consulted and approved of this remarkable manifesto, without, of course, suggesting that he used his official position as a Minister of The Crown with access to State papers and Security Police Dossiers to either prove or implement these charges against the C.P. Charges which are unambiguous and allow of no disputation as to their nature or implications.

Upon page 15 of this manifesto under the heading "**Discord and Disunity Mean Political Death**" is written. "**Never** in the history of British politics has **any** group calling itself a national party been **guilty** of such a **shameful record of disloyalty to the nation,** treachery to the working class and **discredit to itself.** That record was built by **slavish** obedience to **an external superior** authority (The Communist International)!! (My emphasis except for heading).

To overtly charge one's fellow countrymen with deliberate disloyalty to the nation and treachery to the working class and obedience to a foreign power is a charge none will make unless he is sure of his facts, it is a terrible allegation and one quite outside the province or ordinary political argumentation and heat of debate and this charge becomes the more powerful and deadly when it deliberately frees the British Union, I.F.L. and other 18B detainees of the charge it prefers against the C P., although I would rather not say Communist Party but "The Communist Executive."

Let us hope that ere long the Government will give that fact due weight and consideration and thus implement the Prime Minister's statement in the House in 1940 when he said "and as reports come to me I doubt very much whether there ever was a fifth column" and give recognition as Transport House has so tardily done to those 18B's who now wilt in Holloway, Brixton and Peel.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN P. DENNIS.

Bayswater, London, W., June 10.

Sir,—Apropos of Mr. Rhys Davies letter in the June issue of "The Word" re his remarks that the fundamental problem of the war was "What Caused Hitler?" In my opinion the question should be "What Caused Churchill?"

Yours faithfully,

ELIZABETH HILL.

Heathfield, June 22.

Dear Sir,—You publish this month an excellent pictorial comment by E. E. Briscoe on the lunacy and scoudrelism of war. Immediately below this, you actually call, surely in a moment of aberration, for a rally round the Imperialist Labour Party Executive. If any firm struggle is worth while in this madhouse of ours it should be directed against the insidious spirit of the Labour Party Bosses, a collection of cunning careerists and place hunters, rather than a handful of irresponsible clowns calling themselves Communists. The Labour guardians of Capitalist-Imperialism are really dangerous, as their works and actions clearly prove. They could have prevented this war, instead they demanded it. The "Communists"

are merely amusing, adding a little to the gaiety of a naughty world. They at least had one brief period of telling the truth about the war. The Labour sycophants, along with their Tory allies, concealed the truth from the start and the same assortment of liars are still doing service to-day with their full approval and support. Every fulminating word you have written against the self-styled Communists on page 124, "Communist and Labour," could be said with equal force and more point against the Labour Imperialists, these smug climbers to the seats of power.

Yours sincerely,

V. WILSON.

Bredbury, June 7.

Dear Sir,—I can understand Mr. Braithwaite's difficulty and mental confusion.

All of us are educated upon two conflicting philosophies the effect of which is to render us mentally confused and unable to see the facts clearly or equate our theories with our experiences.

That is the "art of government;" to perplex us and cloud our judgment so that we assimilate "their" propaganda.

I believe there is only one cure for our financial troubles, and the determination with which orthodoxy has set out to kill, disparage and smother it should go a long way towards convincing seekers-after-truth that it is worth investigating. That this technique, formulae or base for money, as Mr. B. calls it, will give to every Britisher complete freedom—"the ability to accept or refuse"; as much economic security as industry can produce for them—everything "physically possible will be rendered financially possible."

Put in a few words the only base for money, credit, or tokens is real wealth.

If we have goods on our shelves priced at x pounds the obvious amount of money to have in circulation is x £'s. If not then create them free of debt or interest and distribute the balance either through the national dividend or by a price discount whereby the end is the same. If an earthquake results in a shortage of goods (prices) in comparison to the money available then reverse the price discount to that of price increase. Be accurate and when fishermen bring forth fish to sell at A £'s in the shops create and distribute A £'s as a dividend, or, again, cut prices of other commodities by that amount. Reverse the present Purchase Tax and we have the price discount. A private firm cuts wages when it introduces labour saving machinery and then increases the dividends, why shouldn't the nation do it?

If only people would give their attention to the subject of Social Credit they would find the key to all their problems, religious, economic, educational and the most vital of all, knowledge of oneself.

There is so much of use to the individual in this study that I hope you will some day allow its benefits to the propagated.

Yours sincerely,

AND. T. TEMPLETON.

Bearsden, 8/5/43.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I am writing to you on behalf of my friend, Tom Hyslop, whose home address is at Burnside, Rutherglen, although he works in Cowdenbeath.

To-day Tom was sentenced to six months imprisonment at Dunfermline Sheriff Court for failing to do Civil Defence duties, which as we know is entirely against his conscience and principle.

Tom Tyslop, like most of us who support "The Word," is fighting for freedom and liberty. Not the kind of freedom that Mr. Churchill speaks of but the proper kind, when a man does not have to play "yes man" to his so called government.

May you continue to publish your wonderful paper for it excells all other papers, especially the daily ones which contain lies and dope.

I remain, sincerely yours,

MAY ROBERTSON.

Cowdenbeath, May 3, 1943.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I was very pleased to read your editorial "Tunisia" in the June issue of "The Word" as I had previously understood you were opposed to a negotiated peace. Now you recognise that the present situation "offers the most favourable condition for a negotiated peace"; may I express the hope that you will give all possible support to the P.P.U. Armistice Campaign launched at the A.G.M.?

I regret that hitherto this vital matter has not been ventilated in the "Word" and would like to suggest, now the "campaign" is under weigh, that you should open its columns for discussion of this question.

As you so truly say, the great immediate need is for all Pacifists, Socialists and people of goodwill to unite in an effort to save the world another 1918 and after. Is it not clear that our opportunity is here? Let us all wholeheartedly support the P.P.U. Armistice Campaign and give new hope to untold millions.

With best wishes, yours sincerely,

G. J. BLIGH.

Stretford, June 14, 1943.

Dear Comrade,—Congratulations on the June edition of "The Word." I have persuaded several people to take it regularly.

The attack on the Communist Party was well-timed. They were complaining about threats to civil liberties at the time of the suppression of the "Daily Worker." Now their chief purpose seems to be to intern any individual who wishes to make use of his civil liberties by showing a preference for reason as against mob law.

The majority of the common people realise the necessity of a unified Labour movement to oppose the reactionary tendencies of the Tories, but the entry of the Communists into the Labour Party would tend towards disunity. It is the duty of the Labour Movement to create a new order in Britain that will make an instant appeal to the people of Europe and the rest of the world, so that we can give all men a new vision and a new hope. Common sense and reason are more potent forces than brute strength.

Yours fraternally,

DENIS BRIAN.

Brockley, S.E., June 6.

THE PATRIOTISM OF PEACE

By Lowell H. Coate

(President, The Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

The patriotism of peace is based on the "fraternity of peoples, social justice and world brotherhood—on industrial peace and international peace." In the words of Edward Markham, "The new patriotism carries with it the divine dream of the World State, the World Republic—the dream that will be realised in the rise of reason in the brain of man." The great seer, Tennyson, watched, in vision, the march of the human race,

> **"Till the war-drums throb no longer,**
> **And the battle flags are furled**
> **In the Parliament of man,**
> **The Federation of the World."**

And Longfellow expressed a similar sentiment:

> **"Were half the power that fills the world with terror;**
> **Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,**
> **Given to redeem the human mind from error—**
> **There were no need for arsenals and forts."**

Whether or not the Poet's dream will be realized in this generation depends on the method which the nations adopt in dealing with international issues. In all of recorded history there have been developed but two important methods of dealing with international issues. In all of recorded history there have been developed but two important methods of dealing with international differences. One is the method of infuriated passion; the other is the rational and peaceful method of arbitration, in which justice is secured to all parties concerned, in-so-far as justice is humanly possible. One method involves the wholesale destruction of human life and property; the other is the constructive method designed to conserve both life and property. One is damnation; the other is salvation. One is war; the other is peace.

It is obvious, however, that the destructive method of trying to settle international disputes will continue to prevail, and that world peace will be quite as elusive as it ever has been, until such time as the nations are convinced of the advantages that will accrue to each by adopting the enlarged patriotism—a patriotism which knows no bounds save the limits of the earth. To the minds of some there is possible conflict between this enlarged idea and that which limits their interest to their own country, but the supposed discrepancy will vanish with a proper definition of terms and a correct understanding of exactly what is meant by Patriotism.

As a matter of fact, much that parades itself as patriotism is unworthy of the name. Take for instance, what may be called "military patriotism," which expresses itself in the desire for a gun and a human target. It is safe to venture that the average school boy has some such nebulous idea of patriotism, and about the first thing he thinks of when he hears the word mentioned is to get a gun and get ready to kill somebody. In order to make a name for himself he thinks he must become a military hero. And why not? Is it not the pictures of military men that he sees before him all the time in his histories and other literature? And is it not they who receive the major attention and honour in most of his reading? It is quite natural, therefore, that he should receive exactly such an impression.

Second, there is a sort of "blind patriotism," the exponents of which are dominated by emotion. At the nearest mention of international differences they immediately run a temperature and stop thinking. This type of patriotism expresses itself in the well-known sentiment of Stephen Decatur: "Our country! In her intercourse with other nations may she always be right; but my country, right or wrong." Such an attitude requires no thought whatever. It is the course of least resistance; is neither honourable nor intelligent, and so far as argument is concerned it amounts to exactly nothing. If our home, or our school, or our church is not what it should be in any particular, we do not lazily close our eyes and passively sing. "Our institutions right or wrong," but we courageously, intelligently, patriotically set to work to correct the imperfections in that institution. Yet many citizens have imagined themselves very patriotic while they repeated parrot-like the jingo-jingle "Our country right or wrong."

Third, there are the "profiteering patriots" who, while our youth are sacrificing their lives on battlefields far from home, are not satisfied to make a reasonably legitimate two or three per cent. on their investments, nor even thirty nor three hundred per cent. but actually make as high as 3,000 per cent. When one realises that there was a millionaire made for every American boy who lost his life in the world war, one is reminded of that statement of the great Samuel Johnson: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." And the noted Tolstoy, thinking of the extreme antagonistic nationalisms, and the pretended patriotism which so many in all ages and countries have used as a cloak for self-interest, once said: "Patriotism is . . . an unnatural, irrational, harmful sentiment, which causes the greater part of those calamities from which humanity suffers."

Fourth, there is what has been known as "100 per cent. Americanism," whose advocates attempt a practical monopoly of patriotism, limiting it to a few, more or less exclusive families who claim to be the true Americans and feel it necessary, in order to be thoroughly patriotic, to hate everybody else. In this connection we are reminded of the business man in Texas, who is said to have put a sign out over his office window: "I am a one-hundred per cent. American; I hate the Jews, the Catholics and the coloured people." But his competitor across the street, not to be outdone, advertised over his window: "I am a two hundred per cent. American, I hate everybody." Too many feel that in order to be properly patriotic they must hate somebody. It is difficult for them to realise that hatred is no essential part of any kind of right-thinking patriotism.

In contrast with the types which we have enumerated, there is a true, earnest, intelligent "patriotism of peace," expressed in genuine love for one's own country in the same noble and beautiful sense in which one loves one's own home. He is anxious to make it the most beautiful and attractive place in the world, and he is earnestly devoted to its best and highest welfare, but he is not willing to make some members of it happy at the expense of other members; nor does that attitude make him antagonistic to his neighbourhood. Every intelligent patriotic citizen, indeed, sooner or later discovers that it is possible for him to love his own home without necessarily hating the rest of the city; he can love his city without hating the state; he can love the state without hating the nation; and, by the same logic he can love his own nation without hating all the other nations.

There is no question that in the race for

armaments America is in a position to lead the world. With her unlimited resources and her genius for invention she can produce the most destructive type of warplane and the most deadly brand of poison gas. But is this the glory she seeks, and the type of leadership she craves? America is ambitious. Bishop G. Ashton Oldham, in an address delivered in Washington, D.C., has pointed for her worthy path to glory. His statement, entitled "America First," is not only a beautiful expression of sentiment and idealism; it is a classic. It is, moreover, the very finest expression and the most perfect interpretation, which the writer has yet seen, of exactly what is meant by the Patriotism of Peace. Here it is:

AMERICA FIRST

"Not merely in science, inventions, motors and sky-scrapers, but also in ideals, principles, character.

"Not merely in the calm assumption of rights, but in the glad assumption of duties.

"Not flaunting her strength as a giant, but bending in helpfulness over a sick and wounded world, like a 'Good Samaritan.'

"Not in splendid isolation, but in courageous co-operation.

"Not in pride, arrogance and disdain of other races and peoples, but in sympathy, love and understanding.

"Not in treading again the old, worn, bloody pathway which ends invariably in chaos and disaster, but in a blazing new trail, which, please God, other nations will follow into the New Jerusalem where wars shall be no more.

"Some day some nation must take that path . . . and that honor I covet for my beloved America."

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STALINISM'S LATEST CRIME

By H. W. Henderson

I have just read one of the most interesting pamphlets that have ever come my way, the story of Erlich and Alter. Who were Erlich and Alter? They were Polish Jews. They were lifelong fighters for Socialism. They were gallant fighters against Fascism. Where are they to-day? They lie buried in the sacred soil of the "Socialist Fatherland." They have perished at the hands of the henchmen of "the great and beloved Stalin." They were accused of collaborating with Hitler by advocating a separate peace with Germany.

This pamphlet will not be reviewed by the columnists of the Left-Wing. But you should read it. You should tell your comrades about it. You should buy a few copies and pass them around the workshop. For it reveals the Soviet terror at its worst. It ranks with the case of Sacco and Vanzetti as an act of judicial murder. It gives a faint idea of what this country would be like if the Stalinist murder gangs ever got to work in Britain. The capitalist press knows of these crimes but dare not publicise them while Russia is our ally. This is all the more reason why Socialists should take it upon themselves to spread the facts as widely as possible.

Henryk Erlich was born in Lublin, Poland, in 1882. Victor Alter was born in Mlawa, Poland, in 1890. Both had devoted themselves to the workers' struggle from an early age. Both had taken part in the underground struggle against Tsarism. Erlich suffered arrest for his activities in 1902, 1904, and 1909. On the last occasion he was sent into exile. Returning to Russia in 1911 he was placed on trial by the Tsarist Government for revolutionary activities in connection with the General Jewish Workers' Union "Bund." Later he was elected to the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Following the abdication of the Tsar he was elected one of the leaders of the St. Petersburg Soviet and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Soviets of Russia. On his return to Poland in 1918 Erlich continued his Socialist activities. In 1929, when the "Bund" joined the Labour Socialist International, he became the representative of his party on that body. A lifelong fighter against every form of tyranny Erlich made one "mistake" which was subsequently to prove his undoing. He maintained a critical attitude towards Russia's internal policy. He refused to regard the enslavement of the workers as an evidence of Socialism.

Victor Alter was a member of the underground youth movement in Poland at the age of 15. For rebellion against the policy of "Russianisation" of the Polish people he was expelled from school in Warsaw. Later he joined the "Bund" and became a member of the Central Executive. A gifted speaker and writer he was the author of numerous works on Socialism including "Labour Co-operation," "Militant Socialism," and "Man in the Community." He was one of the most talented economists in the International Labour Movement and a convinced believer in international Socialism. His favourite saying was: "It is better to die standing up than to live on one's knees." He was an independent thinker on social and scientific problems—something hateful to the morons of Stalinist Communism.

When the Russian armies invaded Poland in 1939 they arrested thousands of Polish Socialists and trade unionists and deported them to Poland. Two of these were Erlich and Alter. Sentenced to death by the Soviet Government in August, 1941, they were released at the request of the Polish Government of that year. In December, 1942, they were re-arrested and sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court, and this time the sentence was carried out.

What was the charge made against these two internationally known Socialists? It is said that they had appealed to the Soviet troops to stop the war and conclude a separate peace with Germany. The charge was a lie. And the evidence presented in "The Case of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter," issued by Liberty Publications, on behalf of the General Jewish Workers' Union "Bund" of Poland, shows it to be a lie.

Not only did they refuse all dealings with the murderers of their people. On every possible occasion they issued the most passionate appeals for resistance to the Fascist armies. Their words remain on record to testify to the falsity of the charges made against them. In a letter to the Polish Ambassador, dated from Moscow on September 24, 1942 (immediately after regaining their freedom), Erlich and Alter made the following statements:

The fight against Nazism and Fascism, employing every means at our disposal—and, first and foremost, an armed fight—is the duty of every man and woman who loathes barbarism and villany, it is the duty of every nation which loves freedom. As Socialists and citizens of Poland, suffering so cruelly at the hands of Hitler, we join the ranks of those who are fighting against this swastika monster. As sons of the Jewish people who, more than any, have been ill-treated and tortured by Hitler, we feel it to be especially our duty to take part in this struggle in defence of our dignity, through the utmost exertion of our efforts. To-day when a new Polish army is being created on the soil of the U.S.S.R. to continue Poland's struggle against Hitler, we appeal to all Jewish citizens of Poland who are strong enough to bear arms, and who are at present on U.S.S.R. territority.

To arms! Join the ranks of the soldiers who will once again offer their lives in defence of Poland's right to freedom of existence, who, at one with the Allied Armies, desire to free Poland and the entire world from the nightmare of Hitler slavery. And you, who are unable to bear arms, do not spare yourselves in assisting the army in its task of speeding up victory over the Axis powers.

Such was the appeal of two lifelong anti-Fascist fighters subsequently murdered for alleged collaboration with Hitler by the very gentlemen who, after dismembering Poland, congratulated their Nazi partners on the fact that their pact was cemented in blood!

In an appeal to his Jewish comrades—citizens of Poland—Erlich said:

Do not give up hope! The day of justice and reckoning will arrive. Hitler and his satellites have been outlawed by the great majority of the people of the world. . . . We call on you to fight. . . . In Poland, where millions are suffering intolerably, the Jewish population must unite in one thought, all our efforts for the struggle with Hitlerism. We shall spare neither strength nor sacrifice until our mortal enemy has been destroyed.

In October, 1941, Erlich and Alter expressed their opinion of the results depending on the issue of the Russo-German conflict:

Civilised mankind was never before faced with dangers like the present. Hitler and Hitlerism are a deadly menace to all achievements of culture, to the independence of all nations, and the freedom of all peoples. The outcome of the gigantic battles now fought on the vast plains of the U.S.S.R. will decide for years to come the fate of working-class movements, the fate of all mankind. The fight against these dangers demands supreme efforts of all those who are resolved to save themselves, their culture, their country and the whole world from the horrors of Fascist barbarism led by Hitler.

Speaking of the sufferings of their own race they said:

Hitler aims at the subjugation of all countries and peoples without exception, but his persecution of the Jews is particularly cruel. He drags through the mud the human and national dignity of the Jewish people, he places it outside of all law even his own Fascist law. He aims at the complex extermination of the Jews.

And these are the men who are accused of having urged the Soviet troops to lay down their arms and make their peace with Hitler! Every word of their appeals, every detail of their lives gives the lie to this assertion. But it is not the way of the Stalinist bureaucracy merely to murder Socialist fighters who have dared to criticise their tyranny. They must be disgraced as well. Hence the attempt, familiar to students of the Trotsky trials, to blacken the characters of their victims by representing them as traitors. In a country where there is no free press and it is impossible to put the facts before the public Erlich and Alter will for long be regarded as renegades and traitors. Free Socialists and all who love justice throughout the world should make the truth about this infamous murder as widely known as possible.

In a vain attempt to save them from the Bolshevik hangmen, an appeal in the following terms was sent on January 27, 1943, to M. Molotov, by a group of leading citizens of the United States. (M. Molotov, it will be remembered, is the gentleman who paid such touching tributes to his Nazi allies in the early part of the war and publicly accused the democracies of being the cause of the war. A fitting person to sit in judgment on anyone accused of collaborating with the Hitlerites!)

It is now more than a year since Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, two prominent leaders of the Jewish masses were re-arrested at Koubychev. Most prominent representatives of freedom loving peoples throughout the world of British and American Labour Movements repeatedly requested their release in vain. To-day when universal public opinion unites in condemnation of Nazi criminals who are murdering in cold blood the entire Jewish population of Poland, we renew in name of justice and humanity our request for release of these outstanding courageous fighters against Fascism and Nazism, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter.

This cable was signed by William Green (President of the American Federation of Labour), Professor Albert Einstein, Raymond Gram Swing, Philip Murray (President of the Congress of Industrial Organisations) and eleven other prominent trade union leaders and liberal thinkers in America. The effort was in vain. The victims were already dead as Litvinov intimated in his reply to Mr. Green on February 23, 1943.

Let their memory live in the minds of all who hate tyranny and abhor injustice. And let their fate be a lesson to those who listen to the blandishments of British Communist leaders who would bring the murderous and corrupt regime of Stalinist dictatorship to Britain if they could!

[The Labour Party dealt very thoroughly with this case in their report to the Annual Conference. We purpose to reprint their statement in full in our next issue. The Executive responsible is to be congratulated on a very clear and dignified report. —Ed.]

WINSTANLEY AND THE UNIVERSALISTS

(*Concluded from Vol. IV. page* 144)

Winstanley first came into public notice in April, 1649, with William Everard, as the leader of a small party of men who began tilling some waste land at St. George's Hill, Walton-on-Thames, asserting that it was "*an undeniable equity that the Common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the commons without hiring them or paying Rent to any.*"

Everard, with Winstanley and others, issued a pamphlet, "The True Levellers," and was thereupon imprisoned at Kingston. The "True" or Communist Leveller, was distinguished from the purely Political Leveller. Winstanley, along with John Barker and Thomas Star, was arrested and sentenced to pay £9 11s. 1d. fine and costs. The three men then addressed an :

Appeal to the House of Commons, desiring their Answer: Whether the Common People shall have the quiet enjoyment of the Commons or Waste Land, or whether they shall be under the will of Lords of the Manor still (1649).

Winstanley also published the following tracts on much the same subject-matter :—

A Vindication of those whose Endeavour is only to make the Earth a Common Treasury, called Diggers (1649).

A Watchword to the City of London and to the Armie (1649).

A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England (1649).

A New Year's Gift to the Parliament and Armie; showing what the Kingly Power is, and that the cause of those they call the Diggers is the Life and Marrow of that Cause the Parliament hath declared for and the Armie fought for (1650).

An Appeal to all Englishmen to judge between Bondage and Freedom (1650).

The Law of Freedom in a Platform, or True Magistracy Restored. Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwell. . . . wherein is declared what is Kingly Gavernment and what Commonwealth's Government (1652).

These politico-economic writings clearly show Winstanley to have been, not merely an uncompromising Communist, but a constructive Communist Statesman, or *actual* practical politician, of rare faculty.

He dealt not only with Communism but with religion, and here stood forth as an uncompromising Universalist, proclaiming salvation for the whole Human Family, a Religion for All Mankind, and anticipating Secularism, Humanism, and Atheism. His works were mystical yet practical.

His tracts and pamphlets on this subject were six in number and depicted Truth rescuing and restoring the whole creation from bondage,all

Sold by Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle, at the West End of St. Paul's.

Winstanley dedicates one of these pamphlets, "The Mysterie of God," to his "Countrymen of the County of Lancaster." In this he describes himself as "not a learned man." The reason of this dedication is not very clear, since he was actually a Liveryman and evidently a well-to-do citizen of London.

In 1652, Winstanley started out with a "Red Van" from Harrow-on-the-Hill. He got as far as Nottingham and was arrested by representatives of Law-and-Order. He was never heard of again.

Winstanley defined his political, religious, ethical, and economic approaches very clearly in his writings.

He defines the two-fold nature of law. First, the law of nature within creatures, which moves both *rationally and irrationally*. The law of self-love moves irrationally in man, *the law of generation or the members warring against the law of the mind*. And there is the light in man, the reasonable power or the law of the mind, the witness or testimony of individual conscience an experienced observation of life.

Winstanley discusses and opposes to each other the two roots of law and authority :

(1) *Common Preservation* which is the Fountain Rule of all Government and Peace.

(2) *Self Preservation* which is the root of Tyranny, and so the cause of Kingly Government, Dictatorship, and Wars.

Winstanley thus built up a magistracy of the Common Peace against the magistracy of war. He evolves a complete system of social and industrial magistracy, an economic commonwealth. Winstanley has a very clear syndicalist conception which is amazing and intriguing in its care for details despite his old-fashioned phraseology. He works out a system of store-houses, general and particular. He objected to the "Elected Person" and held that his activities must be confined to administration purposes. every "project of law" had to be sanctioned directly by the people.

Winstanley, with much wisdom, defines "The Nursery of Cheaters" :

And so this Proverb is true, PLAIN DEALING IS A JEWEL, BUT HE WHO USES IT SHALL BE A BEGGAR. And why?

Because this BUYING and SELLING is a Nursery of Cheaters. It is the Law of the Conquerors, and the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, who both killed Christ and HINDERED HIS RESURRECTION, as much as darkness can put out Light.

Therefore, there shall be no BUYING and SELLING in a Commonwealth, neither shall any one hire his brother to work for him.

The Earth is to be planted, and the fruits reaped and carried into Barns and Storehouses by the assistance of every family. And if any Man or family want Corn or other provision, they may go to the Storehouses and fetch without Money. If you want a horse to ride, go into the fields in summer, or to the common stables in winter, and receive one from the keepers, and when your journey is performed bring him where you had him without money.

Well now, God and Christ have enacted an everlasting Law, which is Love; not ony one another of your own mind, but love your enemies too, such as are not of your mind; and having food and raiment, therewith be content.

A man had better to have no body, than to have no food for it; therefore this retraining of the Earth from brethren is oppression and bondage; but the free enjoyment thereof is true Freedom.

True Freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is the use of the Earth. For as Man is compounded of the four Materials of the Creation, FIRE, WATER, EARTH, AIR, so is he preserved by the compounded of these four, which are the fruits of the Earth, and he cannot live without them. For take away the free use of these, and the body languishes, the Spirit is brought into bondage, and at length departs, and ceaseth his motional action of the body.

Do not the Ministers preach for maintenance in the Earth? The Lawyers plead causes to get possession of Earth? Doth not the soldier fight for the Earth? And does not the Landlord require Rent, that he may live in the fullness of the Earth by the labour of his Tenants?

And so from the thief on the highway to the King who sits upon the Throne, does not everyone strive, either by force of Arms or Secret Cheats, to get the possessions of the Earth from one another, because they see their Freedom lies in plenty, and their bondage in poverty?

And thus far natural experience makes it good, That true Freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the Earth.

The Rev. Thomas Hancock, of Harrow-on-the-Hill, once observed of Winstanley :

His theory of Social Reformation had its basis in an essential modern and profoundly Anti-Puritan conception. He conceived of God, like the Alexandrian Fathers of the Church, as the Eternal REASON, and of Man and the whole Creation as the products of that perfect Reason. Personal and social life, the Conscience and the State, as he contended, had fallen or apostatised from Reason, and, consequently, no actual reformation was possible except by the personal and social return of men to the original formation in which God had constituted them.

Winstanley contrasted Kingly and Commonwealth Governments in these terms :

Kingly Government governs the Earth by the cheating Art of Buying and Selling, and take this Government at its best, it is but a diseased Government, full of confusion. If it had not a Club Law to support it, there would be no order in it, because it is the covetous and proud will of a Conqueror enslaving a conquered people.

This Kingly Government calls itself the Lord God of the whole Creation, for it makes one brother to pay rent to another brother for the use of the water, earth, and air, or else it will not suffer him by his laws and lawyers to live above ground but in beggary, and yet it will be called righteous. . . .

Commonwealth's Government governs the Earth without Buying and Selling, and thereby becomes the storer of ancient peace and freedom; makes provision for the oppressed, the weak, and the simple, as well as for the rich, the wise, and the strong; beats swords and spears into pruning-hooks and ploughs, and makes both elder and younger brothers freemen in the earth.

Winstanley opposed the idea of priestcraft and defined the Commonwealth's Christian Ministry :

When Commonwealth's freedom is established, then will KNOWLEDGE COVER THE EARTH AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEAS, and not till then.

He who is chosen Minister for the year shall not be the only man to make sermons or speeches (on the day of rest from labour); but every one who hath any experience, and is able to speak of any art or language, or of the nature of the heavens above or the earth below, shall have free liberty to speak when they offer themselves, and in a civil manner desire an audience; yet he who is the Reader (for the year) may have his liberty to speak too, but not to assume all the power to himself, as the proud and ignorant clergy have done who have bewitched all the world by their subtile covetous and pride.

And every one who speaks of any herb, plant, art, or nature of mankind is required to SPEAK NOTHING BY IMAGINATION, but what he hath found out by his own industry and observation in trial.

And thus to speak, or thus to read the Law of Nature (or God) as He hath written His name in everybody, is to speak the truth as Jesus Christ speake it, giving to everything its own weight and measure.

Winstanley denounced what Richard Carlile at much later date described as the "Gallipot Latin" of the medical profession. Describing the doctor's description of illness and prescriptions, Winstanley said :—

The latter is no knowledge but a show of knowledge, like a parrot which speaks words, but he knows not what he saith.

He defines the duty of the surgeon and physician in time of sickness.

If any person be sick or wounded the Chirurgeons, who are trained up in the Knowledge of Herbs and Minerals, and know how to apply plaisters or physic, shall go when they are sent for to any who need their help but require no reward, because the Common Stock is the public pay for every man's labours.

This Socialisation and use-service of the medical profession was in line with Winstanley's idea of the Commonwealth's ordinances against buying and selling. Whoever enticed his neighbour to buy or to sell was to be denounced for his unfaithfulness to the *commonwealth's peace*.

Winstanley explained :—

If any do buy or sell the earth or fruits thereof, unless it be to or with strangers, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF NAVIGATION, they shall be both put to death as traitors to the peace of the Commonwealth; because it brings in kingly bondage again, and is the occasion of all quarrels and oppressions.

He or she who calls the earth his and not his brother's, shall be set upon a stool, with those words written on his forehead, before all the congregation; and afterwards to be made a servant for twelve months under the Taskmaster. If he quarrel or seek by secret persuasion, or open rising in arms, to set up such kingly propriety, he shall be put to death.

No man shall either give hire or take hire for his work, for this brings in kingly bondage. He that gives and he that takes hire for work shall both lose their freedom, and become servants for twelve months under the Taskmaster.

The "Laws of Navigation" also defined his Socialist approach :—

Beacause other nations as yet own Monarchy, and will BUY and SELL; therefore it is convenient, for the peace of our Commonwealth, that our ships do transport our English goods, and exchange for theirs, and conform to the customs of other nations in buying and selling. Provided that what goods our ships carry out they shall be the Commonwealth goods, and all their trading with other nations shall be upon the common stock to enrich the storehouses.

No medium of exchange being needed in Winstanley's Commonwealth, gold and silver have no other use than as objects of utility or ornament :

Therefore, there shall be no other use for silver and gold in the Commonwealth than to make dishes and other necessaries for the ornament of houses, as now there is use made of brass, pewter, iron, or any other metal.

Everything being for use or exchange, Winstanley worked out "Laws of Storehouses" :

There shall be storehouses in all places, both in the country and in the cities, to which all the fruits of the earth, and other works made by tradesmen, shall be bought and thence delivered out again to particular families, and to every one as they want for their use; or else to be transported by ship to other lands in exchange for those things which our land will not or does not afford.

Reference has been made to Winstanley's *Law of Freedom* published in 1652. Defining his opposition to war, he wrote clearly, in words that should be studied well to-day :—

Riches give men power to oppress their fellow-men and stir up wars.

What a pity that men should turn aside from such sound ethical printing to stupid disputes about theological mysteries and struggles for economic and political power.

[The story of the Universalists after Winstanley's time, their heresies and persecutions, and their departure from Winstanley's clear Communist economics will be developed in later essays.—Ed.]

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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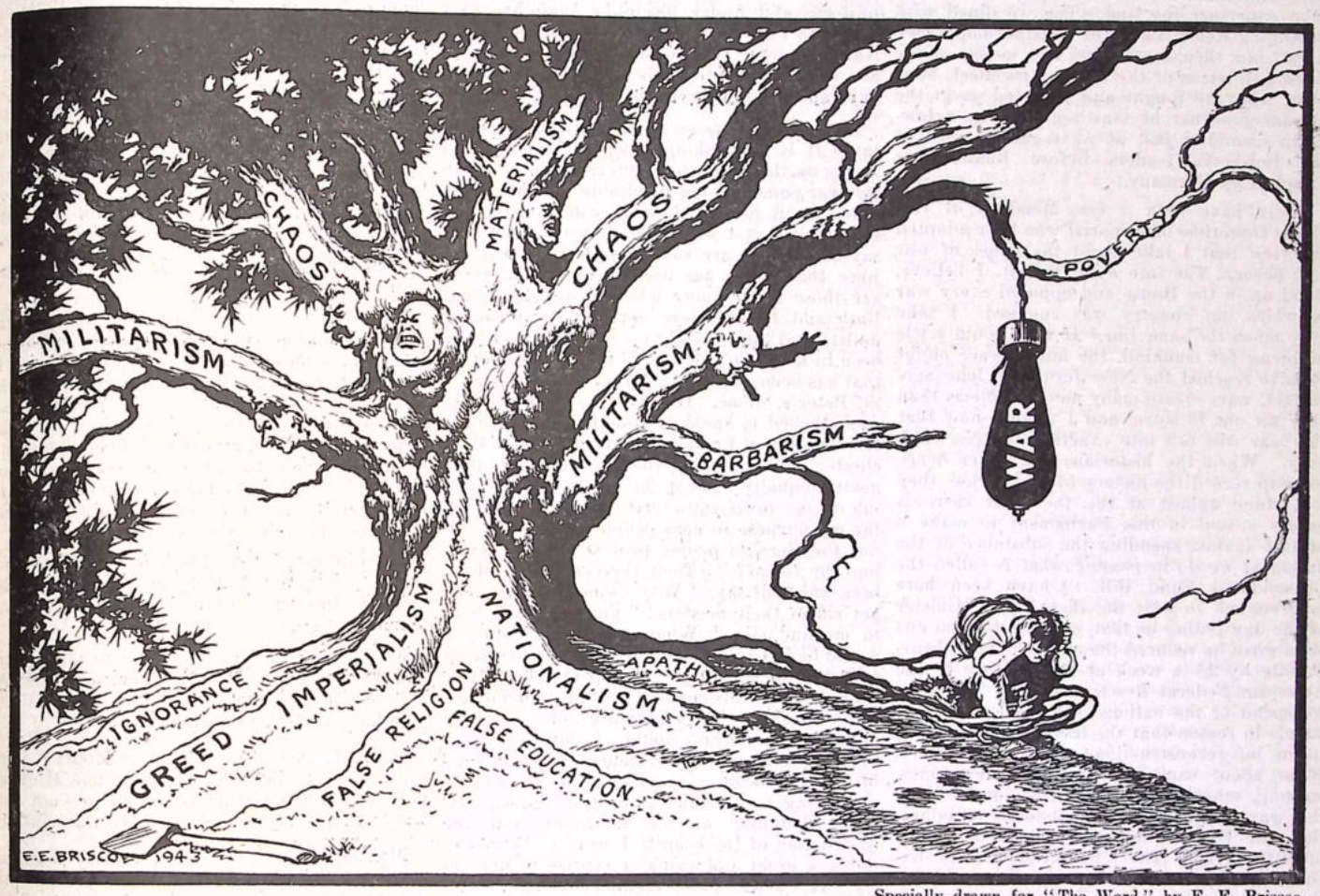

Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

RHYS DAVIES, M.P.

An Appreciation of his Socialist Anti-War Stand.

By

F. W. JOWETT

10 Grantham Terrace,
Bradford,
September 8, 1943.

My Dear Aldred,

I am glad you are going to make an appreciation of the splendid service of Rhys Davies, M.P., to the cause of Socialism and Peace a special feature in your September issue of "The Word." The courageous stand he has maintained in difficult circumstances for Socialism and Peace ever since this war of ever-increasing malignity began is worthy of all the honour that recognition in "The Word" or any other Socialist anti-war publication can give to it. His fight for what he believes and we believe to be the truth has never been surpassed in this or any other war. Opposition to the views he has so fearlessly expressed may seem overwhelmingly powerful now but it is my firm conviction that after this second world war, as after the first world war, those who have stood true to the principles of Socialism and Peace will have been justified by events. That our comrade and my own parliamentary colleague for many years may have health and strength to continue his fight is the fervent wish of—Yours fraternally,

F. W. JOWETT.

AWAKE!

Awake, ye trammelled minds of Earth,
Throw off this fateful lethargy,
That holds you helpless slaves from birth,
And kills desire for liberty.

Awake, and wield truth's sharp edged axe:
Cut down the loathsome tree of lies
That hides the light, and blurs and blacks
All hope of freedom, till it dies.

Awake, Resolve you will be strong:
And think and work with main and might
With those who strive against the wrong
And, through sane thought, reach for the right. Awake!

E. E. BRISCOE.

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WAR AND PEACE

A Further Speech against War made in the House of Commons

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

(Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1924)

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Thursday, August 5, 1943.

Mr. Rhys Davies (Westhoughton): The problems I wish to discuss have no relation to any of the questions which have so far been raised to-day. The first thing I have to do when I speak on the issues of war and peace is to make it clear that I do not speak for the party to which I belong. I have been in the House for 22 years; I was almost born into the Labour Party and have been a member of it all my life, and I have preached the same gospel that I intend to propound to-day ever since I have been in public life; and although I am 65 years of age I shall continue to preach the same gospel as long as I live. I would like a reply from the Government bench to some of the remarks I shall make although I do not press for that to-day. Perhaps a note will be taken of what I say and I hope a reply will be

forthcoming in due course. I want to challenge the whole philosophy of war as an instrument of policy. If I had the right to do so in Germany, in Japan, Russia, China or the United States I would stand up and make the same protest against war irrespective of the consequences. I have travelled too much and lived too long to be influenced by propaganda, during wartime in particular. I have met kings, statesmen, politicians and diplomats in many countries. Indeed, I have met some people abroad who were once regarded in this country as unfit members of the community but who became in due course very popular with the very people who used to condemn them. I am sure that there are hon. Members here to-day who remember the time when we dined with Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Constantinople. We hailed him then, some years ago, as one of the finest gentlemen of the East. I recollect, however, when he fought and defeated us in the Dardanelles that he was regarded as a low-down scoundrel just as we regarded most of the Bolshevik leaders before Russia was attacked by Germany.

There have been a few Members of this House from time immemorial who have adopted the view that I take about the issues of war and peace. The late John Bright, I believe, stood up in the House and opposed every war in which our country was engaged. I take very much the same line. If wars could settle problems for mankind, the human race ought to have reached the New Jerusalem long ago. In fact, wars create many more problems than they set out to solve, and I predict now that this war will fall into exactly the same category. When the historians ten years hence come to record the history of this period, they will stand aghast at the fact that there is hardly a soul in this Parliament to make a protest against spending the substance of the nation as we do in passing what is called the Consolidated Fund Bill. I have been here long enough to hear the then Prime Minister of the day telling us that we must tighten our belts when he reduced the unemployment benefit rate by 2/- a week at the instance of the American Federal Reserve Board. The more we spend of the nations' substance on war it stands to reason that the less we shall have to spend on reconstruction when peace comes. What about sanitation, water undertakings, housing, school teachers and the like? When this war ends the present proposals on education, the Uthwatt and Scott Reports will be of little avail. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will then stand at that Box and say that there is no money left to undertake any of these desirable things. The House of Commons passes £1,000,000,000 this week almost without a murmur, but when we want a few additional coppers for old age pensioners all the cunning of the Government and the Treasury is brought to bear against our proposals. It has been computed over and over again that if half the money that nations spent on war were devoted to housing, education, travel and the like, the human race would have very little to complain about.

I shall be told, of course, that we are in a war and that it must be fought to a conclusion. It is astonishing how people change their minds about war. There are millions of folk willing to take a stand against war when peace prevails, but once war breaks out they follow the thunder of the drums and the bands that play patriotic strains in the streets. I have heard it stated by some of my hon. Friends that war is inevitable; it is useless anybody arguing against it; that it must be accepted as a fact, as part of nature itself. I decline to believe that war between nations is inevitable. Why should it be so? A century ago people regarded the plague, cholera and smallpox as inevitable. Indeed, they thought that war between the several communities in this Island was inevitable. We have travelled a long way from that, and consequently I decline to accept the fatalistic view that wars are inevitable. Let me come to what is happening at this moment. Perhaps however I ought to make it clear once again, if necessary, that nothing I say must tend to support either Hitler or Mussolini or any tyrant of that kind. I am as opposed to Nazism, Fascism and totalitarianism as anybody in this country. I am so opposed to them that I object to the Nazi technique being employed in industry in this country at the present time. The strange thing to me is that there are plenty of people in this country who object to totalitarianism in Russia, Germany and Italy, but they do not mind its application here one bit. Indeed, we have already reached the stage when there is a larger proportion of our people in these Islands in uniform and under discipline than has ever been the case in history. The essence of the Nazi technique is here in full blast. Now we are faced with proposals to conscript schoolboys and grandmothers for industry.

Let me now pass on to the question of bombing. It is astonishing how the human mind works on these things. (Interruption.) When the war ends and the inevitable reaction takes place, as it always does, it will probably be said then that I was right in what I am now saying. There are some people here who rejoice that Rome has been bombed, and there are those in Germany who are delighted that Bath and Exeter were devastated. I cannot understand their delight on either side. I have been in Rome and have seen the famous church that has been damaged. I have also been inside St. Peter's, Rome. If I lived in Germany and was allowed to speak, I would protest against the bombing of London, Exeter, Bath and Manchester, and because I would do that I want to protest equally against the bombing and blasting of any town anywhere. It is not sufficient for my purpose to hear people say, " Why did not the German people protest against bombing our towns? " Then there are hon. Members who will say, " Why do not the Germans get rid of their masters? " and they will turn to me and say, " What grand fellows there would be in Germany if a few of them stood up and denounced Hitler and his regime." But if anybody in this country gets up to denounce the very same things that are done here, his patriotism is in grave doubt. In my view, however, any man in any Parliament, in any assembly in the world who stands up to do what I am trying to do now, to protest against this mass slaughter of the innocents and the destruction of the beautiful cities of Europe is doing a great and valuable service to humanity. If Exeter, Bath, London, St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey are bombed, why stop there? Some day, I suppose, Jerusalem will be bombed and Mount Calvary and the Wailing Wall destroyed in the process. Then we may see whether the human race will at last wake up to the ghastly things that are happening in our day and generation.

The British Government have recently taken part in the Hot Springs Conference with a view to bringing food to the starving peoples that are to be liberated on the Continent of Europe. What a mockery when we all know that practically the whole of the human race is already on rations because of war. And, while they were talking at Hot Springs about providing food for the conquered peoples of Europe there were millions actually dying of starvation in China and India. I hope that the House as usual will tolerate my views as I am trying to express them.

Let me now say a word on the difference in the attitude of the public to this war and the last. In the war of 1914-18 the crowds were hostile whenever I spoke as I do on this occasion, and the people at the head of affairs were rather kindly disposed to the minority. In this war, however, I have addressed hundreds of meetings all over the country, and I have never found any hostility except among Members of the Government. I will venture to state why I think there is that difference. We declared war on Germany because she went into Poland. I object to aggression, but I am not going to accept the argument which some hon. Gentlemen here use very often that Germany is the only villain because she has declared war three times in 75 years. She has, and she has been wrong in declaring war at all. Incidentally, I object to any strong and powerful nation using small nations as pawns in the international game, as Germany and other great Powers have been doing. But let us be fair; let us come to Russia. So far as I know my history, during the 75 years in which Germany has declared three wars, Russia declared about 12, Italy 11; and if we count the fighting we have done on the North-West Frontier of India we have hardly been out of war at all for centuries. In my own lifetime we have declared war three times in 45 years.

At long last, Mussolini has gone, and it is a good thing for humanity that he has disappeared. I wish all dictators alike went the same way. I am not so sure that it would not be a boon and a blessing to mankind all over the world if the Governments of all the belligerent Powers gave up office for sheer shame.

Mr. Lipson (Cheltenham): What made Mussolini give up office?

Mr. Davies: Exactly the same reason that will make some other people give up office later on, probably in this country too. It would be a good thing, as I said, if all the belligerent Governments gave up office and allowed others to come into power to make peace among the nations and bring mankind back once again to sanity and reason. (Interruption.) Does the hon. Member love this war? Is he so delighted at seeing millions being slaughtered?

Mr. Lipson: No, and the hon. Member knows that is not true. Nobody in this country delights in this war, but we realise that it is an inevitable evil.

Mr. Davies: Nations have gone to their doom and Empires have toppled because statesmen and politicians have refused to listen to unpopular unpalatable arguments.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore (Ayr Burghs): But did not the late Prime Minister do everything he could to try to prevent this war? Are not our hands clean in this matter?

Mr. Davies: Yes. I know the story about all that, too. There were some people in this country who were always hostile to the Nazi regime. An hon. Member says " Hear, hear," but he went over there and saw what the Nazi regime had done. But there were other Members of this House who went over to Germany before Hitler began to persecute minorities, and they came back and said what a grand fellow the Fuehrer was. There were members of this Government who thought it was a splendid achievement that Hitler came into power to put a " cordon sanitaire " right across Europe to prevent Bolshevism coming West. What is the position now? I wonder whether I dare predict that at the end of this catastrophe Fascism may be eliminated from all over Europe. But what about the next stage? Suppose I suggested that Communism would take its place all over Europe. What of it then? Just imagine this war being waged and millions of people being killed in order to destroy one form of totalitarianism only to find another form of it being enthroned. That is not at all unlikely if this war proceeds along the lines that the present Governments of the United Nations are taking. If it takes two or three more years to defeat Germany in the field and then three or four more years to defeat Japan in the Pacific, I am not so sure that we may not in the end have civil commotion even among the democracies of the world.

(To be concluded).

EXPULSION FOR CONSCIENCE.

Speech made in the House of Commons on the motion for adjournment on Friday, July 16, 1943.

by RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

[In the House of Commons on July 1, 1943, our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., raised the question of the expulsion of Arthur William Pettet, 26 Marlborough Street, South Chingford, London, E.4, from the National Deposit Friendly Approved Society because he served six months' imprisonment as a conscientious objector to military service. This expulsion was upheld by the referee, Mr. Kennett Macmorran. The reply of the Minister of Health upheld the referee's decision. Consequently, Rhys Davies decided to raise the question on the adjournment.

Comrade Rhys Davies raised the issue on the adjournment, when he made the speech reproduced below. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, Miss Horsburgh, replied. She quoted the words in the rule governing the decision:

"The committee of management may expel any member who has been imprisoned for any crime."

Miss Horsburgh argued that it is not a crime to be a conscientious objector, but it is a crime to refuse to be examined medically and so go to prison. Within the meaning of the rules this was "imprisonment for crime." To our mind, political imprisonment, or imprisonment for opinion, or action based on opinion when clearly such action defines and interprets principle is not crime within the legal meaning of the rules, or the legal and constitutional definition of crime. No lawyer would be disbarred for such imprisonment nor would a doctor be struck off the medical list. Pettet ought not to have been expelled and the Ministry ought not to uphold his expulsion. Rhys Davies is correct, not the Ministry for Health.—Ed.]

I am glad of this opportunity of raising a point that may be regarded as of little significance to the Members of the House of Commons, but one which is, I can assure them, of considerable importance to a large number of people in this country. On 1st July this year I asked the Minister of Health the following Question:

"Whether he is aware that Mr. Arthur William Pettet, 26 Marlborough Road, South Chingford, London E.4, has been expelled from the National Deposit Friendly Approved Society because he served six months' imprisonment as a conscientious objector to military service; that an appeal against the decision of the society was upheld by the referee, Mr. Kennett Macmorran; whether in view of the fact that Pettet has already suffered for his offence, he will take steps to wipe out this additional penalty by restoring the man to membership of his approved society, and how many approved societies, giving their titles, have adopted this punitive policy."

I guessed what sort of reply I should receive from the right hon. Gentleman, and I do not complain of that reply. He said:

"I am aware of this case, but I would point out that under Section 163 (4) of the National Health Insurance Act, 1936, the Referee's decision is final and conclusive. With the exception of a similar one in the same society, no other case of the kind has come to my notice."—(Official Report, 1st July, 1943, col. 1768, Vol. 390).

I very much regret that I am compelled to raise this case, because I have no feeling at all against the National Deposit Friendly Society. Indeed, I regard it as a very worthy organisation. It is held in the very highest esteem by the public, and to my personal knowledge its administration is most efficient. Why it should commit this error is beyond my comprehension. Be it noted that, out of 6,000-odd approved societies in this country, this is the only one, as far as I know, to adopt this policy. I have been the secretary of an approved society myself. It may interest the hon. Lady the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health to know that I also hold views very similar to those of Mr. Pettit on the issues of the war and peace; nevertheless, I held my position there without any complaint from anybody. I imagine there must be many conscientious objectors in administrative posts in other approved societies, too. Consequently, I am sorry that this has happened in connection with this organisation.

The National Deposit Friendly Society has expelled this man and one or two others from the private side as well as from the National Health Insurance section, but Parliament has no control of the private affairs of a friendly society. In respect of the National Health Insurance membership of this society, the Ministry of Health is however held responsible, and the matter can be raised in Parliament. In the few words I have to say, I wish to achieve two objects. The first and foremost is to prevent such expulsions spreading in this society and to other societies and, if possible, to induce the Ministry of Health to exercise friendly pressure upon the National Deposit Friendly Society to restore these men to membership once again. I want to be quite fair with the House. Mr. Pettit is an absolutist conscientious objector. The local tribunal granted him conditional exemption if he did A.R.P. or land work, but the appellate tribunal the higher authority which later considered his claim for unconditional exemption, relegated him to non-combatant service in the Forces. It will be noticed that the appellate tribunal was not as favourably disposed to this man as was the local tribunal. Because he declined medical examination in connection with military service, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

As hon. Members know, I speak as one who has himself been an administrator of an approved society, otherwise I would not be as familiar with this problem as I happen to be. When Mr. Pettit knew that he was to be imprisoned for six months and that no health contributions would be payable by an employer in respect of him for that period, he gave due notice under the rules that he desired to become a voluntary contributor and to pay both the employer's contributions and his own. The trouble is that, in doing so, he may have been a little too honest, because he acquainted his approved society with the reason for the change. If he had never given the reason at all, possibly he would never have been expelled from the Society; but, in the circumstances, the Society administers the rules in relation to expulsion. And what they found was this, that under the model rules, a person may be expelled from membership of an approved society if he has been imprisoned for any crime; they assumed that to serve a sentence in prison as a conscientious objector was a crime according to rule. Let me say as one who has been secretary of a society which I suppose has as large a proportion of conscientious objectors in it as any other approved society that we have never regarded, and I very much doubt whether any other society in the land except this one has regarded, imprisonment for conscience as a crime for the purposes of expulsion.

I was very glad that when I raised this issue the feeling of the House was rather favourably inclined to my point of view. I cannot argue that this man was not subject to punishment under the Military Service Act, but the House of Commons, I hope, will always lay it down that when a man has once suffered imprisonment for any offence, it does not then fall to an outside organisation to add to that penalty another penalty for the very same offence. Let us remember that this man has now suffered three penalties for his conscience. He has lost his job and has been in gaol for six months, and now, if you please, he is expelled from his approved society as well. When his case came before the district committee in the area where he resides they did not think that he ought to be expelled at all, but when the case came to be dealt with by the national executive, not one of whom knew the man personally, they decided to expel him. That is surely carrying punishment too far. He then appealed to the society's arbitration tribunal as he was entitled to, within the rules of the society, and it decided to uphold the expulsion. Then, of course, he had the right to another appeal to the referee appointed, and paid, by the way, by the Ministry. This referee, I understand, is a very eminent lawyer. He too decided to uphold the society's decision and, of course, from that decision there is no appeal at all unless—I do not know my law well enough to say—the case can be taken to the High Court. It is, I am sure, against public policy that a society like this should be allowed to determine to expel a man in the way I have indicated.

Let me come to the referee. How on earth he could decide in favour of the society's decision is entirely beyond my comprehension. He ought to have known two or three things. The National Health Insurance Act and the model rules referred to were passed in 1911, before conscription was ever introduced into this country and before a conscientious objector for military service was ever heard of. Here we are now in 1943, and the referee has not the remotest idea what was meant by this rule when it was passed in 1911. If I know anything about the right hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George) who introduced the National Health Insurance Scheme he was, if I might say so, somewhat of a conscientious objector himself once upon a time. I am not so sure whether, according to this referee and the society, that they would not have expelled the right hon. Gentleman if he had been a member of that society in his younger days. I am really astonished at the referee because the whole point turns on whether this man committed a crime. Every Member of the House knows that I believe that what this man did, by refusing to enter the Fighting Forces, was to decline to commit a crime, not to commit one. That is the way I look at life.

I am appealing to the Ministry. They say the case cannot be carried further. The hon. Lady the Parliamentary Secretary will forgive me for saying this to her, that I am sure that if the Ministry of Health were good enough to appeal to the society, as I hope they are entitled to do, they might reinstate this man and every other member who has been expelled for similar reasons. I do not want to detain the House longer except to say that I am under the impression that this man is apparently a constituent of the Prime Minister. If the Prime Minister were an ordinary Member of Parliament, I am almost sure that as Member for his Division he would be saying more eloquently the things that I am now saying. I hope, therefore, that I have made out the case. I realise to the full the difficulty of the hon. Lady in connection with the referee's decision but I appeal to her again to see whether the Ministry cannot ask the National Deposit Friendly Society to reinstate this man. They may have no legal power to intervene but I am sure they could find a way to induce the Society to remove this anomaly.

This war will end some day and when it ends we shall probably find in the Parliaments of the future what we saw after the end of the last war. There are Members in this House who were in gaol for conscience during the last war. Some of us, I suppose, would be in gaol too if the authorities had the chance of putting us there. And so, if a man can become a Member of this Parliament, the greatest sounding board in the world, can it be honestly said that another man is not entitled to continue membership of his approved society? The Society would not lose any money because he would retain his membership as a voluntary contributor. I hope I have said enough to induce the Ministry to take some further interest in this vital issue.

[In later discussion, Rhys Davies insisted that, acording to the wording of the National Service Acts, a man commits an "offence" when he refuses to submit himself for medical examination, and not a "crime" as used in the model rule.—Ed.]

IF THERE WERE ONLY ONE.

If there was only one little slum-child,
Pale for the want of food,
Then I say, that all the progress we boast of
Aint no damned good.

JOE CORRIE.

WAR COALITION OR SOCIALIST STRUGGLE.

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

[Being the powerful and almost ignored Speech delivered by our Comrade, Rhys Davies, at the Labour Party Conference, held in London, Whit Monday, 1943.—Ed.]

The Coalition has now been in existence for three years and the time has arrived to judge the fruits of the alliance.

When it was formed it was argued that Labour Ministers would, by joining it, be provided with an excellent opportunity to induce the Tories to adopt Socialist measures. Experience has shown, however, the reverse to be the case; Socialists have embraced Conservative tendencies instead, and they perform the most doubtful tasks of government.

The Coalition secured powers from Parliament to conscript both wealth and man-power for the prosecution of the War. Real wealth, however, is left almost untouched, but men, women and even young persons are conscripted treated like so many robots, and directed from pillar to post by the State.

Our Labour colleagues in the Coalition have placed a larger proportion of the people in uniform and under discipline than has ever been known in history.

Over 12,000 industrial workers have been prosecuted and more than 1000 sent to prison for offences that were never punishable before our Labour representatives joined the Coalition. No employer, however, has yet been sent to gaol for similar offences. A Labour Party above all cannot succeed on those records.

Trade Union machinery has been cunningly harnessed to discipline the workers in the interests of the employers and the State; and it is a historical fact that thousands of artisans are being treated more harshly by this Coalition than has ever been the case since the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs a century ago.

If Labour had retained its independence in Parliament, no Liberal or Tory Minister would dare treat the workers in this cruel fashion.

Whilst we are supposed to be fighting for freedom for the Poles, the Greeks and the Czechs abroad, our own people have lost most of their own liberties here at home.

I protest against this descent to serfdom.

The Nazi technique is almost in full blast in industry in this country already. Let us remember that a prison cell does not become a bed of roses just because you are put there by a Socialist Cabinet Minister.

In spite of the Coalition the Beveridge Plan has been torpedoed, the Catering Bill challenged by the Tories on the Floor of the House, and the Old Age Pensioners left to their own fate. Moreover, the Tories have refused point blank to agree to amend the most obnoxious clauses of the Trades Disputes Act, and the treatment meted out to some discharged soldiers is inglorious in the extreme.

History has never witnessed such political somersaults as we have since this Government came into being. Ardent Tories are now mumbling the "Red Flag" in public, whilst Socialist ministers are chanting "Rule Britannia."

One of the worst features of the Coalition is the dilemma that we are often called upon to support reactionary measures in Parliament so as not to embarrass the Government. We are constantly offending our friends by placating our opponents.

Labour Ministers send letters to the Electors at By-Elections urging the workers to vote Conservative, and some of them speak on Tory platforms. Because of all this the Labour Party is being by-passed by new political movements. The Socialist flame that once burnt into capitalist society has been extinguished.

When the French, the Poles, Norwegians and the Czechs demand their freedom from the Nazi occupying power, they are regarded as heroes, but when the Indians claim the same rights from this Coalition Government, they are treated as traitors and terrorists.

This perfidy has brought disillusionment among our people. There is no enthusiasm here for anything. The masses are bewildered; they do not know what they are fighting for; and I venture the view that the common man in every belligerent country is becoming heartily sick of government as an institution.

When this catastrophe is over, and the inevitable reaction sets in, we shall not then be asked what we did to defeat Hitlerism; we shall be questioned as to what we did to maintain the rights and liberties of our own people here at home.

The Coalition has placed Parliament in shackles and Democracy is languishing. Nearly one in six of the civilian members of the House of Commons is in some paid post in government.

There is always grave danger ahead when Labour leaders become the darlings of the aristocracy and the heroes of the popular press.

The Prime Minister has recently suggested that either a Coalition of all the Parties or a government of the best men from each Party be set up to appeal to the electorate when the war is over. That, of course, is the logic of events however ominous it may be.

Let me, if I may, warn my Labour colleagues what recent history teaches in this connection. When the Tories have used their genius and exploited their popularity they will then throw them on the scrapheap as they have done with better men before. In the end, they will go down unhonoured and unsung.

The greatest tragedy that can ever befall any Labour leader is that he should forget the rock from which he was hewn.

Finally, there is only one of two courses open to the Labour party. Either we break the Coalition and save our souls, or continue this artificial alliance and pass into political oblivion. You cannot worship God and Mammon —even in politics.

MOTHERWELL I.L.P. OPEN FORUM

All comrades in Lanarkshire, including our Anti-Parliamentarian comrades in Blantyre and Burnbank, should rally round the Motherwell I.L.P. and assist its splendid struggle for Socialism and Anti-Warism. Announcements of its future meetings will appear in these columns.

Comrade W. E. Currie, the organising Secretary of the Motherwell I.L.P., served in the last war, but turned Anti-Militarist as a result of his experiences. He has been tireless in his Socialist activities since. His family has made a sound stand against war. Arising out of the Duke of Bedford's private visit to the Anti-Parliamentarian miners of Blantyre, Comrade Currie contacted him and proposed that the I.L.P. should invite the Duke to Motherwell to speak. The Duke met some of the I.L.P. comrades and it was agreed that the Duke should have an opportunity of facing his "Communist" opponents and stating his pacifist position, and his view that monetary reform is NOT opposed to Socialism, but, on the contrary, a necessary step in the development of the Socialist programme.

Following upon the Duke of Bedford's meeting, and the complete rout of the "Communist" opposition, the Motherwell I.L.P. is now organising a strong Socialist campaign throughout Lanarkshire. Other speakers are being brought to Motherwell and an all-in Lanarkshire federation and council of Socialist thought, discussion, and action is being evolved.

For a full report see our next issue. Motherwell is pointing the way of Socialist struggle against war and its reactionary aftermath! Local comrades wanting to assist should write to: Comrade W. E. Currie, Organising Secretary, I.L.P., 178 Muir Street, Motherwell.

MARXISM: IS IT SCIENTIFIC? by Max Eastman.

This wonderful work of 344 pages, stiff covers, has been purchased by us from the publishers. Published at 8s. 6d., it can be secured new for 5s., post free, 5s. 6d. Supply limited. Order now direct from The Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

ARRAIGNED.

Skies are no longer ours—to love.
They are the playground of adventurous, unpitying youth
Who ride, remorseless, their swift toys of doom.
Day's blue is streaked with fear.
Tumultuous crags of sunset hide a menace—
Night's very moon a curse.

Earth is a target where death,
Impersonal, blind death, comes hurtling down,
Belched forth from that which sees not, knows not, cares not.

Machine!
Versus the man, versus the creature, versus all life—
The springing verdure, and the wealth of time.
Machine!
Thing of nuts and bolts and levers!
Hideous perfection! shameless artifice!
Apotheosis of man's lust to kill!

We are confounded by Heaven's Judgments . . .
Man stands arraigned by all his past—
—His pitiless subjection of the groaning earth
—Crime mounting upon crime—endlessly.

All he has gained,
All he has felt.
All he has learned,
Quest of self, climbing towards the light—
Quest of the spirit—groping, seeking, finding.
Conquest of self, climbing towards the light—
—Overborne! Abjured!—

It comes to this—
Less than the ant,
Less than the happy birds,
Less than the worm,
Less than the least of these—
All that man can do (poor, purblind thing).
All he can do to WILL destruction of his kind,
And lay on youth (outward-looker, visionary, Builder of Dreams).
The shameful task of Executioner . . .

Whose soul cries out, remonstrant,
"I NEVER PLANNED THIS DEED."

ELEANOR WHITNELL WATSON.

WHILE MEN MARCHED FORTH TO WAR

From the topmost bough of a green spring tree,
A bird sang forth its joy to me,
Love of life that sounded far—
While men marched forth to war.

Flowers looked up to a clear blue sky,
Scenting the wind as it passed by,
White-winged seagulls high did soar—
While men marched forth to war.

Ears were deaf, and eyes were blind,
Joy and Beauty were left behind,
Yet few could reason well what for—
While men marched forth to war.

Greed and Fear did follow after,
Ghosts with neither love nor laughter,
Down to Hell for ever more—
While men marched forth to war.

JOE CORRIE.

VICTORY ROAD.

(Dedicated to The Humanist Society of Friends).

Where dust of chaos is turbulently whirled
You stretch your hands in friendship toward the world.
Past bomb and slum and Greed's long caravan
You glimpse essential majesty of man,
And see beyond our mutilated skies
The Brotherly city ultimately rise.
As amoeba held in prehistoric seas
Potentially Beethoven symphonies,
As humblest mollusk stored in his house of shell
Genius of Carver, Keats and Raphael,
So your Humanist circles prophecy
The world that dream and daring glorify.
So in your generous hands and hearts you span
The Victory Road that's built on faith in man.

LUCIA TRENT.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS: A complete book list will be published again in these columns next month. Anxious comrades should write for a catalogue and include a stamp to over cost of postage. Comrades who see this paper for the first time should order a bargain bundle, including pamphlets by the Duke of Bedford and Guy Aldred, and assorted back numbers of "The Word"; total value 10/-, post free, 5/-. Good reading and good propaganda value for circulation. Address: THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C.1.

The Duke of Bedford's fourth speech in the House of Lords, 'The Conscientious Objector,' ought to be read by every thinking man and woman. Price 3d., post-free 4d.

BARLINNIE PRISON REVISITED

By The Rev. THOMAS PICKERING
(Priest in Charge, St. Columba's Episcopal Church, Clydebank, Glasgow)

[Our loyal and sincere comrade, the Rev. Thomas Pickering is well-known as a member of the Tramp Preachers or Brotherhood of The Way movement. He played a great part in the famous Free Speech struggle in Glasgow and we hope soon to be able to tell the story of that campaign. Like the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., of Liverpool, comrade Pickering refused to register for fire-watching and has been sent to prison twice. On the first occasion, the Bishop paid the fine without our comrade's knowledge and consent, but from a spirit of fellowship and service. On the second occasion, Thomas Pickering definitely instructed that no one must pay his fine, and now he tells his story and proclaims his message.—Ed.]

It must be 10 years ago since I was in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow, for several 20 days' imprisonments, along with other Christian Tramp Preachers, and some Socialists, Labour and Communist propagandists also.

We were all there concerning Free Speech on Glasgow Green and other Parks, and in the city generally.

It brought victory, in some measures to the advocates of Free Speech, although certain totalitarianists of British and other brands, are still carrying out measures against this priceless free speech liberty, in all lands.

Quite recently I revisited Barlinnie, twice through the compelling powers of the Civil Defence Act, concerning fire watching. My voluntary Christian offer to help, in line with conscience, was turned down in Clydebank, and I was "lifted" and spent a few days in Barlinnie on the first offence (non-registration) at the beginning of Lent, in March this year, as well as a second period of one month, in June, this Whitsuntide. There is a slight improvement in this fortress of Glasgow these days, as compared to those of 1930, for free speech, under supervision, is allowed now, of about 25 minutes daily, provided that no more than two prisoners are found together in conversation, with hands by their sides, whilst walking steadily round and round the exercise yard. Lest prisoners should look forward to more advances, too quickly, there are week-ends of sobering effect which amounts to victimisation these days. No doubt the war has had something to do with it, although I do not believe that it need have been so. I remember quite well that 12 years ago we had two religious services—a change, to say the least, from the prison cells—on Sundays, but now, prisoners only get one religious service every Sunday. The exercises too were longer in those days, now they are shorter. In the very interesting articles in *The Word*, written by Councillor Chas. A. Earl and the Rev. Sidney Spencer (both Unitarians) the conditions of the English prisons (Wandsworth, London and Walton, Liverpool), are described vividly and truthfully. On the whole they agree with those in Barlinnie, Glasgow, the Scottish citadel.

Neither of these political or religious prisoners, however, deal with these dreary, drab and dry week-ends. Let the reader think of them for a few precious moments. From 12.30 noon every Saturday each prisoner is in solitary confinement until 7.30 a.m. on Monday morning, except for a 25 minutes' exercise on Sunday and a 25 minutes' religious service in the Prison Chapel on the same day. In effect, he is shut up for 2 days, save for a few hours. Only one reading book is provided for him during that period, unless he manages to secure a transfer in the book realm, with another prisoner. For thus breaking the Sabbath and the prison rules he can be punished. There is also a food restriction order for Sunday. No porridge, no potatoes, no meat.

I asked the Governor if he would allow me to write the Home Office about these drab week-ends in prison and he granted my request. In my letter to the Secretary of State for Scotland, and Prison and Borstal services, I put forth the prisoners' complaint about Sundays and suggested that even in these days it was not difficult to provide two exercises, instead of one, on Sundays, and an extra, in the way of a lecture on Sociology, Biology, etc., on Sunday afternoons, with free and open discussion amongst prisoners. I suggested that prison chaplains and visiting ministers would not be averse to developing things after this fashion, without delay, if allowed to do so. A few weeks ago the Governor notified me, by post, that the Home Office had received my letter ! ! !

It rather looks as if nothing different will happen in the week-end prison routine within this fortress, before the autumn leaves begin to fall (so far as the Home Office is concerned).

It is for the churches and other societies and movements to keep up the correspondence and pressure, morally and spiritually, not co-ercively, until ever week-end in ever prison becomes what the Sabbath rest means it to be, which is, a week-end of Rest and Recreation, with Edification and Joyousness. As a Christian, Episcopalian, and Brotherhood Broadcaster, I will seek to do my part in this matter, and trust that every reader will do likewise. By such action will the drab prison week-end go, and a better one take its place. By doing that which is little, ye shall be entrusted with that which is much, even the changing of all prisons into Convalescent Homes for erring or victimised humanity, until we, with them, attain to perfect humanity in all the glory of Divinity.

Thus prisoners will change, because prisoners and people have changed.

May the Home Office, Church and Labour, you and I, do our bit now and the prisoners will do their bit also.

I fancy that the Governors and Warders, with the medical staffs and chaplains, are saying "Amen." As I meditate further, it is no fancy. They really mean it, because we unswervingly intend it.

Jesus and the pioneers speed us.
Pacifists in prison encourage us.
Truth leads us.
Perfect Freedom calls us.
All souls cry out to us.
Do something about it now.

WANDSWORTH AGAIN

By Councillor CHARLES A. EARL

On the 3rd June, 1943, I was again sentenced to two months' imprisonment for refusing to register for firewatching and by 6 p.m. on that day I had become No. 5775 in H.M. Prison at Wandsworth. The same two prison officers who had received me into the prison 18 months previously were on duty and both of them recognised me. I was of course familiar with the reception routine, and although I had found the day's proceedings rather trying and had for weeks been dreading the return to prison, and all that confinement in such a place means, I was not feeling nearly so upset as on my first sentence and in consequence was more critically observant of my surroundings and treatment.

The first thing that struck me was during reception. I have explained in my previous description of prison routine how a prisoner on being received into prison, is stripped before bathing and while his personal belongings are entered into a book and he signs for them he is told to throw a blanket around his body. On the previous occasion I thought nothing of this and probably should not have done so on this occasion, but for the fact that when we appeared before the Medical Officer, I heard him tell the man immediately in front of me that he was verminous, and then I realised that this individual had discarded the blanket just before I put it around myself. Now although there may not be anything very dangerous to health in this kind of vermin, the idea is not pleasant. On the other hand, men suffering from all kinds of other diseases such as skin diseases and venereal diseases, all use the same blanket and then the consequences to others might well be serious. I don't know how often this blanket is changed, but if it is anything like the blankets in general use throughout the prison, changes are not often made.

At about 8 p.m. that day's prisoners, between 20 and 24 men, were taken from the reception hall to cells on A1 landing. Those cells were in a very dirty condition. They were regularly used as reception cells, and new prisoners were lodged there for one or two nights before being transferred to more permanent quarters for their stay in prison. Who washed these cells and how often they were washed I don't know but it couldn't have been done very often and of course the blankets had been used by goodness knows how many individuals.

As I have already said, the shock of entering prison was not so great this time as last, although the sound of the cell door closing upon me, made me feel rather depressed and lonely, but that sort of feeling simply has to be thrown off, because the sentence has got to be served, and it is no good being sorry for oneself.

The next day I was removed to a cell on C4 landing, but this was not to be my permanent home, because three days later I was transferred to H4/23. This landing was occupied almost entirely by conscientious objectors. In both of these cells I had to use the blankets that the previous occupants had used which were not washed with each change of prisoner.

Food was almost identical with that issued to me on my previous visit; it was then mid-winter and now midsummer, and prison cocoa on hot days is a difficult drink. I must, however, record one or two improvements in things that I had previously complained about.

The food tins were kept very much cleaner. The boiled rice which was served once a week, instead of being plain and unsweetened, was either sweetened, contained sultanas, or was served with stewed prunes, so this seemed a great treat. Another welcome improvement was a very small portion of cheese three times a week instead of twice as previously. The quantity of food issued each day was however very small, especially as so many of the prisoners were young men in the early twenties, and the last meal of the day, consisting usually of a small "cob" of bread and margarine and cocoa, was served at 5 p.m. and there was nothing more until 7.30 the next morning. They were always hungry.

I must again stress the totally inadequate sanitary arrangements and the long long hours of solitary confinement. Although it is now summertime, on Sundays the prisoners are out of doors for one hour only one week and one and a half hours the next week. On the yard in which I was exercised there were approximately 400 men and three W.C.s. Now allowing 5 minutes for each man per W.C. it means that only 12 men can use one W.C. in 1 hour or 36 men the 3 W.C.s in an hour and on every other Sunday when the exercise time is 1½ hours only 54 men can use the W.C.s, assuming they all take 5 minutes.

As for the rest of the men they must use the small chamber pot in their cells. Now I do want everyone who reads this to imagine that they are the occupants of these cells. That on each Sunday they are shut up in them for 21½ or 22 hours and that the opportunities for emptying slops are at 7 a.m., 9 a.m. and 2 p.m.; and from 5 p.m. until 7 a.m. the next morning there is no possibility of leaving the cell. Remember that all food is eaten in the cell and all that long time is spent in it. The cell has a small window with two panes about 4 inches square to slide along and let in air. Imagine in the hot weather the state of the air in this small room. Would any of you who read this care to use your living room, even with its superior size and ventilation, as a lavatory as well as a dining and living room. Yet thousands of men and women in prisons all over Britain have to live in such conditions.

Every day from 5 p.m. to 7 a.m. the next

morning the cell is locked and the chamber pot is all that can be used. It was the thought of these conditions that made me dread my return to prison so much. Imagine the abominable stench every morning when hundreds of men are emptying slops.

What I am now going to say is going to be very difficult to believe, but it is the simple truth. On occasion 3 men are allotted to one cell (2 men are never put together for fear of sexual trouble). Up to May last this occurred on more than one landing in Wandsworth Prison. Now try and picture the lives of the men who were compelled to live 3 in a cell, remembering the conditions I have already described. I appeal to you to do all in your power to bring about a change in this shocking state of things. I now want to say a few words about the unfortunate men who live in prison. I call them unfortunate because I am quite sure in my own mind that most of them are victims of circumstance, that they are more sinned against than sinning. I was very distressed to find that after an interval of 18 months I could recognise so many faces, men who were still serving their sentences or who had been out and in again, some of them several times.

On my first day in the prison I was hailed by a young homo-sexual whom I had tried to befriend and sympathise with during my first imprisonment. He said he had been in and out twice since then. Out of 105 men in this particular workshop, 4 of them were male prostitutes. How many more there were in the prison I could not say. I only ask whether punitive treatment such as this, is the right method to use to cure homo-sexuality?

Then there were elderly men between 65 and 75 years of age, imprisoned for begging or sex crimes. Is imprisonment of this kind an effective remedy?

There were about 1500 men in this particular prison and their average age was not more than 30 years. What an indictment of our social system!

If I could, I would make it a necessary condition that before any person could be given the office of Magistrate or Judge he or she should be obliged to serve a sentence of at least one month as an ordinary prisoner. None of the officials being aware of the fact that these people were not criminals. It is the only way that the real life of the prisoners can be known or understood. It should be obvious to anyone that when visitors are shown around, the sort of things that I describe are not and would not be brought to their notice.

A friend of mine, the Reverend Will Hayes, has written a book about Asoka. Asoka was a king of Magadha in Northern India about the year 270 B.C. My friend describes how this king created a class of officials whose duty it was to visit the prisons and give special attention to prisoners. The officials had to see that no one was unjustly imprisoned and release all who were stricken with years and not fit to be in prison. They were empowered to make grants of money for the maintenance of a culprit's family and see that relatives of the prisoners did not suffer. This was in the year 270 B.C. in India!!

I have no knowledge of our prisons for women, but I ask you to think of those old men in the cells of Wandsworth, and to realise that what applies to Wandsworth applies to other British prisons.

(*Concluded from column 3.*)

was sufficient to convince them that the majority had been right. They then refused to carry on under the Scheme and were returned to prison.

So back to prison the Absolutists went—there to remain until five months after the signing of the Armistice—and the Wakefield "experiment" was ended.

WAKEFIELD!

A September 1918, Memory of the Men who would not Compromise.

By JAMES RITCHIE HENDERSON
("Gowrie")

[In our February, 1942, columns we told the story of "Gowrie's" stand against compulsory firewatching. Our comrade was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for his refusal to register for firewatching, at Kilmarnock Sheriff Court, on November 24, 1941. This trial, and also his 1914-1918 Courts-Martial and imprisonments, were recalled in detail. Now we recall an incident of his famous stand during the first world war.

Twenty-five years ago, this month, a number of "absolutist" conscientious objectors, including several Friends, were removed from the ordinary prisons, where they were undergoing "hard labour" sentences, to Wakefield, where the Government attempted to put into operation a scheme of "modified imprisonment."

The objectors were to have certain concessions regarding visits and correspondence and be paid 3d. a day, which could be spent at the Canteen, but work, ordinary prison labour—mail-bag making, etc. —was to be compulsory. The scheme collapsed, for the men who had gone to prison rather than compromise, felt that it was wrong to co-operate in schemes of partial amelioration in lieu of that absolute exemption which was provided for in the Military Service Acts. They felt that if they were deemed C.O.'s they merited complete exemption and this right ought not to be withheld from them.

This chapter in the story of the C.O. movement in Britain was written in 1919, when events still were fresh in his memory, by our comrade, "Gowrie," as James R. Henderson is known to his "Forward" and other admirers. "Gowrie" was one of the Wakefield men who spent three years in prison. His book of general prison experiences, "Among the Broadarrow Men" was published by D. & C. Black, in 1924. More recently, "Gowrie" has described his Barlinnie experiences in "Forward."—Ed.]

On the night of Sunday, September 8, 1918, I could not sleep. I was in a prison cell in the Midlands, and time after time I rose from the plank bed and stood on my stool to gaze through the window bars at the glittering stars far above.

The excitement within me was not because prison was new and strange, but because a change was imminent. After eighteen months' confinement in that prison I was, with three other anti-militarist prisoners, to be removed the following day. The governor had told us, suddenly, that we were to be taken to Wakefield Prison; nothing more.

Only one warder accompanied us, and we took our midday meal together in a cafe in Sheffield, experiencing the novelty of wearing our own clothes. When the big prison at Wakefield was reached we found that there were about sixty men there, many of whom had arrived the same day, every one an Absolutist C.O., and every one of whom had been in prison over two years.

We were all dressed in "Home Office" clothes and allocated to cells—rooms they were called here, because the locks were off the doors —and a good deal of freedom within the prison walls was allowed. We took our meals together and strolled around the extensive grounds in the evening. No one knew on what footing we were there. Only vague reports were heard that the Government had decided to make ameliorative concessions to Absolutist C.O.s who had served two years' imprisonment.

Next morning at eight o'clock the Acting Governor told us that we had been brought there under a Government concession, and that we would not be subject to the same rigorous treatment that we had left. Immediately Scott Duckers asked, in a quiet voice, "Is work compulsory here?" On the answer being given in the affirmative the solicitor-prisoner replied, "Then I refuse to do any." The whole position was so uncertain and a trap seemed so probable that the men decided to form a voluntary organisation to work such service as was necessary for health and cleanliness—food preparation, laundry, sanitation and so on. The Governor had not sufficient officers to enforce orders, so the voluntary organisation prevailed. An advisory committee was formed, on which appeared these names: Ayles, Watkins, Thompson, Sara, Scott Duckers, Newman, Clark, Davis, Southall, Horwell. We passed resolutions and even notified the Government that our Absolutist principles as held from the first could not be compromised.

When Saturday arrived, certain men had visitors, and from them it was learned that the happenings at Wakefield Gaol had been reported in all the national newspapers with headlines such as "Objectors take charge of a gaol," "Prisoners run their own prison," etc.

On Monday, September 16, more men arrived. Immediately after dinner word was sent round that regulations had been received and that an urgent meeting was to be held almost at once to consider them. It was generally felt that the Home Office Scheme in disguise was being foisted upon the Absolutists. The following resolution was passed by 98 votes to 4, 102 men being then present.

"The Absolutists at Wakefield Prison, having carefully considered the special regulations dated September 16.

(1) Find that the Government has neither appreciated nor met their claim as based upon the imperative demand of conscience.

(2) Decide that they cannot submit to them because they are convinced that to do so would seriously compromise their position, and that therefore their present course of action must be maintained for the time being."

As we were returning to work that afternoon, the warders told us that a number of additional warders were coming from Armley Gaol. By Wednesday, September 18, a hundred and twenty-two men were present, and that was all the Absolutists who were sent to Wakefield. On that morning the officers came from Leeds.

Excitement was high all the morning. At ten-thirty a young man rushed into the laundry and called us to the meeting-place immediately. He didn't know whether we would get there or not. The round-up had commenced, and warders were locking up any stray men they could find. Our small party got to the rendezvous safely. Many men, it was learned, had been stopped by the new warders and ordered to work. Upon refusal they were immediately taken to an isolated hall known as F Wing.

It was resolved that all who were present, about 80, as far as I can remember, should proceed en masse to F Wing and let the locked-up men know that we were with them. As we went through the grounds we sang and cheered heartily. Our cheers were answered from F Wing, and we could see the faces of our comrades at the separate cell windows. Our message was shouted to them (I believe by Walter Ayles), amid loud cheers, but warders soon appeared, and as we returned to the central hall we knew that it was to be locked up.

A Home Office official had arrived and each man was asked if he was prepared to work under the proposed scheme; the other 111 were reduced to First Stage prisoners and locked up.

We knew now that we were only waiting until arrangements were made for our removal to other prisons. Sunday, September 22, was our last night at Wakefield. The previous Sunday had been a happy one, shining out like a star amid all our prison Sundays of solitude. We had met and talked, enjoying fellowship, and had been inspired by a great unity of purpose. Now we were separated in cells, and realised that we should soon be scattered in different parts of the country again. It was a night to be remembered and as we sang we felt that our comradeship was a real and lasting thing.

On Monday, exactly two weeks after our arrival, we departed from Wakefield in small groups. Eleven men stayed behind, but a week

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BOMBING AND CIVILIANS

By the Rev. J. F. GERRARD, B.A.
(Vicar, St. Thomas's Church, Wigan).

[The following outspoken article, indicating the moral fearlessness of its author, is culled from the St. Thomas's Church "Parish Magazine," Wigan, for June, 1943.—Ed.]

Recently in the Commons, Mr. Stokes, M.P., declared that there was an ever growing volume of opinion in this country which considered indiscriminate bombing of civilian centres both morally wrong and strategical lunacy. It is an opinion shared by many in the Churches. Aerial bombing is one of the horrifying developments of modern warfare, causing the deaths with great suffering of many thousands of civilians in their homes. As far back as 1925 and 1932 attempts were made to reach an international agreement which would ban the bombing of cities; our country was one which refused to agree. It should be remembered that it is practically impossible to restrict bombing to military objectives. Communiques issued by the R.A.F. not infrequently contain such phrases as "the target area was plastered with bombs," or "the bombs fell in the target area." Factories and engineering works are usually surrounded by streets of working-class houses, and sometimes by blocks of flats or tenements.

When bombs are dropped from a great height, or under adverse weather conditions, it is practically impossible to aim so as to hit a works of ordinary size. A bomb released from an aeroplane drops diagonally and not vertically. From an aeroplane travelling at a height of 10,000 feet a bomb has to be released about two miles before the machine is actually over the target. Consequently a great number of bombs are released to cover the area in the hope that one or more will hit the target. Some 16 to 18 out of 20 bombs intented for a particular objective will probably destroy house property, and kill and maim the occupants. A traveller in Germany in August, 1942, writing in the Zurich "Volksrecht," states "It is mostly the densely populated residential districts which are affected by bombing, whereas war factories have so far suffered little. For example, the Krupps works in Essen, as I observed to my surprise, had suffered scarcely any damage worth mentioning."

This recalls the escape of the German battleships from the Channel port. From reports we were led to suppose they had been blown to pieces, yet they got away apparently unscathed under their own power, to Norwegian ports.

But problems of military strategy are not the first consideration in the minds of those opposed to bombing. There is the moral issue of supreme importance. Till this war began, the rights of civilians were respected as sacred. Oppenheim, writing in "International Law," says "The immunity of non-combatants from direct attack is one of the fundamental rules of international law. It is a rule which applies with absolute cogency alike to warfare on land, at sea and in the air." This rule has now been swept aside by all the belligerent countries. By bombing they hope to shatter the morale of the civilian population. It is an utter delusion, for it has the opposite effect, the stiffening of morale and capacity for resistance amongst the survivors. But what it leaves behind is a legacy of hatred and bitterness which will leave its mark for many generations. Apart from the loss of life there is the destruction of the heritage of centuries: cultural monuments, churches, paintings, books, the irreplaceable treasures of the ages. Our age will be known as the age of barbarism.

From the Christian standpoint such bombing is no better than murder and savagery. As the Bishop of Birmingham has pointed out: "You cannot send a bombing aeroplane on a mission of Christ." You cannot do evil that good may come. While not slackening in his efforts to bring about a negotiated peace, the true Christian in every country will seek to humanise war as far as it is possible, and one of the ways would be to restrict bombing to the actual battlefield, or better still abolish aerial warfare altogether.

Every person should interest himself in the question for unless the civilian asserts his rights the military caste will treat him as of no importance. The Japanese with characteristic ruthlessness, have found a solution, that of executing airmen found guilty of bombing cities. But it ought not to be impossible to frame an international agreement. Unless we do so civilisation as we now know it is doomed by this devilish development of modern warfare; murder, and sudden death will be the fate of many an innocent non-combatant.

WAR, BOMBING AND COMPASSION.

IS IT NOTHING TO YOU?

Bellshill Minister's Anti-Bombing Sermon.

Our contemporary, "The Bellshill Speaker," in its issue for June 4th last, reported the powerful sermon delivered the previous Sunday at West Church, Bellshill, by its Minister, the Rev. D. D. Bowyer, who based his sermon on the text: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" (Lamentations, I, 12).

From the "Speaker's" report of this sermon, we reproduce the following passages:—

It has been said, Mr. Bowyer remarked, that Jesus was the "divine scismograph." His heart was a delicate instrument, sensitively registering the faintest tremors of the world's pain and sorrow. . . . can we not hear Him saying to all men and particularly to us His followers "Is it nothing to you all ye who pass by?"

Surely no one, unless one whose heart is turned to stone, can be unmoved at the terrible sufferings of humanity. Can we Christians remain silent when confronted with the agony, the pain and the suffering of God's creation? I say we cannot. I do not believe compassion is dead in the hearts of British people, for if compassion be dead then have we suffered a devastating defeat for the cause of Christ in the world.

It is terrible beyond words to realise that we are using upon the German and Italian people the very same weapon of indiscriminate bombing which they used upon us, and which we condemned as unChristian and barbarous. Were we not promised from Government spokesmen that Britain would never stain her fair name by such actions?

From the press, the B.B.C. and the Government spokesmen it would appear that we British people are delighted to know that the German and Italian cities are being laid low and that children are being blinded and maimed, their minds tortured by fear and their bodies wracked with pain. The exultant note over the recent wrecking of the dams, when 4000 were drowned and hundreds of thousands homeless, is surely quite foreign to the spirit of compassion and kindness of which we used to be proud. You mothers here who have little children, can you exult in the suffering of other children even if they be German or Italian? God forbid.

Surely this exultation over suffering humanity, over helpless and innocent children, is quite contrary to the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Who gave our leaders the powers to bomb indiscriminately? It was not the people. And yet before God we shall be held guilty, for they are acting in our name.

Mr. Churchill was recently giving forth certain of the plans of the Allied nations to the press in Washington. Among other things he is reported to have said this:—

"It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war that they begin the process so necessary and desirable of laying the cities of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely be before peace comes to the world."

What right has anyone to commit our nation to such a policy of barbarism? No good can come to us from such a policy. Do you imagine that the cause of Christ in the world is to be maintained by cruelty; by killing, wounding and maiming millions of our fellow beings for whom Christ died.

One of the outposts of the Christain faith which must be held at all costs against the forces of evil is the outpost of compassion. If we become indifferent to the suffering and pain of others and callous as regards the suffering we inflict upon others then the cause of Jesus Christ will have received a severe setback. In the name of Christ the suffering children are saying to-day, "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by."

Are you aware that millions of people on the Continent of Europe are in danger of starvation, and that for lack of milk and vitamins children are wasting to death? In Belgium during the last war 100,000 tons of foodstuffs were allowed. This time they are asking for 2000 tons a month of vitamin capsules and dried milk for children, and nursing mothers. The arrangements are ready. A neutral ship is waiting in Philadelphia, and the cost is to be paid by the Belgian Government. All that is required is permission by us.

At our General Assembly it was unanimously agreed that the Church should demand that the Government grant the necessary permit and should allow foodstuffs to keep alive babies and give strength to mothers. It was declared by the Prime Minister of Belgium that "unless help were given immediately then the Allied nations would liberate not a nation of living people, but a graveyard." Not only does commonsense demand that we keep alive our Allies (for liberation to dead men is not much good), but also humanity and Christ demand it. The starving children and the wasting mothers look across to Britain and they are saying "Is it nothing to you, all ye who pass by?" . . .

It is St. John who says "Whoso hath the world's need and seeth his brother have need and shutteth up the bowels of compassion from him how dwelleth the love of God in him."

There is one thing that we Christians can do in this present conflict, indeed that we must do and that is to keep alight the flame of compassion in the heart of humanity. If pity, sympathy, charity, and mercy die out from the hearts of men and women; if there ever comes a day when we are unmoved at the sufferings of other people then truly the devil will have conquered and Christ will have been driven out from the hearts of men.

WESTMINSTER COMMUNITY CHURCH.

290 Westminster Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.

Pastor: Rev. LEO CHARLES DONNELLY, M.D.

Maintains that the Labour of Constructive Thinking creates lasting wealth. Upholds the eternal commandment: THOU SHALT NOT KILL. Invites all readers of "The Word" living in Detroit to attend its services and join in its community work and struggle against the wrongs and falsehoods of present day society.

Where there is no intelligence there can be no democracy; where there is little intelligence there may be a little democracy. Th world cannot be made "safe for democracy" until it is made SAFE FOR INTELLIGENCE.

If war would destroy only the unfit from off the earth we might find some toleration for it. But alas, the unfit stay at home to propagate and become millionaires, while the youth and virility of the land are pushed out to useless slaughter. Whenever we can send to the front first those who plan and foment wars, and those who profit by them, wars will soon come to an end.

Despite their governments, the people of all nations, in their hearts, want peace. And somewhere sometime, millions of men and women must stand up and cry: "We're through! we will not go on forever with war causing more war, causing more war, causing more war still."

Scattered over the United States there are now 48 camps housing several thousand young men known as Conscientious Objectors. Opposed to killing even their enemies, these men refuse to permit themselves to be conscripted for war—and the government very wisely and justly respects their right of conscience.

—News item.

It is perfectly plain to me, and nothing can be plainer—than the fact that unless there be some determined Souls—a saving minority in this maniac world, that stand firm for Peace, that refuse to betray their highest ideals, and that will not compromise or barter their principles, but will face unflinchingly whatever abuse and punishment may come to them—

Unless this salt of the earth shall preserve its savor—mankind is lost and there is nothing ahead of our world but a new Dark Age. Therefore do I greet these young Objectors as the pilgrim heroes of a new day—the day when wars shall be no more.

—L. C. DONNELLY.

Mussolini's resignation was announced, Sunday, July 25, after we had handed our 'Copy' to the printer. Until a Socialist or Anarchist Commonwealth is established in Italy, changes of Government are of small consequence to the working man or woman in Italy. Political changes are superficial—only social changes are real.

THE BROKEN SWORD

By C. H. Norman.

Readers of "The Word" will understand the difficulties with which one is faced in writing a third, detailed review of the war. As the war progresses, the only one certain fact which is persistent is the incompetence of the military and political leaders in all the contestant countries. There never has been any such person as a good general: some are less bad than others. The history of Napoleon is an example. He was able to defeat the more incompetent generals opposed to him by adopting new methods: but when those were exhausted he committed the same errors as his opponents, destroying his grand army, and, finally, leading to complete destruction his Empire, his satellite states and his armies, causing later his own exile and death. The introduction of air warfare has only reinforced the truth of this proposition, except that the air commanders seem even more boastful and more incompetent than the military and naval commanders. Harris and Goering are a pretty pair when we consider the destruction wrought upon their respective countries and citizens by the conduct of the air campaign. Their defence methods have completely failed as the state of many cities in England and Germany conclusively proved, notably Plymouth and Hamburg.

As for the military commanders, it is well to recall that there is only on record one honest despatch from a military commander admitting his defeat (apart from classical times), namely, the despatch of Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise, to Louis XV of France announcing the defeat of his army at the battle of Rossbach: "I write to your Majesty in a paroxysm of despair. Your army has been completely routed. I cannot say how many of your officers are killed, taken prisoners, or missing," etc. In those days, there was more popular criticism of military incompetents than unfortunately there is to-day. "One lampoon represented him searching for his lost army with a lantern; another gravely announced that the Hotel de Soubise was to let, as its noble owner intended to enter himself as a pupil at the military school; while a third informed the public that the prince intended to build a palace to celebrate his late campaign with the stones which he anticipated would be thrown at him." ("Life of Madame de Pompadour," Noel Williams, p. 342). It would be perhaps indelicate to name some British, American, German and French generals to whom some of these comments might apply to-day: there are perhaps too many of them to "mention in despatches."

Let us examine the position in which the various countries find themselves at the end of nearly four years warfare. The National Debt of Great Britain is now standing at about £17,000,000,000. In June, 1943, according to "Reynolds News," the English golden sovereign would purchase in Cairo (where there is an open market) £6 in sterling paper money, which means, in plain language, that the paper sterling pound is worth 3/4 in terms of gold. What has been gained by the creation of this remarkable economic position? The British Empire has been so roughly handled under the leadership of the late Neville Chamberlain and the living Winston Churchill that there is not much left in a solvent condition. Burmah and the Eastern possessions have been lost to Japan. Australia and N. Zealand are being protected by the United States. India is seething with discontent. The West Indies are largely under the management of the United States. Canada is economically in United States' hands. Unlike the last war, when Britain and France kept together till the end, so acting as a balance to the United States, to-day the United States dominates the scene, as, without United States aid, the British Government could not recover the lost territories. Mr. Churchill has demonstrated that the British Empire was incapable of defending its possessions successfully against the foreign combination which the Churchillian policy from 1914 onwards brought into existence. On the wisdom and foresight of these kind of people, one may quote one example, as it has a great bearing on the causes of the present situation. The Liberal Government of Campbell Bannerman came into office in the autumn of 1905. In under six months, Sir Edward Grey was planning the policy which led to the first stage of the European War in 1914. He prepared a considered and careful memorandum, in which the following amazing passage appeared: "I hope the French would recognise that in a war with Germany our liabilities would be much less than theirs. We should risk little or nothing on land, and at sea we might shut the German Fleet up in Kiel and keep it there without losing a ship or a man or even firing a shot." ("Before the War," by G. P. Gooch, page 16). It seems incredible that a man of such narrow judgment and holding such opinions should have had unquestioned control of the British Foreign Office from the date of that memorandum till 1915. He actually repeated the substance of his statement on August 3, 1914, in the House: "For us, with a powerful fleet, which we believe able to protect our commerce, to protect our shores and to protect our interests—if we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer if we stand aside"! The world can judge of the accuracy of those forecasts by the events which happened. To-day, it is established beyond doubt that the forces of the Empire have proved insufficient and unable, under the leadership of Mr. Churchill and his technical advisers, to preserve the Empire from destruction, as, without the full aid of the United States in all respects, it would not be possible to regain the territories lost or defeat the many enemies which a fatuous foreign policy have brought in arms against the Empire.

Let us consider next the state of Italy. The Italian Government has lost the whole of its African possessions and certainly could not preserve the integrity of its own territories from invasion by United States and British forces without the aid of Germany. Here, again, the sword has broken in the hands of Italy's leaders. But the comparison of the defeats in North Africa (which were mainly due on both sides to cutting off the water supply and not in the least to military strategy, which was exceedingly bad on both sides) with the defeat of the British at Dunkirk is valueless. The defeat at Dunkirk produced directly the collapse of France and the withdrawal of the French forces from active participation in the war. The hope that the Tunis victory would end in Italy seeking a separate peace has proved a vain one up to mid-August, 1943, anyhow.

Turning to the condition of Russia, Russia has involved herself in such a situation that, apparently, only substantial aid from capitalist United States and Britain will enable the Russians to drive the German invaders out of the occupied territories. The wild statements of the Russian propagandists have exceeded anybody's. At the end of the first year of the German-Russian war, the Russians officially announced that the Germans had sustained at least ten million casualties. The second year of the war, according to the Russians, was more disastrous for the Germans than the first year: so that, presumably, the German casualties, by end of June, 1943, must be over twenty millions. Yet the German Army is still able to occupy and administer one third of the Russian territories! The liars of the Russian propaganda department are indeed hoist with their own petard, as indeed is Mr. Winston Churchill, who adopted as his own the Russian statement that the German dead exceeded 2,600,000, which was more than the Germans lost in the whole of the last war. Judging by the military position of the relative forces, the German statement of their total losses in the war as 2,650,000 by May, 1943, seems more probable than the Russo-Churchillian farce. It is, however, the fact that the vaunted Red Army, Red Fleet, and Red Air Force have proved unable single handed to defend the territories of Russia. It is plain also from the clamour for the Second Front that the Russians themselves have no hope of driving the Germans out of Russia by their own unaided efforts. Russia has up to date steadily declined various pressing invitations, of the United States especially, to declare war on Japan and allow the Far Eastern Provinces to be used as a base against Japan.

The unfortunate French are being torn to pieces between alleged friends and foes. Parts of the French Empire, which were untouched in 1914-1918, have been seriously devastated, and the food blockade by the United States and Britain have added to their economic difficulties. Here again the great French Army and Fleet proved themselves ineffective to protect the territories of France against either friend or foe. Occupied France is beginning to suffer severely from Anglo-American unrestricted air attacks. The sword here has broken into little pieces.

What is the state of Germany? Great as have been her victories on land and in the air, her cities also have been devastated by air attacks of a ferocious and unrestricted kind, while the naval food blockade is adding to the privations of the women and children. Powerful though the German armies are, the truth is that Germany has been unable to end the war at the moment of success, and the tide has been turned to some extent against her by the full development of the American attack, which has exceeded what took place in 1917-1918. The sword has not broken entirely in the German hands, but its efficacy up to date has not produced the guaranteed result as prophesised by the German General Staff.

The only country which looks as though the wielding of the sword has brought it some advantage is Japan, whose position certainly is very much better to-day than it was in 1940 in the way of valuable resources and possibility of successful action against powerful enemies. The Pacific campaign has not gone too well for Japan in 1942-43 though the losses inflicted on the scanty, Australian forces have been severe. Moreover, the campaign against the Japanese occupation of Burmah failed completely in making any headway towards dislodging the Japanese from that country. How the operations will develop there if the United States and Britain embark upon the rash adventure of European invasion at several points no one can foretell, except that there are unpleasant possibilities for the unfortunate Australians and New Zealanders, who have had it established that they too are incapable single handed of defending their countries from the attack of the Japanese forces. Without American aid the state of Australia and New Zealand (bad though it is) would have indeed by now been desperate, if not hopeless. The United States has really had to undertake the defence of many outposts of the British Empire as well as the Dutch and her own. The defence has not been conspicuously successful up to the present, but the end is not yet. It is clear, however, that in the case of Australia and New Zealand, their sword, without aid, would have been as effective as a broken reed to save their countries from invasion and occupation.

This review of the position as it really is, dismissing the wilder statements of government propagandists on both sides, is again a proof of the truth of the lament of the Swedish statesman, Oxenstierna, at "the little wisdom with which men and states were governed." Did the ordinary citizen carry on his private affairs as statemen carry on the public business of the countries they rule this world would would long ago have returned to the state of barbarism, which these statesmen and military leaders are rapidly bringing once more into existence in all parts of the globe.

SOCIAL TECHNIQUE OF NON-VIOLENCE.

By Lowell H. Coate, M.A, Ph.D.
(President, The Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

Civilization must renounce Violence or Violence will destroy Civilization.

Violence has proved a complete failure. After ten thousand years of history Violence has left an unbroken record of human suffering, disappointment, bloodshed, broken hearts and homes and crumbled nations. Violence contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction, yet every nation to date has rested and relied upon physical force and violence as its chief source of power and authority. All have uniformly failed.

Nothing is more true to history than that "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Where are the Cyruses and the Caesars, the Alexanders and the Napoleons? They are but an unhappy memory of the death, destruction, starvation, tragedy and human despair which they have left in their paths.

To-day the human race is deliberately pursuing a course which leads to suicide! It has developed the instruments of violence to such a big point of scientific efficiency in the airplane, submarine, machine gun, poison gas, death ray and numerous other destructive devices that whole cities and entire populations can be blotted out over night. The United States has this year made the largest peacetime naval appropriations of any nation in the world's history, and is annually spending 15 billions of dollars on crime and violence, yet there is tragic increase and mounting costs for crime, and the world is threatened with the most destructive war of all time.

It was the former Prime Minister of England, Stanley Baldwin, who asked: "Who does not know that one more war in the West and the civilization of the ages will fall with as great a shock as did that of Rome?" H. G. Wells asserts that "It is a race between education and catastrophe." The next great cataclysm will engulf us all; none will escape its horrifying effects. Again we say: "Civilization must renounce Violence or Violence will destroy Civilization."

As the world faces an unprecedented international crisis and the worst war of extermination in history, why does the Peace Movement find itself hopelessly divided, ineffective and without a united message for the world? One important answer to this question is found in the total lack of any sufficient, fundamental, underlying philosophy. The Peace Movement as such opposes war, but war is only one manifestation of violence. During the usual 20-year period between wars there is no war to oppose and hence no challenge and no special incentive to Peace activity, and the moment war is declared no opposition is permitted. So pacifists drift along from one war to another with little or no effective united action.

We of the Non-Violence Movement are thoroughly convinced that the Peace program must be broadened to include opposition to all forms of violence, particularly organised violence, such as (1) lynchings, (2) pogroms, (3) vigilantism, (4) gangsterism, (5) dueling, (6) capital punishment, and (7) all civil and international wars. These various forms of violence are taking place all about us every day and all the time. The need is always apparent and the inspiration always present to increase our opposition to every form of human violence.

The power and social technique of Non-Violence has been developed in order to adequately counteract the forces of violence. Without approving or disapproving of the motive in any particular case, the following forms of Non-Violence have proved effective in numerous instances: Arbitration, education, persuasion, propaganda, political action, petitions, protests, parades, peaceful picketing, the boycott, the sit-down strike, economic co-operation, social, political and economic pressure, civil disobedience, tax holidays, the commercial embargo, the "rule of silence," political non-co-operation, diplomacy, mediation, conciliation, adjudication, and ordinary legal procedure. A technique involving a combination of many or all of these forms of Non-Violence has the most powerful potentialities known to modern civilization.

The whole question of Social Technique vitally confronts organized society to-day, and Non-Violence is the answer. The church and organized labour have been almost unanimous in their opposition to violence, but what the times require is a definite, positive, constructive program of a permanent nature, something comparable to the ever-readiness of the military machine which is automatically geared for quick action, in order to properly meet and to successfully counter the unjust and unsocial elements in our complex modern society.

This is in truth an effective Social Technique. It can be achieved, and, under proper leadership, it will be realized in this generation.

WAR AND HUMAN NATURE

Some skeptics continue to insist that "So long as human nature remains as it is there will be wars." But such doubting Thomases should be reminded that exactly the same thing was said of dueling, witch-burning, religious intolerance, human slavery, the double standard, and political autocracy. But dueling made its exit when the court of honour became the court of justice. Witch-burning lost its shadows in the light of aroused compassion. Religious intolerance surrendered when intellectual freedom focused its strength. The shackles fell from human slavery when public opinion was enacted into law. Women's right triumphed when organized weakness defied prejudice and tradition. Autocracy crumbled when a united Democracy touched hands around the world. One more enemy of man, and the greatest, remains unconquered—War. But wars, too, shall cease when we learn that future victories shall not be to the violent, but to those united in Non-Violence.

All these social plagues have gradually disappeared from society, while human nature has continued about as it has always been. We may not be able to change human nature, but we have been able to change the nature of human thinking, and "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." If by changing the nature of human thinking we have thereby been able to alter human conduct, we have achieved substantially the same result as might have been achieved by an actual change of human nature.

Religion has sometimes claimed the power to miraculously change human nature, but it has remained for the gradual power and process of Education to change the nature of human thinking regarding many social sins of civilization, and to-day millions of minds are changing and branding war as society's chief remaining social sin.

COMMUNISM
THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED

Twenty-nine chapters, exposing Moscow Adventurism and Reaction, and giving the full story of the Communist Party in Great Britain, The United States, Russia, Germany, Holland and China. An unanswerable factual review. Price: 1/6; post free, 1/9.

Every student of Communism should obtain a copy.

Read this work as a companion work to the author's "Socialism and Parliament," Parts I and II (6d. each part); "Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism," 1/-; "Bakunin," 6d.; and "Dogmas Discarded," Part I (4d.) and Part II (6d.) If ordering pamphlets singly add 2d. each pamphlet for postage. If ordering the lot, add 7d. for total postage to total price of pamphlets. Order from this office.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Guy Aldred, Speaker, Friday, September 3, at 8 p.m. All invited.

THE CASE FOR A PACIFIST CHURCH

By
WALLACE HANCOCK AND FRANK HANCOCK.

1. Many Christian Pacifists are in a dilemma. They are probably members of Churches, which have great traditions. These associations have often been life-long, and a deep affection is felt for the spiritual soil from which they have sprung. Yet they know that for at least four years they have received little or no spiritual help from their Church. They can take no part in its witness. The truest and deepest emotions revolt against Services from which they should have drawn strength and inspiration. These are tragic years in their own personal lives. They are fraught with even greater consequence for the Church and the Nation. Yet, as Church members they are not only impotent, but would seem to connive, albeit unwillingly, in the preaching of a war-time gospel to which they are irrevocably opposed. There would appear to be two ways out of the dilemma. There is the Society of Friends, which for centuries has stood for pacifism, and has in all times and circumstances, resolutely testified against the necessity and legitimacy of the war-method. For some it has been natural to apply for Membership of the Society. The majority of Christian Pacifists, however, for certain reasons have not been able to avail themselves of this course. To such, the idea of a Pacifist Church makes a strong appeal.

2. It is timely that we should clarify our ideas of what a Church is. Clearly, in many minds, "Church" is linked with the acceptance of certain theological beliefs and certain outward forms of worship. Most priests and ministers claim to be in either the apostolic succession, or to have been ordained authoritatively, and thus have become authentic interpreters of the Divine Will. Christian pacifists from their own experience, deny the validity of this claim. They deny that the Holy Spirit runs in ministerial and priestly channels, either exclusively or chiefly. This leads us to doubt whether Dr. Belden's movement "Pax Christi" can ever succeed. We hope it will. He is enlisting men and women of pacifist tendencies, who bind themselves to renounce war when their own Church or Denomination gives it authority. Our fear is that the Churches have lost their authority. Any Divine Authority must be at least rational, according to the light of its day. The Churches are teaching that nations and men can in these days gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles. Pacifists are driven then to agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury that the difference between pacifist and non-pacifist is "profound and incapable of adjustment." So far then, from waiting for the "Churches" authority to embrace pacifism, we question whether the Christian Gospel is any longer safe in the hands of the present-day Churches. They are enthusiastically supporting principles which are the negation of Christianity, and against which a pacifist must protest with all his mind and soul.

Rev. Hickman Johnson, in an apologetic for war-time Christianity writes:

"Some of the criticisms to be brought against the Church can be summed up in the sentence 'the Church has failed to be a Church.' No one dare assert that the full Biblical hope of the Church is realised in the separated dwindling communities we to-day in this country and the continent call the Church. Nor would anyone venture to absolve the Church of sloth, cowardice, pride and selfishness in its own inner life and its outward influence. . . . It has broken the laws of God within its own confines; it has repeatedly and signally failed to give effective witness against racial, international, social and economic injustice."

We agree, and many pacifists have left the Church. But it is the acceptance of war by the Churches as an instrument of Divine policy,

as the Christian method of dealing with evil, which Christian pacifists will in no-wise recognise. So that Christian unity is already seriously broken, and cannot be restored until the Churches forever renounce their faith in war, and condemn all violent sanctions to implement the Gospel of Forgiveness and Love. We know that the use of coercive violence is a denial of the whole Christian ethic.

3. For many pacifists it will not be possible at the close of hostilities to "agree to differ" on this subject. Neither will they attempt to condone the Churches' endorsement and encouragement of "man's inhumanity to man." For yet again, for the third time in one generation, it is even more indelibly recorded, beyond chance of denial, that the leaders of the Churches, and laymen alike, whilst professing supreme faith in the way of Christ, have enthusiastically supported war. Recently they applauded a Prime Minister who said of his enemies: "We will make them bleed and burn in every way that it is possible." Indeed not only Church members, but thoughtful people everywhere are bewildered at, and ashamed of, the religious pronouncements of the Churches. Christian Pacifists are therefore not concerned with maintaining a unity that extends to matters of dogma, ritual and Church government, but does not embrace the far weightier and more essential practices incumbent upon all Christians. Would not He who, when face to face with the dead Church of Judaism, declared, "But *I* say unto you," confront and confound the war-ridden Christian Church to-day with an even greater challenge to its forfeited authority? Would He not be calling out of the Churches to-day, evangelists of a truer gospel, which should lay again solid foundations of His Kingdom of Love and Peace? For there can be no reconciliation between good and evil, no working agreement between the true and the false. The difference in moral principle between those who consider for instance that mass bombing is compatible with the teaching of Jesus and those who do not, is clear, admitted and unambiguous and is not open to reconciliation.

The Christian Pacifist stands for the way of reconciliation. This means the reverse of compromise between principles. He stands for the reconciling of the works of man to God. The war has revealed again the cleavage between man, and man's Church and God, and there can be no reconciliation between us and the Churches until they repent and utterly renounce the way of war. At the same time we deplore our separation in thought and Christian workship from Christians in the Churches. We shall endeavour to combat any spiritual pride and strive to maintain a spirit of love towards our fellows. Indeed our pacifist principles must make for fellowship. Yet non-pacifists will at once admit the fundamental difficulty of two groups, with such differing conceptions of God's Way and Will, worshipping and working together in the same Church.

But what is becoming increasingly intolerable is that Christians dominated by a conception of the pacifist way of life should continue in Churches in which their essential faith is repudiated. Some Churches are "tolerant" towards the individual pacifist, yet quite illogically deny the validity and resent the expression of his deepest insight into God's ways.

Is there any escape from the conclusion that, if the pacifist's way of life is God's method of individual and world salvation, then that gospel must have free and unrestricted outlet? It must not be crabbed, confined, censored, censured and jostled as a minority movement in Churches that admit they are sub-Christian.

This essay is written with the purpose of inviting Christian Pacifists to express their convictions on this subject. The authors wish to gauge the strength of the desire to overcome the dilemma with which we are all confronted, and to take action along these lines, if such action seems to be widely and deeply indicated.

Readers are asked to write to Wallace Hancock, 21 Raymond Avenue, E.18.

C.O. WEEK: AN OPPORTUNITY

By DENIS HAYES

Publications' Editor, C.B.C.O.

September 19th-26th is "C.O. WEEK." Its aim is to show the unity of all C.O.s and to provide financial help for the C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

There are some topics you can talk about until the crack of doom with great pleasure to all concerned and some that fail to capture your interest right from the beginning.

The forthcoming "C.O. WEEK" provides a suitable opportunity to find out into which category the work of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors falls. It is a technical kind of work and you might think at first sight that it would be anything but interesting. Like all jobs it has its routine patches, but more often it is so full of human interest that it inspires and stimulates. And there is one great advantage: the issues that face the Board are so practical and concrete that it is impossible to allow your attention to lapse into that kind of social day-dreamnig that spells ruin to planned and consistent policy. The Board builds no "castles in Euston."

The Board originated in the National Joint Advisory Bureau that was set up some months before the outbreak of war to deal with the problems raised by the imposition of conscription. January, 1940, saw the beginning of the Board proper when the cardinal principle of equality was laid down. The aim of the Board was to look after the interests of all C.O.s, whether religious, political, humanitarian or ethical, whether or not they belonged to any body affiliated to the Board, and whatever stand their compulsion bade them take. This as Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the C.B.C.O., has pointed out, is the one principle of the Board. All human effort is open to criticism, but the fact remains that there has been a greater unity of effort in the very diversity of the C.O. movement in this war than in the last. This fellow-feeling has been focussed in the Central Board.

There are now seventeen constituent bodies of the Board, including the Society of Friends, Independent Labour Party, Women's Co-operative Guild, Peace Pledge Union, and Fellowship of Reconciliation. It co-ordinates the work of sixteen Regional Boards, one for each Tribunal area. The particular job of a Regional Board, as its name implies, is to advise C.O.s in the region, to care for their dependants in need, and to arrange for regular observers to report the proceedings of the Local Tribunal. On the "ground floor" are 360 local advisory bureaux and individual advisors to whose devoted work the C.O.s of this war owe so much.

The Board itself meets at Friends House, London, every six weeks and it is a real experience to be one of the forty or fifty representatives who attend, listening at one moment to a soft-tongued Londoner and at the next to the indignant tones of a Welshman or the slow voice of a Scot. To have the Political Secretary of the I.L.P. sitting happily next to the Recording Clerk of the Society of Friends and the Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union is somehow a reassuring sight in these days of strife and division.

It is not easy to give a proper impression of the scope of the Board's work in a few words, and it is easiest perhaps to look at it in a number of different aspects. First, broad questions of policy are hammered out after full discussion. Through the singlemindedness of the Board the whole tendency to "Cat and Mouse" treatment —the repeated prosecution of C.O.s for successive offences of essentially the same kind—has been fought ditch by ditch for three and a half years, and fought with some success. Prosecutions in the Army, for refusing medical examination, for fire-watching offences, for refusing industrial work, all come within the wide implications of this problem. In addition, the duties of the Non-Combatant Corps and of Civil Defence C.O.s as well as the conditions of landworkers have been the subject of frequent intervention.

Another aspect is the publishing side. The monthly C.B.C.O. Bulletin gives facts and figures that bring up to date the C.O. position in its various aspects. Pamphlets about the National Service Acts, about Prison Routine and Courts-Martial as well as the twelve penny Broadsheets can all be obtained from the Strickland Press. Ask for a free copy of "Trials of Conscience," the Board's report for 1943.

A third aspect is that of Public Relations, an elastic term that covers the taking up with Government and other departments of countless cases of individual difficulty. C.O.s in the Air Force taken overseas while resisting service, men given illegal police court sentences and cases of brutal treatment of C.O.s in the Army are fair examples.

The answering of hundreds of enquiries at the Board's office, the keeping for posterity of complete records and statistics of the C.O.s of the second generation and much other work remain. All this work cannot be done without money, and the Board's need is pressing. Will you support "C.O. WEEK" and help the work along? Send a donation to the Board at its office, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

FROM A NEW ZEALAND PRISON

Paparua Prison,
Canterbury,
New Zealand,
29/5/43.

Dear Guy,—It is indeed refreshing to hear of you though I must confess that I haven't written to you since my imprisonment commenced at the beginning of December, 1941, though I do believe my wife wrote. In spite of what you say, I envy you folk your liberties. If you were here I'm afraid that you'd be doing about 100 years for all your sins! There are consolations in the very worst of situations. "The Word" I find of great interest, a bundle having arrived from England recently.

My present two year sentence for subversion expires in May 1944, though prior to its commencement I had served two periods of three months as a military defaulter, a mild case of "cat and mouse," and I expect that the game will be resumed after May 1943 as the Magistrate told me on two occasions that I was not a fit person for the defaulters' (conscientious objectors) detention camp as I might subvert the others! My attitude has been, and still is, of course, one of uncompromising and absolute opposition so I see nothing but prison ahead of me for the duration of the war. A bleak outlook indeed, but so far I've fought off despondency. In fact, the progress? of events convinces and continually convinces one more than ever. This should amuse you. In the last war my offence was known as "sedition" and our present Labour P.M. and several of his cabinet ministers were imprisoned then for sedition. A change of name eases slightly a troubled conscience.

I'm afraid prison regulations forbid mention of prison conditions, etc., but I think I'll be allowed to say that after having read "Gowrie's" details in "Forward," the N.Z. conditions are generally superior. In most cases the C.O.s do a month or two in prison before passing on to detention camp for the duration. There must be nearly 1000 there now. Less than 12½ per cent. receive exemption which is usually conditional upon paying your wage surplus above soldiers' rates (and allowances) into the Social Security Fund. Paper shortage, so best wishes in the good work.—Cheerily and fraternally yours,

MICHAEL YOUNG.

WORD BOUND VOLUME, For 3 years May 1939 to July 1942. inclusive. Green Cloth, 12s 6d. Post Free 13s 6d.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT MEETINGS.—Sunday, September 5, Guy Aldred speaks in the Central Halls, Bath Street, Glasgow, at 6 p.m. He will speak the first Sunday in every month thereafter at the same time, up to and including the first Sunday in May 1944.

DEFICIT APPEAL ANNOUNCEMENT.—Owing to pressure on our space we have been compelled to hold this announcement another month. Meantime, since the paper is produced at a loss, your donation will be welcome. Statement next month without fail.

DUKE'S "MORE MONEY" CURE FOR NATION'S ILLS.

REMARKABLE MOTHERWELL MEETING.

At the Empire Theatre on Sunday night a large audience sat for almost three hours while from platform and audience speeches and remarks were made on the war and post-war situations. An outstanding address was given by the Duke of Bedford on the reform of the monetary system and how money should be brought to the service of the people.

MOTHERWELL ON SWIVEL CHAIR—

Before the Duke spoke the audience was treated to an address by Mr. Guy Aldred, a well-known Glasgow personality who, in the course of his address remarked that Motherwell was a strange place for it was in Motherwell in 1914 that he was charged with being a German spy, as if German spies went to the market place and addressed Socialist meetings. It was in Motherwell also that Walton Newbold was returned as the first Communist M.P., and it was there Mr. Newbold despatched the famous telegram to Moscow intimating that Motherwell had been won for Communism. Since then Motherwell had been represented in Parliament by four different M.P.s, but while the member of Parliament changed, the slums of Motherwell remained.

—ALSO COMMUNISTS

In a criticism of the Communist Party Mr. Aldred said that members of that party gave their allegiance not to this country but to Soviet Russia. They opposed the war when Norway, Belgium and France were invaded and said it was not their war. They changed their tune when Russia was attacked—it was their war then, and they wanted a Second Front at all costs.

BREAKING DOWN PREJUDICE

The Duke of Bedford said there was a good deal of prejudice between monetary reformers and socialists. This state of affairs was unfortunate and it had to be broken down. The former said that monetary reform meant everything and the Socialists said that nationalisation of wealth and property meant everything. His own view was that monetary reform was essential, Socialism or no Socialism.

With regard to monetary reform there were one or two maxims he would wish to leave with them. He wished to affirm that schemes for the people's welfare, if they were physically possible of accomplishment, should never be turned aside because there was no money to finance them. He would say, however, that money was not everything, because there were many monied people who were unhappy in the midst of all their wealth, but on the other hand there were ever so many of the poorer classes to whom a little more money would be a blessing.

Inflation he would describe as a state of affairs when we had more money than could be backed by goods and services. It was in the interest of the ordinary citizen that money should be plentiful and it was in the interests of the financier that money was scarce, so that people would come to him for loans.

"The realities of sound finance are the most unsound things indeed," the Duke continued. He reminded his listeners of the trade boom that started after the last war and said there was no reason why that had not continued, as there was abundance of goods and labour at that time.

The financiers did not like this post-war prosperity. Employers were financing themselves and were in a measure independent of the banks. The financiers insisted that the country should go back on to the gold standard.

"The tyranny of debt and finance is every bit as cruel as the Nazi tyranny," said the speaker as he drew a vivid picture of the difficulties ensuing when a country exported to such considerable value that the debtor country could never hope to give goods in exchange. Where it was impossible to make a return in seven years, the debt should be wiped off. In any sensible financial system money must be in relation to desired goods and services. He foresaw that in the immediate post-war period it would be absolutely necessary to continue the rationing system.

POST-WAR PROSPECTS

"Every citizen should receive an equal ration and have enough to give a fair price for them," the Duke continued. Britain was a small country and she would need imports to give her people a higher standard of life. If a large measure of our export trade was lost and other countries stopped sending us imports our share of prosperity from trade might be very little indeed. It was a familiar saying that God helped those who helped themselves. The working people must suffer most in any post-war depression and it was up to them to prevent it in so far as it was in their power. God had given them intelligence and he meant them to use it in every direction.

LIVELY QUESTION TIME

In questions the Duke was asked what he had done to help the workers to get better housing and what help did he give the workers in the General Strike of 1926.

The Duke answered that in 1926 he was still a comparatively young man, still feeling his way, and he was afraid that he did not do anything to help at that time. He had, however, acquainted himself with working-class life in Portsmouth with particular reference to adequate incomes.

Asked if he favoured the nationalisation of finance under a Socialist Government the Duke said he was in favour of national control of the banking system but he would leave the banks free to choose their own personnel.

FREE DISCUSSION

An hour was allowed for free discussion and the time was fully utilised. Two ladies and some eight or ten gentlemen took part and much variety of view and opinion was manifested. An R.A.F. man in uniform said we must strive to maintain the same unity in this country as we had after Dunkirk.

In contrast to the many other points of view expressed a man rose and said that we should remind ourselves that the greatest thing in the world was children. We must shape the world to suit the children; we must give them the best we can now, if we were to look for them giving their best. When he came to die he would like to be surrounded by his children and hear one say in token of farewell, "Cheerio, dad, you've made a grand job of us."

Both speakers replied to the discussion.

DUKE'S CLOSING WORDS

Closing the discussion, the Duke said that foreign policy must be based on the new principle of treating all other countries as we should like to be treated if we were in their place. The world's wealth of raw materials must be available for all States.

In regard to Italy the Duke said there was no saying what form of Government would be ruling in Italy when peace came to be signed. Pronouncements made here that Italy would lose all her colonies were not likely to help the democratic elements in Italy. In regard to both Italy and Germany after the war he thought we should do business with them on the basis of actions and not words. We should be able to send representations to Germany and Italy to see how promises are kept and we should allow the same privilege to our former enemies. If we adopted this line we would be mobilising public opinion in Germany and Italy for peace much more effectively than by keeping an army of foreign teachers.

The meeting was most orderly throughout.

—"Motherwell Times," Friday, Aug. 13, 1943.

The report of the meeting published in "The Hamilton Advertiser," for August 14, was briefer than that which appeared in "The Motherwell Times," but included some items omitted in the latter's report. We reproduce the "Advertiser" account below:—

POLITICAL OPEN FORUM
DUKE OF BEDFORD URGES MONETARY REFORM

The Duke of Bedford, whose recent visit to Lanarkshire aroused considerable political interest and Mr. Guy Aldred, Glasgow, a well-known anti-Parliamentarian Communist, were the speakers at an open forum, held under Motherwell I.L.P. Branch auspices in the Empire Theatre on Sunday night. Mr. James Johnston, who presided, said it was the desire of the Motherwell I.L.P. to bring personalities of the political world to its open forum and, provided they had the courage of their convictions, they were worthy of a hearing.

Mr. Aldred dealt with the subject of "The War—And After," while the Duke of Bedford spoke at length on the principles of monetary reform, particular reference being made to the operation of the gold standard. The gold standard system, he said, could be used by the financiers to bring misery to the people of the country. His Grace also gave illustrations of how financiers exercised control in industry and of their influence on the press and politics. If world peace was to be obtained in the future, countries must realise that national selfishness was just as bad as personal selfishness.

Both speakers answered many questions on points in their addresses. Later an hour and a half's open discussion followed, in which speakers of widely divergent views discussed pacifism, Fascism, anti-Communim, peace and housing.

In dealing with housing the Duke said that it was almost hopeless at the present time to direct the necessary materials to housing construction. Directly the war was finished the matter must be given attention. In very many places the houses were a disgrace, especially in mining areas. Conditions which he saw in his recent tour were so bad that he intended to raise the question in the House of Lords.

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS.
By CHARLES WORTHAM BROOK.

Stories of The Surgeon of Dorchester Gaol; The Surgeon Who Recanted; The Surgeon Who Became a Party Leader; The Surgeon Who Became The Devil's Chaplain; The Surgeon at the Post Mortem. Illustrated. A wonderful Study of the early 19th century.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I thank you for your letter acknowledging receipt of £1 10/- from our members and have much pleasure in forwarding a further donation of £1 towards the deficit fund.

In following the lead given by Comrades Maxton, McGovern and Campbell Stephen, we recognise the powerful influence of "The Word" these days and the courage and fearlessness of its Editor.

The need for Socialist unity is greater to-day than ever before if we are to rally the forces of reason, truth and progress.

With commonsense and understanding this can be acomplished and we are prepared to do everything in our power to bring this about.

With best wishes.—Yours fraternally,

W. E. CURRIE,
Organising Secretary,
Motherwell. Motherwell I.L.P.

Dear Sir,—Once again I take this liberty in writing you this letter. I trust this will express my sincere thanks to you, and all concerned in "The Word" for your gallant stand in such difficult times.

I know that there is a danger in admiration to the extent of hero-worship, or idolatry, man-worship. To me Christ is the Centre of all my worship. I am determined that Christ shall be Centre of all my Politics, but I must once again express my deep admiration to the Duke of Bedford for his courageous Christian stand.

The Leighton Buzzard Conservatives, to satisfy their petty desires, employed a stonemason who, with hammer and chisel erased the Duke's name from the foundation stone. To the "Daily Worker" I would like to say, you may delight in the "Chiselling off the Duke," but deeply imprinted in the minds of all peace-loving peoples is an admiration so strong and clear, that no chisels of the warmongers shall ever obliterate it.

To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in it a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it, Rev. 2, 17.—Yours in true friendship,

D. G. LODWICK.

Briton Ferry, July 22.

My Dear Guy,—I attended a lecture, under the auspices of the Eduation Committee of the I.L.P., in Lynn Park the other Saturday. Jim Taylor, one of the old members of the I.L.P., read an essay on "The moral issue of Socialism." I enjoyed it thoroughly. He, to my mind, put up a stonewall case for anti-parliamentarism. I found myself in complete agreement with his powerful essay (it took him an hour and ten minutes to read it) in which he appealed to the I.L.P. to get back to the old way and educate the younger members in the A B C's, as he termed it, of Socialism.

I noticed some of the Glasgow Councillors there. This afforded me some fun. The speaker got their "dander" up by his powerful indictment of the political place-seeker, and the revolutionary who becomes drugged by an overdose of applause and popularity.

Best wishes meantime and all power to your elbow in the struggle.—Fraternally yours,

HUGH LAMBERT.

Paisley.

Dear Friend Aldred,—Your correspondent, Tom Pickering ("The Word," July 1943) thinks it would be better had you "gone forward with humanism to Christianity." Would that Tom Pickering and the few other existent pacifist parsons were to become recipients of just that modicum of discernment necessary to perceive that their particular trade is itself, at best, both fundamentally and essentially, sub-Christian.

In his book, "Inquisition and Liberty," (Heinemann), p. 12, G. G. Coulton says:

"Justin Martyr claims that, 'philosophers like Socrates and Heraclitus were essentially Christians, since they lived for truth, and Christ is Truth.'"

There is, and ever has been, but one true religion: a way of life, proper to man: the way which is based upon the operations of the Spirit of Truth in the minds of mankind. These operations—the Light within—constitute the sole and wholly sufficent touchstone by which Truth can be determined. There is no superior authority. This Light is Reality. It utterly transcends all the notions which, founded on more or less dubious History and Tradition, form the stock-in-trade of the agglomeration of professional purveyors, speciously and spuriously called "The Church." It is not forced upon any; but manifests Itself to all; and is accessible to all who practise "waiting upon God."

Every time I see the facsimile of your "Certificate of Ordination" ("The Word," May 1943), it reminds me of the imprint of King and Queen on a childs' coronation or jubilee mug! What a foible for you to

treasure and parade! For, as long ago as 12th September 1909, someone wrote in "Reynold's Newspaper": "Aldred . . . is a participator in that universal Spirit which is the torch-bearer of progress, and the most potent factor in Society."

Humanism is "the study of human interests: the disposition of mind proper to man" (Nuttall's Dictionary). No precepts for human interests can surpass those contained in "The Sermon on the Mount." No disposition of mind can be proper to man than that directed towards attainment of the Unsurpassable. Hence, where applied Humanism is, there is Christianity. Conversely, where applied Christianity is, there is Humanism.

The cult of superstition and ritualism whether set up and fostered by Rome, Anglia, the Humanist Society of Friends or any other Corporation, has no more justification within the compass of the New Order promulgated by Jesus, than has legalised Bank forgery, or War.—With fraternal regards,

CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN.

Stroud, July 7.

Dear Sir,—There seems to be a great deal of anti-Jewish feeling abroad to-day. There is one aspect of this case that might act favourably for Jews. If the Jewish Authorities would fall into line with modern practice in regard to the humane slaughter of animals, they would reap the benefit in increase of sympathy from all lovers of animals. At present their "Kosher" butchers are exempt from the provisions of the Humane Slaughter of Animals Acts; still slaughter the poor unfortunate animals selected by them in a most primitive, cruel and bloodthirsty manner, amounting almost to vivisection. Very few people know this. —Yours faithfully,

JOHN SALTER.

Highbury, London, N.5.

Dear Comrade.—Re the article you published last month, from my pen, on the execution of Elrich and Alter. The pamphlet dealing with this case is issued by the Liberty Publishers, 2 Knightsbridge Court, Sloan St., London, S.W.1, at 2d., post free, 3d.

The paid hirelings of the Communist Party have done everything in their power to represent the indignation aroused by this atrocious assassination as the result of "Polish intrigues" in our midst. The complete falsity of this assertion of the Communist Party will be plain to any thinking person who considers the following facts:—

A Committee of 230 representatives of the American Labour Movement, supported by the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, issued a statement which ontained these words:

"We reject categorically the absurd and nonsensical accusation, that Erlich and Alter were supposed to advocate a separate peace with Germany. The attempt to slander those two martyrs, which aims at throwing a shadow on their faithfulness to the ideals of progress and humanity is shameless and vile."

This Committee organised a great meeting at the Mocca Temple in New York on March 30th, 1943, to protest against the murder of their comrades. It was attended and addressed by Mayor La Guardia of New York, Wm. Green (President of the American Federation of Labour), and other outstanding opponents of Hitlerism.

La Guardia compared the executions to those of Sacco and Vanzetti, and other speakers described the charges as "cynical fabrications."

The meeting, composed of 3,500 delegates of Trade Unions, adopted a resolution which expressed its "indignation and protest against the execution of Henryk Elrich and Victor Alter, internationally known labour union leaders of Poland," and "scornfully rejected" the charges that they had in any way assisted Fascism.

The entire American democratic press expressed similar indignation at the murder.

In spite of these protests the wretched "Russia Today Society" is already in the market with a pamphlet entitled "The Polish Conspiracy" in which it is asserted that, "during February and March, 1943, Polish emigre politicians both in Britain and America conducted a widespread ampaign to rouse public indignation against the execution of two Polish Bundists, Alter and Erlich," and that "the Polish National Council in London saw fit to issue a statement denying the treachery of "these two Polish would-be quislings."

Not one word is said about the great protests of International Labour!—Yours fraternally,

H. W. HENDERSON.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool.
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
SUNDAY SERVICES.
Sept. 5—The Tower of Babel: a Myth and its Meaning.
,, 12—A Call to the Churches.
,, 19—Does Immortality Matter?
,, 26—Was Jesus a Revolutionary?
6.30 p.m. September 5; 3.30 p.m. other Sundays.
All readers of "The Word" and all genuine seekers after Truth welcomed.

Printed and Published in Great Britain by THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

FOUR YEARS OF WAR.

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Four years of war leave the issue still undecided. In the Far East Japan is entrenched in positions of enormous military strength from which, if it is possible to do so at all, she will only be evicted at an immense cost in British and American lives. Moreover, the fruits of victory would only be the recovery of territory to which the Allies, in the first instance, had as little moral right as Japan. Whether oil and rubber are worth the sacrifice of human lives would be for the relatives of the casualties to decide.

It might of course be argued that we are not merely fighting to regain oil and rubber but to demonstrate to the peoples of Asia the just retribution that falls on a wicked militarist aggressor, but in view of the not too glorious record of the white races in the Far East and of our present repressive policy in India, it is more than doubtful whether the demonstration would affect the peoples of Asia as deeply as we might desire or in the precise manner we should wish!

In Europe the result of the war still seems to depend mainly upon what happens in Russia, for Russia's geographical position and enormous reserves of man-power make her by far the most formidable enemy of the Axis. On this point agreement appears fairly general. The Soviet government has more than once emphasised the fact that Russia has borne the brunt of the fighting. Russia's admirers in Allied countries have shown their appreciation of the same point by their insistent demand for a Second Front. German propaganda has itself always represented the Eastern battle as the key point in the whole struggle. If, therefore, the food situation and terrible casualties should compel Russia to negotiate and Axis troops and aircraft could be withdrawn from the Eastern Front, not only might the position of British and American Forces in Southern Europe become serious to a degree but we might experience in our own country terrible reprisals for our air raids on German cities.

If, on the other hand, the vast resources of Russia in men and materials enabled her to wear down her opponents, the result would be an Allied victory in the West . . . but what would the nature of that victory be? Certainly it would not be a victory for freedom and democracy. Rather would the battle for the restoration of true freedom and true democracy then begin and the men of vision and goodwill who waged it would find themselves confronted by tremendous odds. In Britain, militarism, Vansittartism and bureaucracy would be firmly entrenched and fortified by conscription and the lawless tyranny of Regulation 18B, while the long years of war domination by the State would have weakened the people's desire for freedom and lowered moral standards in many directions. In the U.S.A. bureaucracy has also gained in power and evidence is not lacking that the worst blunder of Versailles—failure to provide adequately for the economic needs of the defeated nations—would be repeated by the victorious Allies. In fact there is every reason to anticipate that victory by the present Allied governments would mean, in Europe, the replacement of the Nazi and Fascist tyrannies by the tyranny of the Soviet Government and the tyranny of International Finance—a change hardly worth the cost of the war! Whatever the achievements of the Soviet Government—and I do not deny that in certain directions they may be considerable—it is as much a cruel bureaucratic tyranny as its rivals and it is feared by small neighbouring States as a proved aggressor. In saying this I do not mean to suggest any unfriendliness towards the people of Russia with whom I believe we can live on neighbourly terms; nor do I even mean to suggest that in the interests of the people of Russia, our own interests, and everyone else's, we should not try and make the best of the Soviet Government in spite of its defects. While being prepared to do this, it is well, however, that we should face realities and have no sentimental illusions based on propaganda. With regard to International Finance, the Morgenthau plan, Mr. Churchill's close association with American financiers and the rumour that Sir Otto Niemeyer may succeed Mr. Montagu Norman as Governor of the Bank of England are straws already showing in which direction the wind might blow. Sir Otto Niemeyer is a reactionary orthodox economist of the worst type, the effect of whose financial policy, especially in the Antipodes, has earned him the profound distrust of all enlightened monetary reformers. The Axis Governments, whatever their faults in other directions, have at least delivered Europe from the despotism of Finance which, by restricting the money-supply in the interests of usurers and currency speculators, maintained poverty in the midst of potential plenty. The financiers of Wall Street and the City would, however, quickly reimpose that despotism—unless, of course, prevented by Soviet Russia, whose future policy on money and trade questions remains somewhat of an enigma.

In the United States there are fortunately monetary reformers and people enlightened and high-principled on other matters whose close co-operation we must seek in the post-war battle for the restoration of freedom. Unluckily, however, these good comrades are at present in the minority as regards numbers and influence. Power, financial and political, is in the hands of men of a very different type and this one day, we may learn to our cost, unless we are able to play our cards with firmness and exceeding wisdom.

In the meantime as long as the issue of the war is undecided it remains the duty of the people of goodwill to do everything to promote a just peace by negotiation, the two main features of which are a fair sharing of the world's economic resources and the abandonment by every nation of policies towards its neighbours which it would resent if applied to itself. For such a peace the rank and file of the people of all the belligerent states are by now more than ready, educated as they have been, by the purgatory of modern war. It becomes increasingly evident, however, the longer the war continues, that complete victory for either side would prove a moral disaster. What is needed is a compromise in which neither belligerent is embittered and humiliated by post-war military occupation of its country, but both are compelled to surrender the right to dominate and to exploit and **both** are obliged to confess with shame, "Well, if only we had had a bit more sense, we could have come to this arrangement at the start. We have gained, by war, nothing which we could not have gained just as well without it, had passion and prejudice not usurped the place of reason, honesty and goodwill."

GLASGOW NO. 1 TRIBUNAL.

On Thursday, July 15, the editor accompanied Miss Maria Bertolini before Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal. Miss Bertolini read her case and Sir A. Campbell Black, K.C., as chairman, brought out the facts in this case with sympathy and understanding. This was the third case heard that morning and two cases followed. Miss Bertolini was given unconditional exemption on Pacifist grounds. She is a Catholic and a member of Pax, although the last fact did not arise and is, to some extent, irrelevant. In the other cases, one was granted conditional exemption and three were refused.

It will be recalled that on Tuesday, November 1, 1942, the editor accompanied Miss Bertolini's younger sister before the same Tribunal. She also received a most fair hearing and was granted unconditional exemption.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

Vol. V. No. 3. OCTOBER, 1943 Price: TWOPENCE

"EQUIVOCATION OF THE FIEND."

Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

"With Devotion's Visage, and Pious Actions, We Do Sugar O'er The Devil Himself."

GOD AND WAR.

By Councillor CHARLES A. EARL

"WE PRAISE THEE O GOD, WE ACKNOWLEDGE THEE TO BE THE LORD."

Christians bomb Berlin, London, Hamburg, Coventry, Rome, Canterbury, Tokio, Shanghai, Moscow, Helsinki, Paris, Rotterdam, Antwerp, etc., etc.

Our machine is loaded with big and beautiful bombs, luscious four thousand pounders and thousands of brilliant flaming incendiaries. The members of the crew have taken their places and only await the chaplain's blessing before taking off on their errand of brotherly love and mercy. O for the wings of a dove is not sung because the long flight requires stronger wings than those of a dove, and anyway if we could see doves they might easily be mistaken for "birds of peace" instead of "birds of prey" and that would never do.

We are off, steadily but swiftly rising into God's glorious heaven, brilliant with moon and stars. O peaceful night, only disturbed by the roar of bomber engines going to their work of destroying evil things. These splendid machines with their lovely loads bought with the pennies of Christians, including children of whom Jesus said "Suffer them to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." We are approaching our target, the navigator is directing the skipper, the bomb aimer is taking careful aim, bomb doors are opened; "they are away" the bombardier cries, and the skies are rent with flame and noise. We are reminded of the well-known hymn:—

"When God of old came down from Heaven
In power and wrath He came.
Before His feet the clouds were riven
Half darkness and half flame."

And our work done, we returned home rejoicing, evil things have been destroyed.

EVIL THINGS ARE DESTROYED.

A Christian Mother Receives "The Blessings From Above."

Listen children! Is that the syren? Get up and dress quickly we must try and reach the shelter. I do hope poor old grand-dad and all the other sick folk in hospitals will not be too frightened or hurt.

"Holy Father in Thy mercy
Hear our anxious prayer
Keep our loved ones, now far absent
Neath Thy care."

Come along quickly dears, I can hear the aeroplanes. Look! The incendiary bombs are lighting the whole city up. Crash! Crash! Crash! Those big and beautiful bombs drown the cries of the children. "Suffer them to come unto me." They are coming, God, in their thousands, and many of them are suffering too.

The "all clear" sounds, Heaven's morning breaks, but earth's vain shadows do not flee. All is desolation and misery. If those big and beautiful bombs do only destroy evil things, then indeed the world is very evil, because the destruction is complete.

Homes, churches, hospitals, shops and factories are destroyed, the bodies of God's children lie amid the ruins, the Christian soldiers have in very truth done their work well.

OUR RULERS ORDER A DAY OF PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING.

We go to God's Houses (those that are left standing) in Berlin, London, Hamburg, Coventry,

Rome, Canterbury, Tokio, Shanghai, Moscow, Helsinki, Rotterdam, Antwerp, New York, Washington, Cape Town, Canberra, etc., etc.

We give thanks to a loving Father that He has blessed our arms and endeavours and that we have been enabled to destroy so many evil things.

What is that you say! We are all God's children, and God is indeed a God of love, the Father of ALL men! How can that be? Were not our Christian soldiers and those big beautiful bombs they dropped, blessed by God's minister before being sent to destroy evil things? How can those children who were destroyed, be God's children, and at the same time be evil things and only fit for destruction? Those children made in God's own image and with God's spirit within each one of them! How very confusing it all is. Don't let us think about it, let us leave it to our rulers and God's ministers.

We rise from our knees, and sing

" Praise God from whom all blessings flow."
" Now thank we all our God."

BENEDICTION (The peace of God, which passeth all understanding).

The divine service is over and we are returning to our work of making bigger and better beautiful bombs, strengthened and refreshed, and to prepare the way for another day of prayer and thanksgiving.

THINK IT OVER.

Does what I have written sound profane? Yet I say in no uncertain voice that it is profane and blasphemous to give thanks to God because His children have been maimed and killed in their millions. Would we admit that when bombs were dropped anywhere in England that God was responsible? No! and by the same token the German people know quite well that God is not responsible for their sufferings.

God does indeed work in mysterious ways, His wonders to perform, but I am very confident that His ways are ways of love, not ways of brutal warfare and indiscriminate destruction, and the Brotherhood of Man shall be achieved.

COMMUNISM
THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED

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MARXISM: IS IT SCIENTIFIC? by Max Eastman.

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(*Concluded from Column* 3.)

ment of the German people, we should do much to destroy the influence of German war propaganda in keeping the German army and people fighting and working to avoid defeat of Nazi Germany and thereby save British and Allied as well as German and Italian lives.

As for denial of food relief for mothers and children in Nazi occupied countries I would say as the writer of the before-mentioned pamphlet on " Food Relief in the Second World War " says in his closing passage :

" It is easy enough to understand our duty. We have only to think how it would have been if our own island had been more closely blockaded, if we had watched helplessly while our men and wives and children sickened and died of hunger and disease, if our hopes rested on the avowed friendship of the Poles, the Greeks, the Belgians. Let us imagine what we would ask of them, for our children, if not for ourselves, AND THEN LET US DO UNTO OTHERS AS WE WOULD HAVE THEM DO TO US."

THE FOLLY OF VANSITTARTISM

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT (First Commissioner of Works, 1924 Labour Government).

[The following article from the pen of our comrade Jowett is culled from the " Bradford I.L.P. News " for July 2, 1943.—Ed.]

This year's Labour Party Conference declared itself in favour of the Vansittart policy concerning treatment of the German people after an Allied military victory. A motion in support of the Vansittart policy was carried by 1,542,000 votes against 966,000, and as the Editor of *Forward*, Emrys Hughes, remarks (June 26th) :

" nobody could have been surprised that the speeches made by various trade union leaders were widely quoted for consumption in Germany."

After the Conference resolution to support the Vansittart policy was carried, Will Lawther, leader of the British miners, broadcast a message to the German people explaining the resolution. He told the German people that whilst we have no wish to punish the German people and would give all help and support to those who have fought and fight against the Nazis :

" The whole British Labour Movement is united in the view that all those who support Nazism must totally destroyed."

" What does Will Lawther mean when he says that ' all those who support Nazism must be totally destroyed '? " asks Emrys Hughes in his editorial above referred to :

" Do not the great majority of the workers in Germany support Nazism at the present time just because they do not know what the alternative is to Nazism?

" Are not the German miners producing coal for the war machine just like our miners are doing and giving their sons to the Army, just like ours are doing, simply because they believe that if Nazism goes the Allied Armies will march in, occupy Germany, shut down the war industries, demobilise the Army, and plunge Germany into chaos, unemployment and starvation which will be even worse than war?

" That is undoubtedly the frame of mind of the German workers to-day. They may be terrified of the bombing, they may be shuddering at the prospect of the mass slaughter that is to come. They may be absolutely war weary and loathe the name of Hitler and all that he stands for, but when they are told across the ether by a British miners' leader that all those who support Nazism must be totally destroyed they think that means them, and they decide to fight on under the Nazis."

That any reasonable person should expect anything but stiff German and Italian resistance to Allied invasion of Europe as the combined effect of the Labour Party Conference resolution and the President of the British Miners' Federation's broadcast message, is to me, an amazing thing.

And is the stupendous cost in British and Allied lives of the invasion to which we have been committed so lightly regarded that we can afford to risk even the possibility of increasing the cost of it by wild and extravagant threats of punishment to follow if invasion is not successfully resisted?

Consider the magnitude of the task to which we have been committed. According to authoritative statements which are published more freely and in more precise form in the United States than in this country, not less than 200 divisions would have to be landed in Europe for an Allied invasion.

The number of men in a division varies as between infantry and armoured divisions, but about 16,000 may be the average number. Even if we reckon them as 15,000 each it means that *three million men* with all their guns, tanks, provisions and equipment, must be successfully landed against all enemy opposition, and thereafter reinforced and supplied constantly for what cannot be other than a long and ghastly campaign, the like of which has never been undertaken in all history.

How many more British and Allied lives will be lost and bodies mutilated by giving German war propaganda the priceless gift of last week's Labour Party Conference resolution and Will Lawther's broadcast message to the German people? It cannot be estimated, but Dr. Goebbels may be relied upon to make the utmost possible use of such admirable propaganda material to provoke the German Army and people into fighting and working more stubbornly and effectively to avoid defeat if possible.

If we were fully informed of the use made of the Vansittart punish-the-German-people policy (which is now, in sustance, officially approved by the Labour Party) and of British and Allied refusal to allow even vitamins and dried milk to go to the starving children of Belgium and of Vichy France, we should see more clearly the probably *disastrous effect* of thinking *only* of *military operations to end the war.*

We cannot afford to ignore the effect of our war strategy on public opinion in enemy and occupied countries if we wish to spare the lives and bodies of our own invading forces—even if we think only of them.

It cannot be otherwise than *unhelpful*, moreover, to the armed forces whose lives are at stake, and who have to move through occupied countries, that German wireless and press are telling the peoples of those countries that although there were controlled relief to Poland from 1939 until the Churchill Government took office, and that

" As far as the supplies from America were involved it was certified that the loss in transit was less than one-half of one per cent—that is to say, less than would have been lost by sending the same quantity over the United States railroad system in peace time. . . . Not one ounce of food has so far passed the blockade to the starving children of Belgium where four children died in 1942 for each one who died in 1938." (" Food relief in the second world war," by Roy Walker).

Not all the facts that will be recorded of this war, whenever there is peace again in the world, will tell of Nazi and Fascist atrocities as anti-axis war propaganda would lead us to believe. In the March 31st issue of an American publication, *The Christian Century* is an extract from a letter written by a boy of 21 in the Middle East to his Aunt relating the experience of a prisoner of war recaptured from the Germans. This is what the letter said :

" On one occasion, one of our chaps was wounded in No Man's Land, and I and some others crawled forward to try and get him. Every time I moved, a burst of bullets went over my head, and I wondered how they always missed me.

" This prisoner was with Jerry and watching me; the place I was in was littered with mines, and Jerry was FIRING OVER MY HEAD EVERY TIME TO STOP ME GETTING BLOWN UP. Afterwards one hundred and sixty mines were taken in the hundred yards I crawled over." (" Peace News," June 18th 1943).

And not all prisoner of war camps in Germany are conducted on the reputedly typical Draconial Nazi system as is proved by the following description of a prison camp for 3500 prisoners one and a half miles from Bremen which appeared in the *News Chronicle*, June 26th, 1943,

" In the camp there are 3,500 people of 37 nationalities. The conditions are healthy, though the food supplied by the Germans is very poor, and without the help of the Red Cross the inmates would never have had a decent meal.

" The only drink they got, they said, was " what the Germans call beer." The camp has a good hospital with five British doctors, one Indian doctor, and a dentist. There is a good theatre in the camp run by an English actor, Henry Mollison, brother of Clifford Mollison. Henry was a passenger in the Dalambra, sunk in the Atlantic. There is also an Indian theatre for lascars, who make all their dresses for shows. A sports organisation runs 32 football teams, and players have jerseys corresponding with their teams at home. It is the same with cricket and baseball. The latter is played chiefly by 70 Americans captured about a year ago.

There are schools of navigation and shorthand, with prisoners acting as teachers, and a library. All prisoners have 120 French cigarettes a month.

It is my belief that if we considered what little there is of good as well as all that is evil that Germany is responsible for in this war and considered also the effect of our threatened punish-

(*Concluded foot Column* 1.)

BIG ANTI-WAR MEETING IN GLASGOW

Ovations for Guy Aldred and the Duke of Bedford

By J. R. HENDERSON

The Cosmo Cinema, Glasgow, was filled to capacity on Sunday afternoon, September 12th, on the occasion of a public meeting held under the auspices of the No Conscription League. The speakers were Guy A. Aldred and the Duke of Bedford, and that both were given a patient, uninterrupted hearing and no single sign of disturbance was evident throughout the entire meeting confirms the idea that the opposition and hostility aroused against the Duke of Bedford does not come from the people, but is an artificial, worked-up press campaign directed against a man of integrity and courage. The audience was by no means a "private" one, for the meeting had been widely advertised, and at the week-end many pavements in the city streets bore chalked advertisements in huge letters, inviting the public to the meeting.

The chair was admirably taken by Oliver Brown, who, after a happy and witty speech, introduced the speakers.

The large audience showed its appreciation of Guy Aldred's long, untiring struggle in the fight for freedom by rousing cheers when he was called on to speak. The seasoned warrior made a powerful plea that we should recognise the forces which had brought the world to the present period of darkness and chaos.

Taking as his theme "The Lost Horizon," Guy Aldred said that we have got to-day a legacy, not of service, but of servitude to the state, and the greatest need is that we should come back to a sense of common human decency. The other day the Pope made a broadcast, in a very different tone from some of his former broadcasts. At the time of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 every declaration made by the Pope was on the side of Franco. The ruling powers of this country applauded the Catholic press when it stood behind Franco. Now the Pope calls upon all mankind to act as brothers, and the press of the country goes dumb. They are not interested. The Pope doesn't count unless he serves the cause of war. But there was not a word of protest when cities were destroyed in Spain.

Mr. Aldred spoke of the sorry business the ruling class has made of this world since the last war, the years of unemployment, poverty and hunger, and urged that people should stop to think about the meaning of this war and what is going to happen to those who come back. He had no time for the flag-waving, victory-shouting, shallow-minded people, who only lived for excitement. This "patriotic" hysteria was wasting people's lives. It was up to the whole Socialist movement to seek to regain its lost horizon, to become again a living force, and to deliver us from the bureaucracy and state servitude which is dominating our lives to an increasing extent to-day.

The Duke of Bedford, who was received with loud cheers, said that war is the supreme example of doing evil that good may come; of trying to do right things by wrong methods. Therefore, it is bound to end in failure. The original war objective of Britain was to liberate Poland, but it is now an open secret that if the Allies achieve victory in Europe, that victory will mainly be a Russian victory, and the Soviet Government has no intention of restoring to Poland any territory taken from that country. That means that the other great war objective — the liberation of small countries from the domination of powerful countries—will not be achieved. The result of that will be to substitute for the Fascist and Nazi tyrannies the tyranny of international finance and the Soviet tyranny. That did not mean that the Duke did not want friendly relations with the Soviet Government. We should try to make the best of every government. It is perfectly futile to lecture and threaten the government of another country as long as you have skeletons in your own cupboard.

Here in this country we are still paying for the Napoleonic Wars, because we tolerate a system which keeps us in servitude to big finance. The failure to achieve our war aims is already obvious. But it is the policy of our Government in the event of victory to establish a military tyranny over all Axis and Allied countries. Yet we failed to keep down even 5 million Irish. So we shall have to be the greatest militarist and conscript country in the world. Of all tyrannies military conscription is the worst. To-day it not only takes our men, but has extended its tentacles to women and children. In addition we have industrial conscription, depriving the worker of his freedom and breaking up his home.

At the present time we have something like two thousand Government rules and Regulations, and we are told the bureaucracy must be extended after the war. To-day the Prime Minister is increasingly independent of the Cabinet, and the Cabinet is increasingly independent of the House of Commons. The people are becoming more and more disenfranchised.

A great many people are getting so used to the tyranny of the State that they are getting servile and ready to accept its continuance. Our hope for the future must lie with those people of strong independent mind who realise that in resisting State servitude to-day they are serving and fighting for the freedom of future generations. We may say, in fact, Freedom is dead; defend it with all your might.

Our immediate duty, by wise and courageous influence upon our fellows, is to strengthen the demand for the ending of this insane struggle, by a negotiated peace which shall be fair to all parties. Every nation should agree to consider every other nation as if it were in the other's place. The economic resources of the world should be shared fairly so that each country receives what is proportionate to its needs. We must learn that national selfishness does not pay any more than individual selfishness. It was intolerable that money should be in the control of the powerful financial gamblers, who could create a scarcity of money among the population at a time when there was abundance. The depression of 1931, which caused such widespread poverty and misery was artificially engineered by financiers.

If we see the truth of this important issue of war, how are we to get something done about it? By interesting our neighbours; by organising, and by bringing pressure to bear upon members of Parliament and members of the Government.

A question was asked as to the possibilities of a negotiated peace at an early date.

The Duke of Bedford replied that it was a question of getting a sufficiently strong popular demand, which could force the hands of the politicians who are insisting upon unconditional surrender. The people are thoroughly sick of the war.

The Duke of Bedford was asked why he did not include the big industrialists as well as the financiers in his condemnation of the sinister activities of international finance. The industrialists had the same anti-social motives and was it not desirable that we should get beyond both industrialist and financier, to the destruction of both?

In his reply the Duke of Bedford said that as we have not yet achieved an ideal society he was not sure that there was a reasonable chance of getting rid of the profit-making motive. Even if we grant that production for profit is wrong, the present financial system is a far greater evil than production for profit. The amount of harm done by the latter is relatively small compared with the harm which the financiers do.

It was noticeable that the applause which followed this question was much more pronounced than that which followed the Duke's reply.

The time allotted to questions proved to be far too short for the number of questioners, and many had to be disappointed.

There was not a note of opposition throughout the whole proceedings. Literature was rapidly bought up and the meeting was a great success.

"WAKEFIELD" Article, September Issue.

Erratum: Page 18. 3rd paragraph from botton. line 3: after "**scheme**" insert: "**11 men were willing to try the scheme;**" and read on.

P.P.U. ACTIVITIES

During the few months since the passing of the Armistice resolution at the A.G.M. of the P.P.U. "campaign" activities have been conducted in various parts of England. Open-air meetings on Armistice have been held regularly in Birmingham "Bull Ring" on Wednesday noon and on Sundays, and at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the Town Moor on Sunday evenings. London Area of P.P.U. has held meetings weekly on "Negotiation Versus Unconditional Surrender," on Streatham Common (Sundays, 7.30 p.m.), Wimbledon Common (Sundays, 7 p.m.) and in Hyde Park (Wednesdays, 6.15 p.m. and Sundays, 3 p.m.). A further meeting was held on Tower Hill on August 9th (from 12.30 p.m.) when the speakers were Sybil Morrison and Donald Port. At all these meetings speakers have been impressed by the willingness of the "man-in-the-street" to listen to the case put forward.

A meeting of members of Manchester & District Region (P.P.U.) held on July 29th, decided to give wholehearted support to the "campaign" provided that "the statement of specific social and economic principles" was circulated to a "representative section of the movement" in hope of general agreement. Mr. G. F. Bligh, 206 Derbyshire Lane West, Stretford, Lancs. would always welcome invitations to speak to Groups, etc., on the subject of "The Armistice Campaign: What Can We Do Now?"

A Public Meeting was held in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester, on Tuesday, July the 27th, when the speakers were Corder Catchpool and James H. Hudson with the Rev. Stanley Mossop in the Chair. The Meeting was arranged by the representatives of Organisations in Manchester keenly interested in Peace by Negotiation. The subject of the Meeting was "Can Military Victory Bring a Lasting Peace."

Corder Catchpool emphasised that to offer our fellow-men an alternative to continuing the war is not giving way to Hitler's demands. It is acknowledging God'sdemands, lifting the whole issue to a higher level by calling men everywhere to a constructive, co-operative building now of the new and better world which their better selves long for. Continuing, Corder Catchpool spoke of the urgent need for more of the courage of good faith.

"I confess my good faith in the common folk of every land. To our human minds indeed it seems as though nothing but a miracle could change the present course of events; but faith believes in miracles—

> Unless
> Thou hast the patience still to bless
> Us both with sudden sight,
> We are both lost—one in the plight
> Of Victory, the other in despair.

James H. Hudson said that though some people might think the present time inopportune for such a meeting he, personally, thought it most opportune. He had spoken on this same subject in various parts of the country and had everywhere met with an encouraging reception. He wholeheartedly agreed with Corder Catchpool that no lasting peace could be attained by military victory. The only hope lay in a negotiated settlement.

The meeting was attended well and enthusiastic.

G. F. B.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—One could hardly believe that in a country that professes Christianity and all that it stands for to the highest degree, persons or parties could criticise the Duke of Bedford and want to have him interned just because he stands for the Truth and is against War with all its diabolic evils.

If the Church had made a firm stand, as she ought to have done, and exposed all the evils of war instead of being so base as to call this a Righteous War, she would have been a follower of the One she once professed to believe in, that is, Christ and His teachings.

Many persons who criticise the Duke of Bedford to-day will, in the near future, hold different opinions and be a little wiser than at present.

Through these trying times I wish you success and health to continue.—Yours faithfully,

W. H. BAGULEY.

East Kirkby.

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THE PEREGRINATIONS OF A PEACE MAKER

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

The ordinary citizen often wonders how an M.P. spends his "leisure" during the Parliamentary Recess. The readers of *The Word* may, therefore, care to follow the footsteps of one Member of the Commons for ten days or so in September, 1943, when he was supposed to be having his holidays. Indeed, he wishes sometimes he could spend them at home and thereby acceed to the urgent requests of those in authority who in spite of their appeals to others probably manage themselves to have at least a fortnight at the sea-side. The most arrogant and impudent things done in wartime are, that those who urge others to work harder than ever, to suffer compulsions, go down the pits to get more coal and fight to the last man, never suffer or do any of those things themselves.

Anyway, to begin with, we addressed a very excellent conference of 130 delegates at Hull one recent Sunday afternoon; Councillor Kneeshaw, in the chair. The gathering was called under the auspices of the Hull City Labour Party, and the subject was "Race Hatred." It was very gratifying to note that the heart of the rank and file of Labour on these fundamental issues is as clean as ever. The trouble arises from the fact that we are hardly ever provided with the opportunity of putting our case to the people; the Ministry of Information and its satellites are the purveyors of news and they and their organisation are supported by unlimited publicity and State funds. We have in this country what is termed "Freedom of Speech," within certain limits; but what we have not got is freedom of publicity. If we had addressed ourselves that day at Hull to denouncing every German as a scoundrel the newspapers would have said so in big headlines. As we were advocating the obvious, that the human race is pretty much the same everywhere, good, bad and indifferent alike, not a word of the meeting appeared in any journal anywhere. The British ruling classes achieve exactly the same object as the Totalitarians; the only difference is that our "masters" accomplish with kid gloves what the Nazis achieve with knuckle-dusters.

Be that as it may, we came away from Hull, the worst bombed town in the British Isles, much encouraged.

Let it be noted in passing that an average of 25 letters daily reach me and that all those must be dealt with "rain or fine." All that apart from callers, deputations, telephones and telegrams. It is common knowledge of course that the M.P. who takes "a line of his own," who is not a "Yes-man" gets a very much heavier post than would outherwise be the case. Then, I must not forget my garden. Where I do my thinking.

The next meeting was held in the Unity Cafe, Liverpool. This was a smaller affair, though the place was filled; but as the Cafe is in a cellar we ventured the view humorously that we must not be discouraged; Lenin, Trotsky, Marx, Hitler and Mussolini all began their careers downstairs. Indeed, some of them ended where they began, too. Quite an interesting gathering nevertheless. The leaders of the Cause there have in mind attempting something bigger in the near future. In any case, Liverpool is not an easy target when you aim high.

Then, we came across a different class of people and in a very different part of the world at that. The meeting here was called "The Forum." The Free Churches at Cleveleys, a suburb of Blackpool, have for some years held successful gatherings where public men and women are invited to speak, saying just what they like. My subject was, "What are we Fighting For?" Not an easy one to answer. Indeed, it appears on occasions as if we were at last fighting for fighting sake. Nevertheless, we pointed out that the background of this War, like the last, was Capitalism, colonies, balance of power, trade, commerce and material issues that have nothing to do with "Fighting for Religion and Freedom" or Roosevelt's Four Freedoms. In short, we said that there is no hope of destroying the spirit of Nazism until the causes that made the foul thing are removed. The statesmen of the United Nations know all that full well. It was a crowded gathering with the Rev. Norman Castles (Congregational) presiding. It was clear that many present would not agree with our contentions, but most pleasing what was was their universal fairness and toleration when discussing and questioning. Got a slant on this visit on the reasons for the emergence of Common Wealth, the new political movement.

Spent an hour on the promenade at Blackpool and what a sight! Long queues for trams and buses, fish and chips, Blackpool Rock, oysters, chocolates, cinemas and donkey rides. What do these people care about the Quebec Conference, the pattern of Peace to come or such mighty problems as the Balance of Power in Europe? Those who rule them know how little is required to satisfy the average individual. The T.U.C. was meeting not many miles away, but these masses, strolling aimlessly on the seven miles concrete and the many more miles of sand seemed little concerned about the C.I.O.; the A.F. of L. or the fate of the Third International. Indeed we doubt whether they cared very much about the collapse of Italy or the fate of the Balkans either.

A day at Horwich, an L.M.S. railway works town, in my own constituency proved profitable. Sat in the Labour Club to receive constituents with problems about missing men in the Forces, refusal of war pensions, and the many other difficulties that emerge from the present conflict. If all the tears shed by the common folk during the last four years had been collected the total would have provided enough salt water to flood Downing Street, Berchesgarten, the Kremlin, the White House, the Vatican and their occupants as well!

Travelled over 200 miles to Swindon, Wiltshire; a G.W.R. town this time and addressed another successful meeting at the Trades' House. The place was full, with an American soldier thrown in. The Rev. D. Davies, a Congregational Minister in the chair. A large parcel of *The Word* sold like hot cakes; and the collection of silver as it rolled out of the plates at the close of the gathering, seemed to show a deep conviction among those present. In any case, the peace movement at Swindon is not short of enthusiasm. Councillor King, the local Secretary of the Rechabites and a C.O. of the last war is a tower of strength here. In spite of his attitude to war he is a Town and County Councillor. This was indeed a very encouraging experience. We debunked the militarists of all countries alike and enjoyed ourselves to the full in so doing.

Down then to Winscombe, Somerset, to speak on "India." Never heard of this place before. A most delightful spot on the edge of the Mendip Hills. The meeting, well attended, was held in the hall attached to the great High School of the Society of Friends. A most magnificent edifice with spacious gardens, fruit in abundance and a flare of flowers almost saying "goodbye to all that" except those under glass—a sight for the gods.

Mr. Robson occupied the chair, and we got a real fright when, in his opening speech, he talked so familiarly about India and its many millions; he had spent 30 years there as a missionary for the Society of Friends. Well, Well! Anyhow, all went smoothly, though there were a few ardent Imperialists present who by their questions made it clear that so far as their type is concerned there will be no freedom for those 350 million dark skinned people in India until they are able to take it and clear out British Imperialism as the American colonists did when they established the United States, after the Boston Tea Party.

The next gathering was at the mining village of Bedwas, Monmouthshire, held in Saron, the Congregational Church. We made no secret, even in a Church, about our views on the present war. We said that the behaviour of some of the Church leaders during the last War had offended the more intelligent members of the community so much that they had never been inside a Church since. Some of the present day Church leaders were no better, and he thought that unless something was done to place Christian principles more effectively before the people we would gradually become a pagan nation.

The meeting was very interested in the prophecy that what might well happen as the result of this conflict was the destruction of Nazism in Germany and the enthronement of Communism instead. What would then be the attitude of Great Britain and the United States towards Europe?

Finally, we addressed a very well attended meeting at the Queen's Hall, Wigan, in connection with the Religion and Life Movement. Talked of the relationship of Christian principles to Industry. Told them that the Saviour, if He lived nowadays, might be a Shop Steward or even a Trade Union agitator. He never, however, laid down Trade Board rates of wages nor believed in conscription of labour. He elevated the individual above the material; what He did above all was to lay down a set of principles to guide us all.

After reading all that there may be some who will think that the real holidays of an M.P. happen when the House of Commons is sitting!

[Reports of Comrade Rhys Davies great campaign for Socialism and Peace have reached us from many parts of the country. We cannot publish them this month owing to pressure on space. Comrade Davies has proved himself to be a fearless champion of the Socialist struggle against war and capitalism in its forms of degeneracy, from Imperialism to Fascism and Nazism. We hope to see him soon in Lanarkshire and trust that local comrades will succeed in organising meetings in Glasgow, Motherwell, and Hamilton, with a view to spreading the union of all the forces making for Peace, Socialism, and Reason.—Ed.]

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WAR AND PEACE

A Further Speech against War made in the House of Commons

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

(Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1924)

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Thursday, August 5, 1943.

(Concluded from Page 14.)

I object to the philosophy that is pronounced from the benches opposite on occasions when it is said that we are going to carry democracy to the Continent of Europe at the point of the sword. Hon. Members object as I do, to the Nazis trying to force Nazism on other nations. By what right, therefore, have we to complain of the form of government they should have in Italy or in Germany? I think some of the speeches of the hon. Gentleman (the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) on the Front Bench opposite on international affairs have been much more reasonable on this issue than those of some of his colleagues, and I hope he will take note of this vital point, that it will be fatal for the future peace of Europe if the democracies try to enforce a democratic regime on all the countries of Europe that may ultimately be subjugated by the United Nations. If we adopt that attitude we are thrown back to the stage when wars were waged between the Catholics and the Protestants, each trying to force their religious philosophies on each other.

I refuse to believe that any two countries in any part of the world will ever be governed alike at any time. I have been to the United States of America many times. The United States is a republic, and Germany is a republic too, but the difference in mental attitude between one of those republics and the other is far greater than the difference between the United States and ourselves. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will forgive me for saying that I am a very ardent patriot when I am abroad, in spite of all my criticisms here. I remember in 1938 having dinner in Washington with the late Senator Borah, the Isolationist, a very well-informed man, and asking him whether he thought a war was looming on the horizon. He said "Yes." I said "Do you think my country will keep out of it?" He replied, "No; if there is war in any part of the world you are in it. You will fight anybody at any time on the slightest excuse." And all of a sudden I became a very ardent British patriot, and argued against him as much as I could.

But let me return to the point that now Mussolini has gone and Badoglio has taken his place. What do our Government envisage as the form of government in Italy which they will recognise? They say "unconditional surrender." If the hon. Member who is listening to me on behalf of the Foreign Office does not mind my saying so, I am very slow to cast any suspicion upon a Minister of any Government here, but I cannot believe that Eisenhower was in error when he appealed to the Italian people that they ought to consider the terms of peace offered to them by the United Nations. Yet we are told by our Foreign Secretary that no peace terms of any kind have been offered to Italy. I do not understand military affairs, but I know human nature well enough to say this much, that if any person happened to have been born in Italy—if a man had been born in Italy he would be an Italian subject—and he were asked, under present conditions, to make absolute unconditional surrender, what would his reply be? Take the position of Badoglio. What can he do? He might as well continue to fight on to the last man as agree to an unconditional surrender. The United Nations would in any case go on fighting in Italy in order to defeat the Germans in that country.

What the United Nations ought to do if they want Italy to be put out of this war is to offer something to the Italian people upon which they could negotiate in order to get peace restored between us and the Italians. I agree that there is a difference between the mentality of the Italians towards us and that of the Germans. In spite of the centuries of blood relationship between the English and the Germans I think that politically the Italians have more in common with us than the Germans, and consequently I do not like this callous call for unconditional surrender. When I turn my mind back to what happened in the last war I recall that President Wilson offered 14 points to the Germans if they surrendered, and I understand that they laid down their arms very largely because they thought, "this is better than fighting on to the death." But when it came to the terms of peace I believe that only two of the 14 points were inserted in the Treaty. I am rather proud of one thing the Prime Minister said the other day. I do not agree with a lot that he said, but he made one statement with which I was pleased, that it is not intended to keep an army of occupation in Italy; that would be too expensive from a military point of view. Let me say as an old coal miner that I trust that when we make peace with these countries, whichever way the war may end, we shall not import the same spirit of revenge into the peace treaty as on the last occasion in 1918-19. I know that some Members of the Conservative party have issued their peace points. They are apparently going to re-educate Germany, to penalise Germany—

Sir T. Moore: We have not issued any points.

Mr. Davies: Not in this House. I wonder whether I dare ask hon. Members to remember the effect upon our coal and shipbuilding industries of the treaty made at the end of the last war, and upon other industries too, including cotton. We shall reach a stage, I hope earlier than we think, when we shall have to live in peace once again with all the peoples of Europe, and I trust that in the forthcoming peace treaty we shall not be so stupid as to demand such reparations from the conquered nations as would put our coal-miners and our ship-builders out of work for years, which is exactly what happened on the last occasion.

There are people in this country who talk loudly about educating the Germans. The President of the Board of Education has said that we shall require about 70,000 additional teachers to educate our own people, to start with, and at the same time it is suggested that we are going to educate 80,000,000 Germans too and probably 42,000,000 Italians as well. And what is wrong with teaching the French a few lessons, and the Japs—there are about 100,000,000 of them? If the House does not mind my suggesting that we might make a start by educating the Indian people. There is a job of work to be done there. And, of course, should Russia and Germany make a separate peace, I suppose we should have to educate 100,000,000 Russians in addition.

I have something else to say, but in passing I want to thank the House for its tolerance to people who hold my views. Incidentally, I am not alone in the House in holding these principles. There is a minority here who take the same line as I do, but there is a larger number outside. I should not be surprised if there were two, or three, or even four million in this country who agree with what I say. Hon. Gentlemen laugh. I have lived longer than some of them, and ought to know.

I do not want to detain the House much longer. (An Hon. Member: "Hear, hear.") If Hon. Members say "hear, hear" to that, I will continue; but in spite of their enticement I will conclude. I am afraid I have not put my case in a very chronological order. I only had an elementary education. I could hardly speak English when I was a boy. I naturally feel very deeply on this issue. I have travelled most of Central Europe. I have seen the Czechs, the Slovenes, Slovaks, Hungarians, Macedonians, the Poles and the Ukrainians. I would like this last utterance to be particularly noted, if I may say so. I told some of their leaders in Central Europe when I met them that they would not be able to live together in peace until they had learned to tolerate one another's language and religion. They are astonished of course, at the toleration practised in this country on that score, and of which I am very proud. I disagree with my hon. Friends because of their point of view on war and peace, but I have no spirit of hatred towards anybody who disagrees with me. Human nature has been built that way; men in the same political party differ on some fundamental issues. What would be the use of a Parliament if we all agreed with one another, anyhow? Parliament was designed, because there are people who differ fundamentally on these problems of life and death. I close with some lines that I learned long ago from Shelley's "Queen Mab." They are not all I wish to convey, but they are very appropriate to this occasion:—

"War is a statesman's game, the priest's delight,
The lawyer's jest, the hired assassin's trade."

Remember that whether we call ourselves Christians, Universalists, Humanists, or Socialists, these men and women who are confined in prisons are our brothers and sisters and need our sympathy and help, so I ask you to make every effort to get the evils that I have spoken of remedied as quickly as possible.

MEMORIES:

Old World and New

Dear Mr. Aldred,—In reading the May issue I noticed the announcement of United Socialist Movement meeting to be held in Woodside Halls.

This brought to memory that I often heard my mother speak of Woodside as the place she lived in as a child after the family had left Stirling, where she had been born. At that time, as I recollect, Woodside was outside of Glasgow proper and really a sort of suburb, and I think there was a small stream in the neighbourhood called the Kelvin river; of this, however, I may be in error.

My mother also said that, to her as a small child, the district was beautiful, for during the summer the fields all about were filled with heather and other beautiful wild flowers.

The pastor of our Church in Providence, Rhode Island, a young man who had only recently graduated from college and had come to our Church as his first charge in the Unitarian Ministry, was, during the following summer, taken to Europe by our Sunday School Superintendent, a man of means, who decided that such a trip would be valuable to our new pastor.

My parents asked the pastor that when and if he visited Scotland they would be very thankful if he would report to them on his return, all about Glasgow and Woodside, etc., et. The trip I think occurred about 1886 and my parents said that the Botanical Gardens were, when they left for America in 1860, on the outskirts of the city.

Our pastor upon his return to Providence reported that the city had spread out some distance beyond the Gardens and that it had taken in the section called Woodside. All of which was surprising to my father and mother.

I don't know what kind of weather has been furnished you in Scotland the past winter and spring, but here in America, it was a cold winter and spring; and now, when we should be enjoying a touch of early summer, it is both cold and damp. Here, at our home, we usually try to have flowers each summer. Of course, the annuals came along pretty well, but, in addition, we plant bulbs and seeds, and these have been slow to move, due to lack of sunshine and warmth.

A neighbour loaned us a fine book to read. It is entitled, "The Brothers Mayo," a life history of a family of doctors and surgeons. The original member of the family, Wm. Worrall Mayo, was born May 31, 1819, in the English village of Eccles, "separated by only a few miles of green countryside from the voraciously spreading industrial city of Manhester." Worrall left England for America in 1845, and after many trials and uphill work in various States, finally arrived in Minnesota, where he and his two world famous sons, Will and Charlie, started, after years of hard work what is known throughout the world to-day as the Mayo Clinic and Foundation.

Doctors and patients from all parts of the civilised world come to the Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, for healing and for post-graduate work and instruction at

(Concluded Col. 1, page 32)

MISSION TO MOSCOW

There were protests all over the United States when the Warner Brothers' film, "Mission to Moscow," was shown in that country. Joseph E. Davies, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938, whose book was used for making the film, was accused, freely and clearly, of falsifying history. This charge cannot be refuted.

Davies book is subtitled :

"A record of confidential dispatches to the State Department, official and personal correspondence, current diary and journal entries, including notes and comments up to October, 1941."

Somewhat tedious in its description of mediocre personalities who have power and domination in an age of conspicuous mediocrity, the work is valuable for its occasional glimpses of reality. It depicts well the Moscow retreat from Communism. Ambassador Davies realised that Communist principles were abandoned in the Soviet Union long before his arrival in Moscow, and rejoiced to see that the assassination of the Czar had not inaugurated classless society. Violence is not revolution but counter revolution and revenge is merely reaction perpetuated at the expense of the common people. Davies saw how the Commissars lived and noted that they *"certainly treat themselves well."* He concludes :—

The idea of a "classless" society has been and is being destroyed in practice. The government itself is a bureaucracy with all the indicia of class, to wit: special privileges, higher standard of living, and the like. An illustration is found in the fact that the only caviar which can be obtained here is served to the high government officials or possibly obtained as a matter of favour through the Kremlin restaurant, which is provided for the high governmental officials living therein.

In the book, published in Britain at 15s., and *not* intended to be read by the proletariat, Davies wrote also :—

There is scarcely a day but what our American chauffeur "Charlie" Gilberti is approached on the streets by some American who has taken out Soviet citizenship and who pleads that he intercede with the American authorities to help him to get back home. A thousand communists came here in 1934-35 from Austria, so I am told by the Austrian Minister, took up citizenship in the promised land, cannot get out, and are all bending every effort to get back home.

This passage is not illustrated in the film. Nor is the following description of the terrorist methods used by the Soviet Government and recorded by Davies with spirited opposition :—

The Terror here is a horrifying fact. There are many evidences here in Moscow that there is a fear that reaches down into and haunts all sections of the community. No household, however humble, apparently but what lives in constant fear of a nocturnal raid by the secret police (usually between one and three in the early morning). Once the person is taken away, nothing of him or her is known for months—and many times never—thereafter. Evidences of these conditions come from many sources. They are statements made to myself or members of the staff from first hand witnesses; statements based on actual personal observations of members of the staff (as in one instance, the sight of a struggling unfortunate being arrested and torn from his eleven-year-old child on the street in front of the adjoining apartment houses at 3.30 a.m.) . . .

These passages are not illustrated in the film version of Davies' *Mission to Moscow*, because Hollywood experts were required to transform Davies' story into pro-war ally Soviet propaganda film, sacrificing first impressions to calculated war interests.

The American capitalist magazine, *Life*, in its issue for May 10, 1943, described the film as follows :—

Davies' movie whitewashes Russia . . . . Beyond entertainment value, the movie has a serious political mission—to sell Soviet Russia to suspicious American citizens. To this end the U.S.S.R., its leaders and its foreign politics are whitewashed to a degree far exceeding Davies' book. Russians are made to look and act like residents of Kansas City, and the American standard of living appears to prevail throughout the Soviet Union. The complicated history of international diplomacy is reduced to terms of lily-white virtue and blackest villany.

In the film, Davies is shown visiting wounded Chinese children, who had been taken to Russia after the occupation of Nankin. In the book, no reference is made to this visit, for the simple reason that no such visit ever took place.

The Moscow Trials, which were queried rightly at the time in the capitalist press of the democracies, are re-staged as genuine. New falsifications are added to the original frame-ups. Marshal Tukhachevsky, who was never tried publicly and was shot without benefit of confession for the simple reason that he would not confess, appears in open court at the trial of the alleged conspirators, Radek and Bukharin.

Tukhachesky did not confess. Furthermore, he was not arrested until three months after the trial of Radek and Bukharin. No one knows anything about a trial in secret, for no such trial is recorded. He was shot secretly and only afterwards was he said to have confessed at a secret trial.

Yagoda is shown in the dock confessing along with Radek, although at the time he was the chief of the O.G.P.U. and running the trials! He was engaged actually in the prosecuting of Radek!

There were altogether four of these trials but they are telescoped into one. Men are seen confessing at a trial where they were not even accused. Others who figured prominently in the actual trials are missing.

In the third trial, held in March, 1938, Bukharin and others were made to confess not only that they had been plotting with Germany and Japan, but also with Britain and Poland.

Stalin's prosecutor at the trial, Vyshinsky, stated :

Implicated in this case are the remnants of at least, as has been exactly established by the trial, four foreign intelligence services, the Japanese, German, Polish and British—and, it goes without saying, all the other foreign intelligence services which maintain friendly, so-called operative contact with the above-mentioned intelligence services.

Thus the accused were executed on the ground that they were guilty of plotting with Britain and America and others of the "United Nations," as well as with the Axis powers, to overthrow the Soviet Union. Why are these trials made into one, and why are film audiences asked to accept the picture of the sentence of death as deserved, if even the *official version* is doctored to suit the present political war aims of Britain and the United States. If these people were not agents for United States and Britain, yet were prosecuted and sentenced for being agents for Britain, then the trials are not genuine. If the trials were genuine, then the present film record is a travesty and a lie.

In his book, Davies reveals how doubtful he was during the trials. Later events led him to *see* the justice and significance of the trials. What brazen impudence! In the film, we see him represented as present at a bogus trial, a completely fictionalised affair, a parody of the mockeries that Stalinism imposed upon the world. And here he is made to reveal his complete certitude in the court-room!

To this contemptible travesty of fact, Davies, in his own person recites a prologue. The audience see him as a plain Christian American citizen who has made good and stands for the well-being of the world. Afterwards, Walter Huston takes over and plays the part of Davies.

The falsification is not restricted to Moscow. The film shows Emperor Haile Selassie making a dramatic speech before the League of Nations at Geneva; Litvinov supports him and the German delegation stamps out. Nothing of this kind happened at Geneva. Haile Selassie made a speech on June 30, 1936, but the German delegates did not walk out because Germany had left the League of Nations three years before. The German delegates were not there. Italy declined to send a delegation.

On June 30, 1936, Anthony Eden presided. The film shows a different president. Litvinov made no speech. No delegate walked out. Therefore the Geneva "incidents" are inventions. But film fans will accept these "shots" as being true.

These falsifications are designed for the purpose of leaving the film audiences to believe that the pre-war industrial and political situation can be explained by alleging that all critics of the Stalin Government and its policy were in the pay of Germany and its subsidiary Nazi Powers.

The Soviet Union being in alliance with the so-called democratic capitalist powers, the allegations made at the actual trials, that the accused were in the pay of Britain, is dropped. In the Russian showing of the films, the suggestion, emphasised in the English showing versions, that the accused were in the pay of Japan as well as Germany will be dropped : for the Soviet Union is not at war with Japan. What a study in the ethics of politics, the educational power and value of the film! What a commentary on the tragic fact that men are dying and killing, allegedly for Truth and Freedom, surrounded and menaced by a world propaganda of lies!

The charge of being in the pay of Germany has been very popular since the first Russian Revolution in 1917! Kerensky attempted to discredit Lenin with that cry. Stalin used it against Lenin's close associates and comrades. And now it serves the ends of capitalist war propaganda. As though Truth itself did not condemn Nazism! As though lies helped or were necessary.

These falsifications, and their political significance, should be challenged by every worker in the country. They should be exposed by every Labour writer, whether he believes in the war against Fascism on the field of battle and by methods of destruction from air and sea, or whether he is a pacifist and social revolutionist, believing in civil war to overthrow Fascism. The man who is willing to die for democracy should be honoured by being told the Truth. To die in the act of killing is a terrible death. But so to die, and to have no respect shown for the Truth that inspired one; to die falsely and to hate falsely as one dies : this is a blasphemy against humanity beyond forgiveness in any democracy.

The Hollywood *Mission to Moscow* production is a type of propaganda fillm unknown to Britain hitherto because it has factual setting that persuades the thoughtless film-fan of the true historical and political content. The film is presented not as entertainment but as factual episode. Yet it has fictionalised even falsehood itself. It has taken even the Soviet official reports of the trials for a joy-ride. Hollywood has accepted all the official Stalinist apologies for the trials, then gleefully treated them as incidents of no factual importance. It has fitted four trials into an exciting and sensational melodrama without regard to the facts, and evolved a trial utterly false even as a mock trial, with accused and accusers throughout confused in the parts they play in court. The trial, therefore, belongs to the Hollywood version of *Sherlock Holmes at Washington* and *Nick Carter up-to-date*. Utterly false and impossible.

The events leading up to the war are flashed on to the screen as the headlined history familiar to newspaper readers and also as the personal experience of an official eye-witness and participant. Through the combination of newsreels of Hitler Germany and Stalin Russia with the re-enacted story of Mr. Davies as he never recorded it at the time, with incidents that never happened, the film takes on the qualities of an authentic historical reality. As he views passes from shots of Nazi demonstrations, in which the whole German people seem to be massed before Hitler, to a scene of Davies making a futile proposal of disarmament to Schacht, the spectator feels himself transported behind the scenes. He feels that he is witnessing directly the secret historical process of diplomacy preparing for war. He forgets that the shot of the Nazi parade is one thing, and that picture of Davies and Shacht is something different, merely a study of two Hollywood actors, Huston and Basch portraying parts. He is persuaded by the surrounding context of news reels and by the official character of the film based on the confidential reports of an American Ambassador and approved by the Soviet Government, that the actors are reproducing the original events rather than a travesty of even Davies' impressions.

Davies is shown as a plain-spoken American citizen, who moves around with true democratic ease, armed with the authority of a mission from the President of the United States. He meets the inaccessible dictators face to face, pleads with them, denounces their evil intentions, understands their temptations, applauds the good that may have inspired them, and offers, for all good purposes, his sincere promise of co-operation, and that of the democracies.

The good faith of Davies is assured by a simple trick of contrast. The great heads of state are shown only in their offices and at military reviews. Davies is seen often with his wife and daughter. He represents neither a man of private political ambition nor yet one concerned with a mean political assignment. But he symbolises the human family and the inherent decency of humanity, one who loves and cares for others, and is removed from all ideas of outrage and violence. He is the envoy of human well-being who is called away from a fishing trip to discharge his great political task in which he remained the little man whilst being the great one. What a picture of capitalist diplomacy! Here is a moral, humane effort, an extension of genuine simple goodness and spontaneous intimacy of ordinary everyday trek into the realm of world affairs! Here is an envoy who could not lie! And so one must believe all that is said in the *Mission to Moscow* film!

(To be concluded.)

A "COMMUNIST" NOTEBOOK

Workers who wish to understand the machinations, compromises and reactionary opportunism of the Communist Party in its struggle for political power and careerist distinction at the expense of the working class struggle, should read our new booklet, "Communism." This is sub-titled, "The Story of the Communist Party." The work is a factual and historical study, consisting, in all, of 28 chapters. Read with it should be "Socialism and Parliament," Parts I and II, especially the 16th chapter of the first part, dealing with "Communist Parliamentarism" and Willie Gallacher's struggle for a parliamentary career. We ask our readers to note the promises he made to the Fife miners at the 1935 election, when he defeated the miners' leader, Willie Adamson. In the "Daily Worker" at the time, Gallacher described his return for West Fife as—

A striking blow to the forces of reaction which are preparing for war and new attacks upon the workers.

That picture fits in with Gallacher's later record of Churchill eulogist and parliamentary warmonger!

In the "Sunday Mail," Glasgow, for July 25, 1943, William Quin, Deputy Regional Commissioner for Scotland, contributes a "Scottish Notebook," in which he says:—

Even M.P.s on the extreme left do not allow political differences to disturb personal relationship. I saw Willie Gallagher, M.P., leave Euston for the North. Prior to the train leaving, Gallagher was busy searching for Sir James Lithgow, who was aboard. I facetiously asked Willie if this was another United Front; the Communist Party and Big Business.

It is a great characteristic of British life that political loyalties rarely interfere with personal friendships.

Had not the same sort of tribute been paid to Willie Adamson in the capitalist press when he was M.P. for West Fife? Did not Gallacher denounce Adamson on that account? What a game!

And who is Sir James Lithgow? He is the great Capitalist shipbuilder and has held a Government appointment since 1940.

The "Daily Express," for June 24, 1943, published an interesting news item:—

Moscow, Wednesday.—Major-General Sinilov, commander of Moscow garrison, in an order demanding more "spit and polish" when Red Army men appear in public in the city, reveals a Russian saluting problem.

He says that recently he had to arrest a lieutenant who was carrying a large bundle in his right hand so that he could not salute superior officers.

In consequence the General orders that, when walking out, soldiers may only carry small parcels, and these must be in the left hand, leaving the right free for saluting.

In case the reader believes that this picture of the Red Army soldier is a caricature, a satire on Communism, we quote this item from the "Daily Worker," for July 9, 1943, sent by its Moscow correspondent, John Gibbons:—

Nowadays, private and N.C.O.s, travelling in a bus, tube or train, must give up their seats to men of senior rank should they be standing. Other newly enforced regulations lay it down that men in uniform must not attend market places, nor must they appear in streets carrying large parcels and suitcases.

Stand up, comrades, as our contemporary, "Forward," says! Hi--de-hi, ho-de-ho!

"Forward," Glasgow, for July 17, 1943, quotes from an article published during the previous week in the Glasgow "Daily Record," from Walter Kerr, the famous war correspondent. Describing the Red Army, Kerr wrote, among other things:—

It is not a big happy family of soldiers who hold meetings to solve a military problem. It is a tough disciplined force in which the violation of an order or regulation is severely punished.

There is as much discipline in this army as there is in any army in the world and more than in most.

A private behind the front earns 10.60 roubles (about 22s.) a month and 40 roubles (about 84s.) a month while on the firing line. The lowest rank of command officer, the junior lieutenant, gets 600 roubles (about £63) a month. That is a wide difference between private and lieutenant.

Saluting in the Red Army! Restriction on the soldier's freedom! Differences in pay! And then official prayers for victory, as in the time of the Czar, and as in orthodox Capitalist countries.

Here is an item from the "Bulletin," Glasgow, for June 25, 1943:—

Prayers for victory were sung in Moscow Cathedral yesterday by massed choirs of all the Moscow churches at a service marking the anniversary of the German attack.

The whole Orthodox clergy of the capital, with the deputy locum tenens of the Patriarch Metropolitan Nicholas of Kiev and Galich at their head, attended.

Metropolitan Nicholas read a message from the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Acting Patriarch Sergius, saying: "Our people is at one with its leader and the Army and the people will spare nothing to achieve victory. May God make the third year of the toil of war a year of victory for us."

"The Economist" for June 19, 1943, discussed the question of Soviet Millionaires. Our contemporary stated:—

For several months past the Soviet press has carried lists of acknowledgments for donations contributed by individual colletive farmers to the various defence and Red Amy funds. Sometimes these donations have amounted to several hundred thousand roubles; and a recent donation by a Kirghiz farmer amounted to more than one million roubles.

The generous donor was honoured by a personal letter of thanks from Marshal Stalin.

The size of the donation raises, of course, the question of the size of private incomes in Russia. It looks as if the "immoral kulak"—liquidated thirteen years ago—has been miraculously resurrected.

Yet there is nothing really miraculous in this economic process.

Ever since 1934 some sort of private farming and some private trade in agricultural products have existed in Russia within the framework of the collective agricultural system.

The scale of this private trade has been difficult to assess since official statistics ignored it.

Our contemporary concludes that there must be a development of private trade in agricultural products and adds that the list of donations published in the Soviet press seems to bear out this assumption. It continues:—

The donors have been almost exclusively peasants and they can in the main have derived such large savings only from private trade. Even so, the size of the sums is somewhat surprising.

Probably these figures point to a very advanced stage of inflation in private trade in the countryside.

It is also significant that the possession of large private savings is being explicitly encouraged. Marshal Stalin's letters to the donors have more than a hint of the old "Enrichissez vous"!

The *Economist* returned to this question in its issue for July 3, 1943, when it explained that one of the main reasons for this growing wealth is that the farmers can sell the produce of their own private allotments for their own benefit, and many of them choose to sell in the uncontrolled market where prices are very high.

Apparently, the *Daily Worker* felt it must do something to explain that economic inequality and political distatorship in Russia were really the outward and visible expressions of the growth of Socialism. So our contemporary in its issue for July 13, 1943, published the following "Communist" defence of the recent disclosed rapidly-growing wealth of some Russian farmers on collective farms, and avowed that millionaire farmers proved that Stalin had kept his 1933 pledge to make collective farms prosperous:—

First, a rouble millionaire is far from being a sterling millionaire. Secondly, the accumulations of a Soviet millionaire have been gathered together entirely without exploitation of any kind, solely as a result of personal labour, or more probably, the joint labours of a family over many years. . . . The emergence of millionaire collective farm families is an indication that that pledge is on the way to being fulfilled.

Believe it or not, according to the *Daily Worker*, millionaire farmers are evidence of the triumph of Socialism!

In the same issue of the *Daily Worker*, July 13, 1943, appeared a defence of the Soviet system of giving substantial prizes (but no interest) to individual investors in War Loans who happen to draw lucky lottery numbers.

Those terms appeal to Soviet millionaires. They would not be likely to do so to the barons of Wall Street or the City of London.

Since when has the Horatio Bottomley principle of prizes to holders of lucky numbers been regarded as a feature of Socialist society?

Every thinking worker aught to read *My Life as a Rebel*, by Angelica Balabanoff, published by Hamish Hamilton in 1938. Borrow it from your library. If possible, purchase a copy second-hand and preserve it for reference. From Chapter XXIII, pages 330-1, we make the following interesting extract:—

Mussolini's rise to power and the triumph of the Blackshirts in October, 1922, had been a terrible blow, but in spite of the stories which reached me every day of the atrocities practised against the Italian movement and its leaders, I did not believe that our movement could be crushed. As long as it could function, I knew that it would fight back. When the murder of Matteotti, in 1924, aroused the indignation even of the foreign capitalist Press, it still seemed that the workers in the rest of the world must see that this was no isolated phenomenon and that they would come, somehow, to the aid of their Italian comrades. It was at this time that I received the final blow to my faith in Bolshevism. After the murder of Matteotti, Mussolini was practically boycotted by most of the foreign ambassadors in Rome. Yet a month after the event he was invited to lunch at the Russian Embassy. The newspapers published a photograph of Mussolini and his friends, sitting under a picture of Lenin and the hammer and sickle, in the Soviet Embassy in Rome.

Balabanoff deals very effectively with tht Moscow trials. So does Max Nomad in his excellent work, *Apostles of Revolution*, published in 1939, by Martin Secker and Warburg. Every worker should read this work, and aim at possessing a copy for himself. A strong apologist for these trials, and a stern denouncer of the Bolshevik leaders who were liquidated in consequence, is I. Maisky, former Soviet Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Great Britain. On page 40, of the Labour Party National Executive Committee's report 1943, is published the correspondence between J. S. Middleton, Secretary of the Labour Party, and Maisky on the question of the execution of Hamish Erlich and Victor Alter. Quite rightly, the Labour Party refers to Erlich and Alter as *"Our Polish Comrades"* meaning that they were Socialists and enemies of Fascism. Maisky justifies their execution on the ground that they were enemies of Socialism and allies of Hitler. In this connection we venture to quote the following passage from page 422 of Nomad's book:—

The main posts in Stalin's diplomatic corps are now held by Maisky, a former Minister in the Cabinet of

Kolchak's White Government, who is now Ambassador to England, and by Troyanovsky. A militant opponent of the Bolshevik Revolution during the civil war, who is now Ambassador to the United States.

Of course, the suggestion that Soviet millionaires are not interested in dividends only State lotteries is another way of saying to the Socialist critic: "Name the Soviet Capitalists! Who are they? The United States has Ford, Mellon, Rockfeller, Morgan, and Britain its Rothschild, etc. But where is the Soviet millionaire? Name one, a household figure, an outstanding name, that can symbolise the system."

This can be done.

The *New York Times* for July 4, 1943, states:—

The Inter-Continent News, the Communist agency which supplies the Communist Daily Worker with most of its reading matter reports from Moscow that the Soviet press is giving front page prominence to a report that the collective farmer Berdybekov chairman of the "Karl Marx" collective farm in Pahkta Aral district of Kazakhstan, together with his family, bought war bonds to the amount of 1,037,000 roubles and paid for them in full and in cash. The same story relates how other collective farmers, and especially the chairmen of collective farms, signed up for thirty, fifty, seventy and one hundred thousand and more rubles worth of war bonds for which they also paid cash. But Berdyhekov seems to be the leading farmer millionaire, for his achievements was so outstanding that he reported it directly to Stalin and got a letter of greetings and gratitude in reply.

Comments the *New York Times* editorially:—

All this is in line with similar developments that have been going on in Russia for some time, such as the sidetracking of international revolution and proletarianism in favour of national patriotism and a hierarchal structure of society in which the Communist party members emerge as the new ruling "white collar" aristocracy.

How true is that *N.Y. Times* comment about the side-tracking of Socialism is shown by the reationary article published in the *Daily Mirror* for Friday, August 6, 1943, headed in bold type: *"Motherhood First for Russian Girls."* This article was cabled from Moscow by Marion Sinclair. It makes a sorry comment on Lenin's essays on Socialism meaning the emancipation of woman. Cabled Marion Sinclair, with the consent of the Soviet State censorship:—

The post-war contribution of Soviet women to the State will not be work—though that is needed too—so much as the production of as many children as possible.

The preoccupation of the State with the question of the birth-rate was already seen some years ago, when the practice of abortion was declared illegal—except on medical grounds.

Now, another measure has been taken which, at first sight, seems to have nothing to do with an increase of population, but which, nevertheless, is designed partly for that purpose—the abolition of co-education in schools.

This, of course, is a return to pre-revolutionary reaction and a surrender of every principle of equality, liberty, and progress. It was not worth the assassination of the Czar, the denunciation of Kerensky and all the poetic eulogies of the Bolsheviks, most of whom have been assassinated since, to achieve such a result.

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(Continued from page 29)

this greatest institution of the kind in the world. It is a big book and well worth reading, for it not only sheds great light on medicine and surgery, but is a history of this celebrated family, who charged the rich for services given, but allowed the poor to come and to receive the best of their great knowledge and service for small fee or for nothing. Then too the book is a good history of Minnesota and the Middle West.—Yours truly,

GEO. T. MILLER.

Duluth, Minnesota, June 17, 1943.

U.S.A. HUMANIST LETTER

The Humanist Society of Friends

2405 West 23rd Street,
Los Angeles, California,
July 21, 1943.

My dear Dr. Aldred,—Your very interesting letter of June 29th is just received and I hasten to reply. Must say at once how pleased we all were to see your Ordination Certificate reproduced in "The Word," and to know that you accept both the Ordination and the Superintendency.

I also see in the June issue that both the Tories and the Communists seem to be "ganging up" on the Duke of Bedford in an apparent attempt to discredit him. We here in California particularly admire him for his enemies, and have officially and unanimously elected him an Ordained Minister in the Humanist Society of Friends. When you recently wrote us that he was a sort of combination of a Unitarian and a Quaker we were thereby assured that he not only should, but actually does, belong with us Humanists, for our Humanist Friends Society is chiefly composed of both present and former members of those two Churches. We Humanist Friends avoid the use of the name Church, so that many of our members are also, and at the same time, members of some other religious body, you understand, and without any apparent inconsistency, for as they gradually develop into the real Humanist philosophy most of them eventually forget about their former Church affiliations. I am enclosing the Credential for the Duke of Bedford herewith.

You will be interested to know, that all of our young Ministers of military age have been recognized as Ministers by the United States Government and thus exempted from military service in the present war. That is not to say that we personally approve the law necessarily in that regard, but since it is the law here, we are proud to receive the recognition and approval of all branches of Government, which you will understand and appreciate gives us a tremendous advantage in many ways in the post-war days as well as during these present serious times.

You will notice that I have addressed you as Doctor. This is another departure from the practice and precedent of the more orthodox religious bodies. Not claiming or pretending to know much or anything at all about Divinity, we have no Doctors of Divinity, and neither use nor recognise the term. Nor do we address our Ministers as Reverend, Parson, Priest, Preacher, Rabi, etc. But we do address them as Doctor (Dr.), for most all of them are actually Doctors of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Doctors of Law (LL.D.) or Doctors of Medicine (M.D.), etc. It so happens, however, that it is the custom of most of our established and endowed Colleges and Universities of our "status quo" civilisation, not to honour our most brilliant, original and liberal personalities with such degrees, so we have our own academic institution, known as The Pacific International University, which enables us to properly honour and recognise not only those of our own organisation who deserve such designation, but also other outstanding liberal leaders anywhere in the world as well as in our own U.S.A., you understand. So now, Dr. Aldred, in case you have not to date received such recognition from your own Institutions in the British Isles, we wish you to know that we are institutionally equipped to so honour you for the outstanding work you have done and are now doing as a defender of freedom of religion and conscience, as well as Editor of your great magazine, "The Word," in addition to your work as a student of law and a preacher, who has upheld in your High Courts, great constitutional principles, and also been permitted to defend the poor and the oppressed, often successfully as we see from the reports; and now as Superintendent of the Humanist Society of Friends. As a student of law, whose arguments and cases have been preserved officially in the Law Reports of the United Kingdom, you would prefer, doubtless, the Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) degree to any other.

The word, "doctor," as you know, actually means a man of erudition and professional attainments. It is the highest degree in the university faculty and it is one that ought naturally to have been conferred upon you for your untiring research work alone. Your further activity as a teacher and writer, and your outstanding prowess as a thinker, emphasise your right to this recognition.

We shall await word from you before taking action, but I can assure you, as President of the Pacific International University, there need be no unnecessary delay about conferring this degree, or uncertainty about its legal validity. We await only personal approval and acceptance of the idea to thus record definitely our scholastic appreciation of your work.

We shall be glad to co-operate in publishing the articles by the Duke of Bedford, as you suggest, for his messages are certainly needed here, and throughout the English-speaking world; and, of course, among those who do not speak our language too.

Again thanking you for all your wonderful interest and co-operation in every way, and with very best personal regards to you and your splendid associates, believe me, always.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
LOWELL H. COATE,
General Director Humanist Society of Friends.

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— on —

THE COLONIES AND THE FUTURE

to be held in the
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The Conference will be opened by
A. CREECH JONES, M.P.
(Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau)

Speakers:

FRANK J. HORRABIN

(Well known for his maps and cartoons. Author of "Political Geography," "How Empires Grow," "An Atlas of Empires," etc.

Subject:
EMPIRE & DEMOCRACY

JOHN CARTER
(Born in British Guiana. Secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples.)
Subject:
WHAT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES WANT

Dr. RITA HINDEN
(Secretary of the Colonial Bureau. Author of "Plan for Africa.)
Subject:
OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE COLONIES

Tea Interval

DISCUSSION 6.15-8.15 p.m.

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AFTER THE WAR

The Proposed Trial of War Criminals

By C. H. Norman.

June 26th, 1943

Right. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

My Lord,

There is one point which very much troubles me concerning the attitude taken up by you on the question of punishment of war criminals. It seems to me that all these abuses of authority must be balanced against the fact that since 1914 practically the whole of Europe on land from Moscow to Lisbon has been passing through the ordeal of war, civil war or revolution during the whole period up to now. One element in the distresses of Europe has been the lack of food for women and children during that period. The British Food Blockade (which I, personally, think is as cruel a form of warfare as was ever devised and is our readiest weapon) contributed in 1914-1919 largely to that state of things (see Bryant's "Unfinished Victory," chapters on "Famine over Europe" and "In the Time of the Breaking of a Nation").

You were Minister of Blockade during a part of the last war. Supposing the Germans had won the war, as they nearly did, would you have thought it right that you should have been tried for your part in directing the Blockade, during which even dried milk was refused passage. Far more women and children died in Europe from that cause than have died from the atrocities arising directly from the war and which are always ancillary to war.

Yours faithfully,

C. H. NORMAN.

Chelwood Gate,
Haywards Heath,
Sussex.

July 3rd, 1943.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged to you for your letter. There is an essential difference between blockade operations and those atrocities charged against the Germans and Japanese. Blockade is a regular method of warfare, recognised by all authorities on international law. Like most operations of war, it is horrible and involves great hardship and suffering to individuals, but that is not its purpose. Its purpose is to deprive the enemy of the means of carrying on the struggle and it was with that object that the so-called blockade was enforced in the last war. There is this to be said for it, that it leaves the government of the blockaded country with the power of distributing provisions to those sections of the population that they themselves choose. I do not know to what extent that was done by German in the last war, but, from all the information received, there was no time during the blockade when there was not enough food to maintain the lives of all the people in Germany, provided that all shared alike, though that might not have been a policy of which military experts would have approved.

The point about the atrocities now charged against the Germans is that, if they were committeed, there was no adequate military reason for them. The attempt, for instance, to exterminate the Jewish people cannot be justified on military grounds and is certainly not recognised as a defensive proceeding by any authority on international law. The same, of course, is even more true of the acts of individual slaughter, of wholesale outrages, or of the devastation or abstraction of private property. These seem to me all in the nature of ordinary crimes carried out, it may be, with some political object but still affecting not the State but the individual. I am confident that conduct of this kind not only inflicts great and unnecessary suffering but lowers the whole standard of international behaviour, and it is for these reasons that I think judicial investigation should be made as to the truth of the charges, and, if they are found to be true, those guilty should be punished. It must be remembered in considering this course that the hatred engendered by the German seizure of the occupied countries is so violent that, unless there is some means of punishing those who have been guilty of crimes in the course of that occupation, the result will be wholesale massacre, which would be, in my judgment, very much to be deprecated.

Yours truly,

(Signed) CECIL.

July 6th, 1943.

Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

My Lord,

Thank you for your letter of July 3rd.

I cannot agree that there is any moral distinction between the Food Blockade and the atrocities charged against the Axis States. I know of no decision of an International Court upholding the contention that the Food Blockade directed against neutral, friend and foe alike, is lawful. Any such decision would be the negation of law, international or otherwise. In the last war Holland, Norway and Sweden suffered severely from the Food Blockade, though they were neutral throughout.

The justification by English lawyers and statesmen of the Food Blockade is merely the British form of the doctrine that "Might is right" when exercised by the British Navy.

Most of the atrocities alleged against Germany (except those arising from the revolution, in which Jews, Socialists, Pacifists and others suffered alike, as supposed opponents of the new regime) arose from the circumstances of military occupation, and the British Manual of Military Law allows the most serious steps against the **resisting** population of an occupied country. The acts of the German military authorities in the circumstances seem to fall within this category. In other words, the whole evil arises from the war itself, which is the real atrocity.

I recollect in the last war it was said that the Turks had massacred about a million Armenians, but when the war was over no one heard anything more of those massacres, and the Turks are to-day regarded as friendly and prospective Allies. I fear these atrocity campaigns are maintained, not for humanitarian reasons, but to inflame uniformed opinion against the enemy of the moment. This policy has been adopted against the Russian Government ever since it was established. I was reading the other day a hair-raising speech by Mr. Winston Churchill, as recently as August, 1940, on the subject of the crimes of the Russian Government and the inefficiency of the Red Army.

The point that it would be necessary to have trials of War Criminals in order to keep the peace after the war seems to me fantastic. Anything more calculated to arouse bitter feeling than a vast series of trials of persons alleged to be guilty of war crimes by hostile tribunals, can hardly be conceived. The whole conception is really shocking to anyone who knows how difficult it is to secure, even in England, fair trials for political offences in times of peace. How, therefore, would it be possible to carry out such a scheme in what would be practically still wartime, when the Judges would suffer (if neutral) in most cases under the handicap of not knowing the language of the persons accusing or accused. The idea of wholesale massacres taking place after the war again strikes me as improbable and put forward as an attempted justification for a policy hitherto unknown to the law, civil or international, highly calculated to embitter feeling everywhere, and certain to lead to the most terrible miscarriages of justice in almost every quarter of the globe.

Yours very truly,

C. H. NORMAN.

NOTE.

The correspondence can be left to stand, except by making good the reference to Mr. Winston Churchill, who was good enough, as Prime Minister of England, to express himself in these terms in January 1940, on Russia and the moral effect of Communism :—

"The service rendered by Finland to mankind is magnificent. They have exposed,for all the world to see, the military incapacity of the Red Army and the Red Air Force. . . . Everyone can now see how Communism rots the soul of a nation; how it makes it abject and hungry in peace and proves it base and abominable in war."

This may be only an example of the alcohol of rhetoric. But there may be another explanation, as some explanation is certainly required, when one compares statements of this kind with the flowery compliments to Marshal Stalin and the Russian forces in Mr. Churchill's speech on August 31st, 1943, as broadcast from Washington, only one of which one need quote : "The Russians fight so well." A possible explanation is this. There was once upon a time living an American novelist of the name of Winston Churchill and the speculation is that, as a war measure, *vis a vis* the United States, these two gentlemen have exchanged their personalities, and that the gentleman speaking from the United States on 31st August, 1943, was Winston Churchill, the novelist, not Winston Churchill, thePrime Minister, and a slight hoax has been played on the world. One is familiar with a curious example of the same kind of delusive similarity in name in the case of a Mr. Herbert Morrison, who was a conscientious objector of a very vehement kind in 1914-1918 (and indeed up to a speech at the Albert Hall in 1926, when he took the pledge never to engage in war) and a Mr. Herbert Morrison who is the Home Secretary in Mr. Winston Churchill's Government, who are clearly as two different persons on the subject of conscientious objection as are the two Winston Churchill's on the subject of Russia and Communism. Still, it is rather confusing to find two double personalities in political harness in this way; however, the uninstructed may now see light in his mental black-out; on the other hand, perhaps he may not!

The only other reference that need be given is to the sections in the British Manual of Military Law dealing with the treatment of resisting civilians in an occupied country by the occupying troops. It is chapter 14, pages 270-414. Those who incite from England the civilian populations in occupied territories to commit acts of sabotage and murder against occupying forces must bear a heavy responsibility for the war crimes and war criminals, which are the subject of the above correspondence.

C. H. NORMAN.

P.S.—Judging by the regret expressed at the failure of the scheme for shooting Signor Mussolini for "attempting to escape," apparently Mr. Winston Churchill (the real one) does not propose that the war criminals should even undergo the formality of a trial which perhaps removes the proposal from the arena of humbug into that of reality.

"CARLILE & THE SURGEONS"

The *British Medical Journal*, in its issue for August 14, 1943, page 202, publishes the following interesting notice :—

Dr. Charles Wortham Brook, having read a biography of Richard Carlile (1790-1843), came across a reference to Sir William Lawrence, and this started him upon a hunt for traces of progressive leaders of the medical profession who may have been known to Carlile—a man described by G. J. Holyoake as "having done more than any other Englishman in his day for the freedom of the Press." Carlile was kept in Dorchester Gaol for six years for publishing political works frowned on by authority, and suffered in all nearly ten years' imprisonment for his vindication of a free Press. Under the title "Carlile and the Surgeons" Dr. Brook has compiled a pamphlet (Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow; 2s. 3d.). This includes an open letter to the Mayor of Dorchester, who was also surgeon to the gaol, in which Carlile vigorously supported the medical reform movement; some historical matter about William Lawrence's "desertion and betrayal of Wakley and the medical reformers in 1828," and about Joseph Hume, described as "the surgeon who became a party leader"; also an extract from the "Lancet" of February 18, 1843, in which Thomas Wakley commended the bequest by Carlile of his body for dissection at St. Thomas's Hospital.

The *Medical World*, for July 2, 1943, summaries Dr. Brook's study well :—

In the year 1791 there was born at Ashburton in Devonshire Richard Carlile, whose father was a simple cobbler. For some time Richard worked as a tinsmith in a shop in Holborn Hill. He soon became interested in politics and in the Reform movement, so in the year 1817 he forsook his former occupation to become a publisher. His journal was known by the title of "The Republican," which emanated from his office in Fleet Street. Soon he got into trouble with the authorities and was for six years an inmate of Dorchester Gaol, from which he was released in 1825. All this time his journal kept on appearing, but he withdrew from the Reform Party. His tirade against industrial capitalism took shape when in 1827 he wrote bitterly against the conditions prevailing in the Manchester, cotton mills. In 1831 he was again imprisoned, on this occasion on a charge of sedition, for having encouraged and supported agricultural labourers who were then on strike. In 1843 Carlile became seriously ill and he died on the tenth day of February in that year at his house, No. 1 Bouverie Street. The death certificate gives the cause as bronchitis, and his occupation as that of bookseller. He left instructions for his body to be dissected. This was done at St. Thomas's Hospital before a numerous assembly. His remains were interred in Kensal Green Cemetery on Wednesday, February 28, 1843.

Such, in brief, is an account of Richard Carlile, but it has been elaborated for those interested by Dr. Charles W. Brook in a small book under the title of "Carlile and the Surgeons." Some of the latter came into association with Carlile, such as the surgeon to Dorchester Gaol, Christopher Arden; William Lawrence, Assistant Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Thomas Wakley, founder of "The Lancet," and Robert Taylor who was familiarly known as "The Devil's Chaplain." The latter contributed several articles to Carlile's journal, "The Republican."

The book contains many quaint references and throws a flood of light on the character of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons in these early days of its existence. It forms most interesting and, at times, amusing reading, and the whole story is well told by Dr. Brook.

SOCIALISM AND MONEY

Duke of Bedford Criticised.

By J. CRAIG.

[The following essay was addressed to the Editor in the form of a letter.—Ed.]

I was among the large and cheery audience which filled the Empire Theatre, Motherwell, on Sunday, 8th August, and heard you speak with the Duke of Bedford on "The War and After." The meeting was a profitable one despite the Communist Party contingent's attempts to shout down the discussion. The Duke attacked the defects of the financial system, and in the course of an interesting and informative address formulated certain propositions which form a useful jumping-off ground for an attack on the important question of Socialism and Monetary Reform.

I do not pretend that the following points are a fair or adequate summary of the Duke's address but they were the points which impinged most directly on me as a Socialist.

(1) Our financial system is corrupt and financiers wield anti-social power by controlling the supply of money in circulation, the banks creating and destroying credit by mere book entries and manipulating the interest rates on loans with one motive, the preserving of this system which yields such lucrative rewards and with no thought for the general well-being.

Public control of the Banks and monetary reform which would adjust the supply of money to the flow of desired goods and services available is therefore a half-way stage to Socialism and would be supported by many industrialists who are hampered by the antics of the money market. Eradicating capitalism root and branch, is a heavy task and more success might be gained by this plan as a first step.

(2) Under Socialism some form of money would be required. Theoretically it is possible to do without money by the use of a universal rationing system but the people of this country are too accustomed to the use of money to give it up.

(3) Slumps and booms are caused by deliberate action on the part of the powers of high finance (this was implied rather than expressly stated).

I take point (3) first. Trade cycles originated with the Industrial Revolution and have been occurring in almost regular pattern ever since, interrupted, of course, by world wars. Several years ago I made a detailed study of the following basic factors relating to the trade cycle between the last war and the present one, workers employed, wages, cost of living, wholesale prices, industrial production and profits and their study showed the amazingly regular periodicity of the phenomenon, indicating that it is a natural feature of our social system and not the work of financiers, although, of course, the financier performs an involuntary function in the process, and, I am not averse to believing, aggravates our distress by a complete disregard for the general well-being.

The Marxian explanation is that, due to the increasing use of labour-saving devices in the face of competition and the consequent saving in labour, the average rate of profit (surplus value derived from labour power) has a tendency to fall. This can only be mitigated by Capital accumulation and re-investment involving a shift in demand from consumers goods to producers goods, reductions in wages and eventually a glut of consumers goods (slump). This result is unavoidable since under capitalism production is engaged in solely for profit.

Reverting to the main issue, money's original function was in facilitating the exchange of commodities and gold and silver became the money commodities due to their peculiar suitability for this task. Money was a tremendous force for progress when production was the difficulty and it alowed the primary accumulation to take place which made capitalist production possible. The tremendous strides which have been made under the impetous of this mode of production have transferred the emphasis. Distribution is now the vital question. No one doubts that full-scale modern production can take place without capital. The Duke stated that *lack* of money need never impede production and that money should be created to allow production to proceed.

Under Socialism the problems are distribution with equity and the gearing of the system of production to meet the real needs, desires and indeed, the whims of the people. Money is not necessary for distribution to take place and exchange of commodities between individuals, already unimportant at present, will disappear under Socialism. Who would buy a used radio when he can be issued with a new one?. Money is necessary for *trade* and trade will have ceased to take place. Money in a money society, is power. If money is in use, private accumulation is possible and this accumulation could be used to re-institute capitalism or to build up power and dictate to one's neighbour.

Coming to the question of distribution, I should mention comrade J. W. Braithwaite's thoughtful letter on Socialism and money published in the May issue of *The Word*. While endorsing his conclusions, my criticism is that his conception of distribution has a Utopian flavour. It reminds one of the idea, often mooted, of the shop of the future from which one removes the articles desired on the strength of a nod to the attendant —if there is an attendant. But must we await the elimination of greed from human nature before achieving Socialism? I think not. At present we surrender coupons and money when making a purchase. Surely this is nonsensical. The present position is that the money system is virtually suspended for certain classes of necessities in short supply. Sugar for example has a value to the purchaser out of all proportion to the cash paid for it. A universal rationing system is easily practicable. The great advantage which the coupon possesses as an instrument of distribution is, that it automatically expires and cannot therefore confer permanent and absolute title to goods and services on the holder. Put a date of expiry on a bank note and we have, in effect, the same thing. We would not then require banks, only the Mint and a waste paper basket.

The coupon values would be based on supply and demand. Eventually supply would be determined by demand. If a generally required commodity were in short supply, separate coupons would be issued for that commodity as at present, but we would expect this only in the initial stages. The general purpose coupon, let us call it the Socialist Note, would allow the holder to procure any type of article, the coupon value of the article being fixed according to the supply available. When production of all the common necessities and luxuries ceased to be determined by geographical, physical or technical factors, it would be determined solely by consumers' orders and these commodities would then naturally come "off the ration." The issue of these commodities would be recorded merely as a book entry for check purposes, to avoid waste and to provide statistics on which the administration would base estimates for the future. Waste it may be remarked in passing would mean longer working hours. But let us make no mistake. Our society will not be a society of sheep who wear the same clothes, eat the same food, are entertained en masse and think the same thoughts. Every variety of article and products from all parts of the globe will be procurable and the tawdry baubles condescendingly bestowed on working folk by private "enterprise" will disappear. The Socialist Note would always be necessary to facilitate the equitable distribution, according to individual taste, of articles seldom in demand or difficult or dangerous to produce, that is if an article dangerous to produce cannot be dispensed with altogether.

We live in a money society which resembles any money society in that it has false standards of value. We say "What is he worth?" and we mean £ s. d., not intellect and service. According to the man of the world, so called, everyone has his price. But corruption and bribery must be outlawed in the new society. You could not purchase a man's soul or a woman's soul or body with clothing coupons or with notes which will be waste paper at the end of the quarter. But as long as we have a money society, monetary reform or not, we can have these horrors in our midst and Socialism will be afar off,

My reply to the Duke is, therefore, that if we press on for Socialism, Capitalist society will be forced to reform the financial system to stave off collapse, just as at present it may reform the insurance system a la Beveridge.

"SOME FORGOTTEN WORTHIES"

Under this heading, A.R., in *The Literary Guide*, for August, 1943, publishes the following review of Dr. Brook's work, *Carlile and the Surgeons*:—

There is no more signal instance of the biased way in which history is written than the treatment by historians of the political struggles of the early nineteenth century. One may read the accounts of that period in most standard text-books and get an impression somewhat like this: that a united British nation gloriously defeated Napoleon; that the war led to a certain amount of social distress and to certain regrettable incidents such as Peterloo; but that enlightened statesmenship weathered the storm and gave us first the Reform Bill and then the Repeal of the Corn Laws, thus ushering in the golden age of Queen Victoria, in which "freedom slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent" until we arrived on the scene.

How many of these historians mention Richard Carlile? Professor G. M. Trevelyan, an honourable exception, pays him due tribute; but most pass him over in silence. Even Mr. A. L. Morton's valuable "People's History of England," published by the Left Book Club, forgets him. Yet the name of Carlile alone should be a reminder that the early nineteenth century was not a period of enlightened statesmanship, but of fierce struggle between reaction and progress, every step forward (including the Reform Act and the Repeal of the Corn Laws) being preceded by revolutionary agitation and savage repression until change was forced on an unwilling oligarchy by sheer terror of worse.

Carlile was sent to prison in 1819, the year of Peterloo, for the crime of selling cheap editions of Paine's "Age of Reason" and another advanced book. His sentence was three years and a fine; but he refused to pay the fine and was kept in gaol for six years. The great Duke of Wellington demanded in the House of Lords that Carlile should be outlawed and transported for life; and Peel (another hero of the text-books) refused in the House of Commons to interfere with the sentence on one who promulgated "offensive and dangerous doctrines." After his release Carlile devoted himself to exposing the evils of the factory system, and in 1831 was imprisoned again (under the Government that passed the Reform Bill) for his outspoken championship of the agricultural labourers. This time he served two years. Later he was given a three years' sentence for refusing to pay Church rates, but was released after four months. He died in 1843 at the age of fifty-two, after, in Professor Trevelyan's words, "suffering and achieving more for the liberty of the press than any other Englishman."

Mr. Brook introduced us to some of Carlile's contemporaries and associates—William Lawrence, F.R.S., who got into how water for questioning, in a course of lectures at the Royal College of Surgeons, the historicity of the Biblical account of the creation of man, and who, after being championed by Carlile, disappointed him by recantation; Thomas Wakley, founder of "The Lancet" and a fearless Parliamentary champion of the people against an oppressive Poor Law; Joseph Hume, another Radical surgeon, who tried to get Carlile released from his first long imprisonment, but who rather angered him by his handling of the matter in Parliament; and Robert Taylor, the ex-parson, a close friend of Carlile, famous in his day as a courageous, if somewhat unbalanced, Bible-smasher and trail-blazer for the "myth" theory. Mr. Brook makes the incidental statement that Taylor in 1824 inaugurated the Christian Evidence Society! The pamphlet is adorned with portraitsof Carlile, Lawrence, Wakley, and Taylor. It is a useful centenary tribute to an outstanding fighter for freedom.

MOTHERWELL I.L.P. ACTIVITIES.

F. W. Jowett Again Defines His Attitude Towards the Duke of Bedford

The splendid activity of our comrade W. E. Currie, Organising Secretary of the I.L.P., and his comrades, on behalf of Socialism and Peace, and the unity of the working-class movement, continue. As a result of the meeting at the Empire Theatre, Motherwell, at which the Duke of Bedford spoke, comrades in Glasgow, belonging to the I.L.P. and the N.C.L., organised the successful Glasgow meetings, reported elsewhere in this issue. The income from the Glasgow gatherings went to the N.C.L. C.O. Prisoners' Fund and will assist greatly that most important work of maintainence and struggle against the victimisation of conscience.

An echo of the Motherwell meeting was reported in the *Motherwell Times* for Friday, August 20, as follows :—

TRADES COUNCIL TURNS DOWN PROTEST.

Motherwell and Wishaw Trades Council had a request made to them at their meeting on Wednesday night to protest against the Duke of Bedford's recent speech in Motherwell on the plea that the Duke is a pro-Fascist and that he does not represent the working class. The proposal was made by the Constructional Engineers' Union.

Opposing the motion, several delegates said they attended the meeting in question and had no fault to find with the Duke's speech.

By 11 votes to 8 the proposed protest was turned down.

The same issue of our contemporary reports the open forum meeting held the previous Sunday afternoon in the Lesser Town Hall by the I.L.P. Speeches were delivered by Miss Isa Colman, Women's Stop-War Movement, and Mr. M. Lyons, I.L.P. The speeches were followed by keen questions and discussion. Miss Colman developed an argument for a negotiated peace and Mr. Lyons attacked the Beveridge Plan and urged that Socialists should go after Socialism.

Comrade Currie sent a report of the Duke of Bedford's Motherwell meeting to our veteran comrade, F. W. Jowett, who is the outstanding national figure in the Socialist movement in Britain to-day. Jowett sent an interesting letter to comrade Currie, defining his own attitude towards the Duke. Later, at the request of comrade Currie, Jowett gave his permission for the letter to be published in *The Word*. Jowett's service and standing in the Socialist movement; his great Anti-Militarist stand during the first world war; his magnificant gesture of protest against war and his loyalty to Truth in connection with Nurse Cavell Memorial, when he was First Commissioner of Works in the 1924 Labour Government; these evidences of his worth and integrity and his great humanist loyalty to mankind as well as unswerving loyalty to his class in the struggle towards Socialist Society, lend tremendous weight to his words. We reproduce both comrade Jowett's letters to comrade W. E. Currie, that they might speak for themselves :—

Dear Comrade,—I shall be very pleased to have my letter re the Duke of Bedford's appearance on your Socialist platform at Motherwell published in "The Word" with Comrade Aldred's approval.

With all good wishes,
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) F. W. JOWETT.

10 Grantham Terrace, Bradford,
September, 8, 1943.

Dear Comrade,—Thanks for your letter re your I.L.P. meeting at the Forum addressed by the Duke of Bedford and Guy Aldred.

The Duke is a brave man and your meeting would greatly encourage him. Although I disagree with him on some points (as I do also with Comrade Aldred) I do not think he is far from being a convinced and staunch Socialist in spite of his upbringing and regardless of all possible adverse personal consequences.

With all good wishes,
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) F. W. JOWETT.

Bradford, August 19, 1943.

At the Reception given to the Duke of Bedford at the splendid No-Conscription League social in the I.L.P. Hall at Bridgeton, on Saturday, September 11, tribute was paid to comrade Currie for his earnest efforts in bringing the Socialist and Pacifist forces together in one great movement of action and social reconstruction. One result of that effort was seen the following day at the splendid meeting at the Cosmo Cinema, largely boycotted in the Capitalist press, when the Duke addressed a packed house, the halls having been closed on a large number of disappointed would-be listeners.

A small report that appeared in the Glasgow *Bulletin* on Monday, September 13, merits quotation :—

DUKE WANTS FAIR PEACE.

A negotiated peace fair to all parties was advocated by the Duke of Bedford when he spoke at a meeting held under the auspices of the No Conscription League in the Cosmo Cinema, Glasgow, yesterday.

"No people to-day," he said, "would continue the war if they realised that they were perfectly secure from military domination from the other side and were also going to receive a fair share of the world's resources."

It would be extremely necessary, added the Duke, to adopt in our own country, and by example to encourage the adoption in other countries, a sane financial and foreign trade policy. The present financial system which starved the whole country of purchasing power was a far greater evil than production for profit.

Very full reports of comrade Currie's long and consistent Socialist work in Lanarkshire are to hand. They will receive publicity as soon as possible. He is arranging United Socialist Activity throughout Lanarkshire. All wishing to help him, and to join in the splendid work of the Motherwell I.L.P., should write to him : W. E. Currie, 178 Muir Street, Motherwell.

Councillor EARL'S APPEAL

AN APPEAL TO ALL WHO SINCERELY BELIEVE IN WORLD BROTHERHOD, TO WHOM LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY ARE NOT MERELY WORDS, BUT LIFE ITSELF.

Comrades,

How many of us can listen to or read Abraham Lincoln's immortal words "that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth" without feeling a tremendous thrill, but when the thrill is passed what do we do about it? Emotion has its right and proper place, but unless that emotion is translated into action, the words that thrilled us have fallen on barren ground. I want to speak about words that thrill most of us every month, and they appear in *our* paper *The Word*. We read, we learn, and I hope are inspired and encouraged by the various writers, at any rate I know that that is the case so far as I am concerned. *The Word* strikes me as the most human, knowledgeable, broadminded paper there is. It literally breathes *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*. However, that is not all. I and many others, have sought help and guidance in our struggle with vested interests, and never has our comrade Guy Aldred (busy as he is editing *The Word*) hesitated to give us all the assistance in his power not only by allowing us valuable space in the paper, but giving us the benefit of his own knowledge and experience.

I know too, that the widow and the fatherless, the men in the Forces and their wives and families, victimised or bewildered conscientious objectors, and the underdog generally, have never appealed in vain to Guy Aldred, either for expert advice or financial assistance. Many C.O.s have reason to be thankful for his careful preparation and successful pleading of their case. In short nothing is too much trouble for him to undertake, he is in the truest sense a brother to us all. He just hates to be dragged into the limelight and thanked, but it has been in my mind for some time to do this and I hope I shall have done it effectively. Knowing all this I have been very sorry to see that it has been necessary for him to appeal for funds to carry on the good work of himself and *The Word*. Unfortunately in a capitalist order of society, propaganda work of any kind costs money, and when it is of the kind done by Aldred and *The Word*, it is the obvious duty of all of us to see that the backing he requires and deserves is readily and substantially forthcoming. You may not believe it, but when I wrote to Comrade Aldred asking permission to make this appeal, I had almost to go on my hands and knees about it, he did permit me to do it, but with the remark "I do hate begging!" So do I hate begging and I'm not going to beg, I'm going to ask and not beat about the bush either. We can't all be newspaper proprietors, editors or writers, but we can see that a newspaper we all like and respect, a newspaper that is doing the work we most want done, a newspaper that inspires, encourages and gives us hope for the future, is not allowed to suffer for lack of funds. It is not enough merely to buy the paper, twopence is too little to pay for so much. I ask you all to set aside a definite amount each month, and persuade your trade union branches, your peace groups, women's guilds, etc., to send donations to keep this work going. The sort of work which is to build a new order of society, where war, poverty and all the other evils shall no longer exist, the work that is ours to do.

Yours in the struggle,

CHAS. A. EARL.

[Comrade Earl has asked that we allow the above appeal to stand as he wrote it. We objected, and still object, that our somewhat weary imprisonments are a thing of the past and call for no comment to-day; that we would be unhappy did we do not play our part in the struggle to-day; and that actually, since we probably stumbled a lot in the struggle, no praise is deserved. On the other hand, we aim at loyal service and we need some help. Our deficit appeal was not quite made, but a London curate made a conditional offer of help which will be announced next month.—Ed.]

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS.

By CHARLES WORTHAM BROOK.

Stories of The Surgeon of Dorchester Gaol; The Surgeon Who Recanted; The Surgeon Who Became a Party Leader; The Surgeon Who Became The Devil's Chaplain; The Surgeon at the Post Mortem. Illustrated. A wonderful Study of the early 19th century.

2s. - - - Post Free, 2s. 3d.

The Monthly Record of the South Place Ethical Society, for July, 1943, publishes the following interesting review from the pen of our comrade, F. G. Gould :—

This book is a contribution to the recent celebration of the Centenary of Richard Carlile, whose death occurred on February 10, 1843. The author is a medical man whose recently acquired interest in Richard Carlile has led him to investigate the relations between that great champion of the Freedom of the Press and various members of the healing profession. That Carlile was a student of medical science is shown by a long "open letter" addressed to the Surgeon of Dorchester Gaol, which Dr. Brook has included in his book. This letter is mainly concerned with the merits of crude mercury as an aperient and will be read no doubt with surprise and disapprobation by modern specialists. Carlile was as critical of doctors as of parsons and for equally good reasons. There is additional information about the Reverend Robert Taylor, M.R.C.S.—the Devil's Chaplain, who was associated with Carlile after the latter's release from his longest term of imprisonment. Perhaps the most interesting part of Dr. Brook's intriguing compilation is the story of Sir William Lawrence who, as a young Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons, delivered in 1817 lectures "On the Physiology, Zoology and Natural History of Man," which led to him being publicly rebuked by John Abernethy, F.R.S., Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. After a spirited defence Lawrence was led, presumably in his own professional interest, to publish a recantation of his unorthodox opinions and to promise never to publish anything more on similar subjects; Carlile would not, however, let the matter rest, for in 1823, without the sanction or consent of the author, he reprinted the lectures in question. Lawrence's lecture "On Life," is included in Dr. Brook's book, and can be read with advantage even at the present day. There is a striking comparison of Lawrence's recantation with that of Galileo.

SOVIETISM AND FREE SPEECH IN BRITAIN

SHOULD CRITICISM BE SUPPRESSED?

The Accuracy of D. N. Pritt, K.C., considered.

By H. W. Henederson

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 22, 1943, Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., drew attention to a lecture delivered by Miss May Findlay to troops in Scotland on February 16.

Mr. Pritt asked the War Minister whether he was aware that Miss Findlay had made a strongly worded anti-Soviet speech in the course of which she stated:

1. That Russian citizens are slaves of the State;
2. That children are, and have for the last four years, been taken from their mothers at birth and, save by chance, are never seen by their parents again;
3. That there is no public religious observance at all; and
4. That persons who grumble are shot.

Mr. Pritt desired to know whether the War Minister would put a stop to this sort of thing and provide the troops with lectures which would tell the truth about the Soviet Union.

Mr. Pritt's position is an interesting one. He confesses to an intense admiration for the Soviet system. He has delivered lectures in many parts of the country in praise of it and has been given complete liberty to do so. Yet in the Soviet Union, whatever other merits it may possess, there is neither freedom of speech nor freedom of the press. Mr. Pritt could not name a single newspaper in the Soviet Union published in opposition to the Government. The Soviet Constitution guarantees (on paper) freedom of the speech and freedom of the press.

Yet all but the very blindest are aware that opposition to the Government is considered treason and is treated as such. If Mr. Pritt were attempting to express an honest opinion in the U.S.S.R. and if that opinion conflicted with the fundamental policies of the Government he knows the fate that would await him. Listen to Louis Fischer, for fourteen years a newspaper correspondent in the Soviet Union:

"The bill of rights in the Constitution grants and guarantees by law, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and meetings and freedom of street marches and demonstrations. In life these liberties are non-existant. If a Soviet citizen were to try to publish an article or letter or make a speech attacking the Soviet Government . . . he would soon find himself in gaol. The Soviet regime permits only a single political party . . . In the Soviet Union there is no protection for a political minority . . . Political opponents and political minorities are purged by shooting, exile or imprisonment."—"Men and Politics."

This is the position, then, in Soviet Russia, a country which Mr. Pritt is never tired of holding up as a model to the British Empire. Seeing that the British Government allows Mr. Pritt to express his opinions with complete freedom, and considering that the Government he admires will not permit the slightest criticism of its fundamental policies, one would have imagined that Mr. Pritt would be thankful for the privileges our form of Government accords to him, and allow to others the same freedom as he himself enjoys. Not so—Mr. Pritt stands up in Parliament and urges the War Minister to put a stop to the expression of opinions of which he does not approve.

I do not know Miss Findlay, the lady of whom Mr. Pritt complains. If her statements about the Soviet Union are inaccurate it is a pity. But it is hardly conceivable that they can be any more inaccurate than those of Mr. Pritt himself. Let us give one example out of many.

Speaking ni Edinburgh on January 4, 1943, Mr. Pritt asserted that the Soviet Union "had built up its industries without borrowing money, and any industry the Russians had they had got by planning it themselves and by starving themselves while they built it." ("Scotsman," 6/1/43). Moreover, it would appear, according to Mr. Pritt, that, on the average, the Russian Government had "multiplied real wages seven times" during a period of thirteen years, and that Russians had the "highest rural standard of living in the world." The Russians have "liquidated illiteracy" and before the War they instituted a seven-hour day, "the shortest working day in the world." Other statements of an equally amazing character were made but I select these four points as being representative of his general argument. Mr. Pritt is a critic of the accuracy of others. Let us see how accurate he is himself.

First we have the claim that the Soviet Government has built and developed Russian industries without assistance (for this is what Mr. Pritt's remarks amount to). In actual fact,

"during the first five-year plan not a single plant was erected or a new industry launched without the direct help of foreigners working on the spot."—(N. A. de Basily: "Russia under Soviet Rule."

Speaking at the seventh Soviet Congress Ordzhonikidze, People's Commissar for Heavy Industry, made the following admission:

"Our plants, our mines, and our factories are now supplied with an excellent technical equipment which is unequalled in any country. You may ask, how does it happen that no other country has such a perfect technique as we have? Where did we obtain it? We have bought from the Americans, the Germans, the French, and the English the most improved machinery, the latest achievements of world technique, and we have provided our plants with them."

Even the giant Dnieprostroy Dam, which is featured so much in Communist propaganda, was built by the American engineer Colonel Cooper, and other foreign experts, as Boris Souverine points out in his monumental biography "Stalin." Souverine says, with justice, that while sneering at "moribund capitalism," the Bolsheviks made the fullest possible experience and competence of great capitalist firms like Ford, Austin, General Electric, Westinghouse and other, "whose creative work the mouthpieces of the party shamelessly attribute to themselves."

So much for the accuracy of Mr. Pritt, the critic of Miss Findlay, on this particular issue. Let us briefly examine other points. "Real wages have multiplied seven times in 13 years." This is not the opinion of numerous Communists and Communist sympathisers, who have lived in the Soviet Union in recent years. Mr. W. H. Chamberlain, for 12 years correspondent in Russia for the "Christian Science Monitor," estimates the real wage of the Russian manual worker before the Revolution at 18 to 20 American dollars a month. "To-day," he continues, "the purchasing power of the monthly average wage of the Soviet worker or employee works out at 12 American dollars." ("A False Utopia"). Mr. Chamberlain's conclusions are supported by Victor Serge, friend and associate of Lenin, and former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International ("The Destiny of a Revolution"), by the American Communist Andrew Smith, formerly member of the Cleveland City Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., who spent three years as a machinist in the Soviet Union and by numerous other witnesses. None of these people noticed a seven-fold increase in the Russian standard of living. At the time they wrote—a few short years ago—they were of the opinion that the standard of life had decreased rather than increased since Tsarist times.

An interesting fact, which may not be unrelated to Mr. Pritt's assertion that the Soviet standard of living has increased seven-fold, is the following, revealed by the French Communist, Yvon, disillusioned after many years' experience of the Soviet system:—Before the War the monthly wage of the average worker was 30 roubles. In 1937 (after 20 years of Communism) it was 220 roubles—7 times greater. But the price of a kilo loaf was 5 kopecs before the War: in 1937 it was 85 kopecs, or 17 times as much!

With regard to "the liquidation of illiteracy," which Mr. Pritt has mentioned, Boris Souverine, formerly leader of the French Communist Party, who spent a considerable period in the Soviet Union, considers this another myth, like freedom of the Press and freedom of election (both "guaranteed" by the Constitution and both completely non-existent). But supposing illiteracy has been wiped out, where is the advantage if people are fed on State-provided propaganda and not allowed to read the other side? Can there be any real mental development under such a system? Is such an education really worth while?

Finally there is "the seven-hour day," which must sound extremely attractive to people who know nothing of the actual facts of Soviet life. Perhaps the most effective reply to Mr. Pritt is to be found in the words of the American Communist, Andrew Smith, not a parlour Bolshevik but a manual worker speaking of his actual experiences in the workshops:

"In America the Communists raised the slogan of the six-hour day while in the Soviet Union you have a sixteen or seventeen hour day, if you count the seven hours regular labour and the ten hours SUBOTNIK, which is actually compulsory. Some of the Russian workers actually work in two factories to make ends meet."

The present is not the first occasion on which Mr. Pritt has called upon the Government to take action against someone with whose opinions he disagrees. In view of what has been said in this examination of one of his own political lectures (and it is typical of many that he has delivered since the "imperialist" war became a war for human justice) it would seem appropriate that he should consider more carefully the reliability or otherwise of some of his own assertions. We desire the friendliest co-operation with Russia in the post-war years. But the exaggerated praise of everything Russian by men like Mr. Pritt and their intolerant attitude towards those who disagree with them bid fair to create a spirit of resentment rather than goodwill in the hearts of British people and to prevent a fair comparison of our different ways of living.

MY ACCOUNT WITH THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER.

Do I not have an account to settle between my soul and him? They sent men like me into the camps to touch those secret, holy springs within him so that with loyalty and self-sacrifice he might go out to war.

O war, I hate you most of all for this, that you lay your hands on the noblest elements in human character, with which we might make a heaven on earth, and you use them to make a hell on earth instead. You take our science, our loyalty, our unselfishness, with which we might make the earth beautiful, and using these our finest qualities, you make death fall from the sky and burst up from the sea and hurtle from the unseen ambuscade sixty miles away; you blast fathers in the trenches while you are starving their children at home with blockades and you so bedeviled the world that years after the armistice we cannot be sure who won the War, so sunk in the same disaster are victors and vanquished alike.

I will do the best I can to settle my account with the unknown soldier. I renounce war because of what it does to our own men. I have seen the long, long hospital trains filled with their mutilated bodies; I remember the maimed men for whom the war is not yet over. I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies, bombing their mothers in villages, starving their children, laughing over our coffee cups about every damnable thing we have been able to do to them. I renounce war for the undying hatred it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracy, for the starvation that stalks after it.

I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I support another! O Unknown Soldier, in penitent reparation I make you that pledge.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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MINERS' LEADERS: THEIR EVOLUTION

What Do The Miners Say?

Recent incidents in the coalfields, and the speeches of miners' leaders in relation to the post-war conditions and their concept of the way to world peace, make this enquiry timely.

Mr. John Wilson, M.P., D.C.L., died on March 24, 1915. He was born in 1837. He had been a member of the Durham Miners' Association E.C. since 1875. He became treasurer in 1882; financial secretary in 1890-1896; corresponding secretary, 1896-1905; general secretary, 1905. He occupied this position at the time of his death, besides being Liberal M.P. for Mid-Durham since 1890. For a number of years prior to his death, he consistently applauded Lord Joicey, the mine-owner, as a generous minded man, and maintained that the employers of Durham were as good a body of employers as were to be found anywhere in the world. These nice things were said, of course, in the presence of the employers concerned. Wilson had worked as a collier in England and the United States and his statements were received as having the hall-mark of personal experience.

James Joicey was born in 1846. He died on November 21, 1936. Whereas Wilson lived to be 78 years of age, Joicey lived to be over 90. He was chairman and managing director of James Joicey and Co. Ltd., and the Lambton Collieries, Ltd., the two largest colliery companies of Durham. He was Liberal M.P. for Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, 1885-1905. He became a Baron in 1905 and joined the Conservative Party in 1931.

Joicey reciprocated Wilson's tributes. He repeatedly avowed, in public, that he had good reason to thank Wilson for good, wholesome advice. The trade union leader (Wilson) was one of the shrewdest men in the coal trade and had been a father to him (Joicey). It was always a pleasure to attend any meeting where John Wilson was speaking. There was no better representative of his class in the House of Commons than Mr. Wilson.

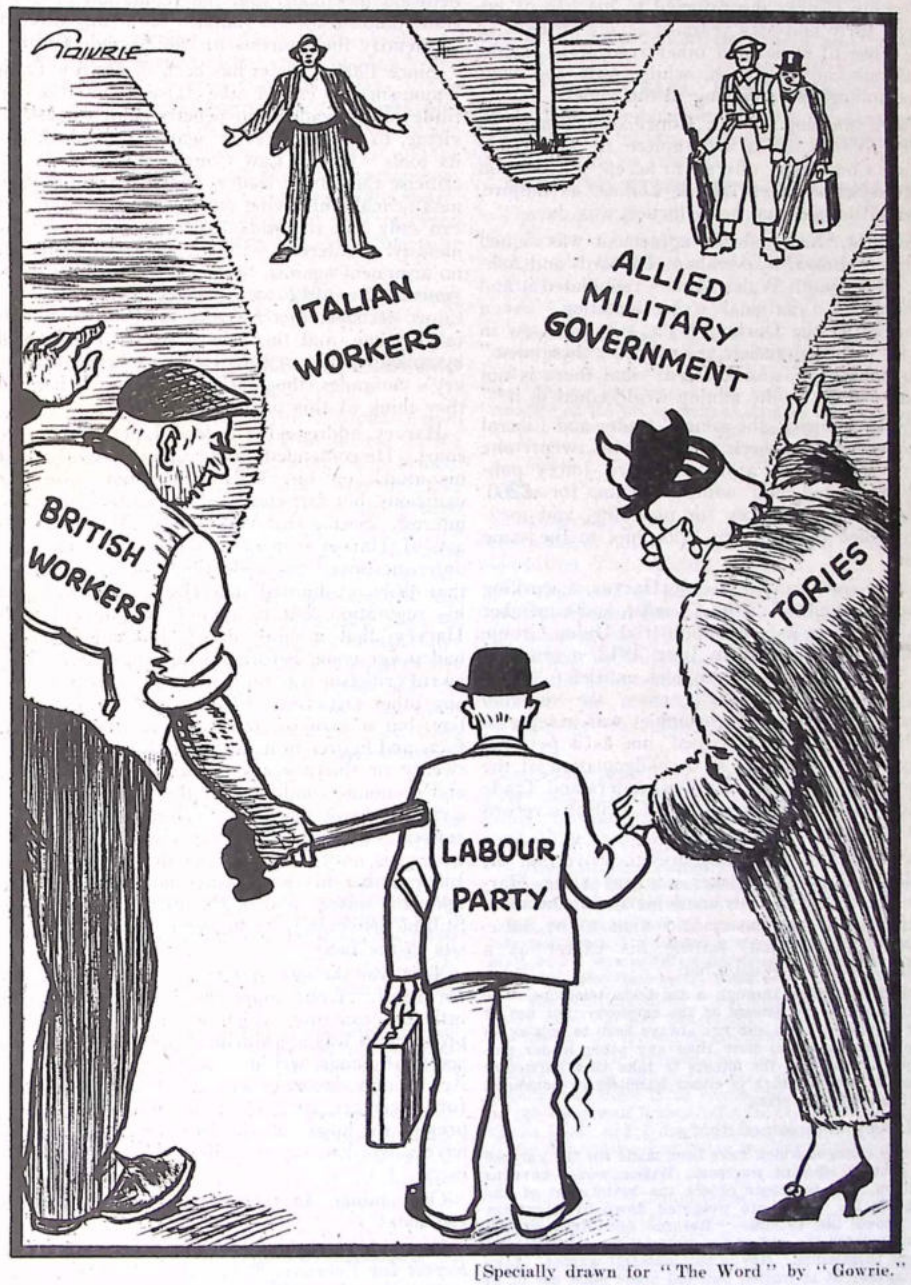
Since Lord Joicey declared this to be the case, it will be understood that it was so. Wilson only represented the miners in the House of Commons for a period of twenty-five years. He was an elected miners' leader for forty years. He led and represented them so well that their lot remains one of appalling oppression and poverty. Which only shows the value of trades unionism, parliamentarism, and labour careerism.

Wilson described himself as a "Christian Socialist." Examined, this meant that he was neither a Christian nor a Socialist. He repudiated the idea of social ownership of the means and instruments of wealth production. He clung tenaciously to Liberalism and affirmed the identity of interests of capital and labour. He claimed to have lived in different periods and under changed and changing economic conditions; to have seen a great revolution in the relations between employer and employed; and to have witnessed a mitigation, if not a complete destruction of the animus and antagonism which had existed. He had noticed the gulf separating these two sections of the community, narrow beyond the dreams of possibility forty years before—he made this declaration in 1912—and he had not praise for, nor thanks to the man who sought to widen it.

The majority of the Durham miners subscribed to this rubbish. Wilson continued to proclaim these platitudes whilst the miner continued in his misery of living. Wilson lived well and enjoyed great public repute. What has the miner of to-day to say to Wilson's successes in parliament and the Union? Can he not see how little worth or integrity there is in them?

In June, 1910, Wilson had the honorary degree of D.C.L. conferred on him by Durham University. The robes and cap and a handsome leather case were subscribed for and presented to him by the Durham members of the Senate. Dean Kitchen, as Chancellor, in making the presentation, stated that Mr. Wilson as one who was engaged in making the laws of England, would now, having the degree of D.C.L., have a deeper increased amount of responsibility on his shoulders!

In presenting Mr. Wilson at the Convocation in the Castle Hall, the then Bishop of Durham referred to him as one whose name was a household word in the county as that of a great and



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

THE ROAD FORKS

trusted leader of men, esteemed alike by employers and employed, a man who was animated by the highest and most patriotic motives, whose zeal for his fellows was tempered by the wisdom of discrimination, possessing that true vision of national life which refuses to see any necessary conflict between capital and labour or between class and class, and upholds the principle that "each man has some part to play."

Wilson replied to Dean Kitchen: He declared that the degree was not a personal affair, *but an honour to the miners.* It meant his self-respect had secured the respect of others. As a guarantee that he would wear the robes and cap with becoming dignity, he referred to his life of between forty and fifty years of severe struggle in the cause of social and other reforms! So the nauseous cant went on, whilst men and boys were toiling and suffering in the mines.

At a meeting of the Conciliation Board in 1910, Wilson, as a mouthpiece of his Trade Union Committee, offered to accept a reduction in the men's wages. Lord Collins, as umpire, afterwards said that no reduction was due.

In 1911, the Cambrian agreement was signed by Enoch Edwards, Abraham, Richards and Ashton. The South Wales Miners repudiated it and commenced a national strike agitation. As a chairman at the Durham Gala, Wilson threw in his lot with the officials, denounced "these men" who opposed it, and avowed "that there is not an agreement in the mining world equal to it!"

When Fenwick, the miners' leader and Liberal member for Wansbeck completed his twenty-one years' service in Parliament, Lord Joicey publicly presented him with a cheque for £260. Wilson thanked Joicey for presiding, and jocularly asked the latter to bribe him to the same extent.

These facts caused George Harvey, a working miner, then editor of the *Socialist*, and a member of the Chester-le-Street Industrial Union Group, to write and publish, in June, 1912, a criticism of Mr. Wilson in a pamphlet entitled: "*Does Dr. John Wilson, M.P., serve the working class?*" Actually, this pamphlet was a reply to a challenge, and was issued, not as a personal attack on Wilson, but as a condemnation of the policy pursued by trade union leaders and Trade Unionism throughout the world. Wilson's record was cited as typical.

After quoting certain figures to prove that the exploitation of the worker was increasing, Harvey stated that Wilson knew his statement about interest between master and man to be false. Harvey added that, during his career as a "labour leader," Wilson had

> **looked at things through a master's telescope. He may deserve the esteem of the employer, but not of the employed. His aim has always been to bolster up capitalism, and he, more than any other leader perhaps, has swayed the miners to take that particular kind of action which is either harmless or beneficial to the capitalist class.**

Harvey complained that

> **all the changes which have been made for the purpose of getting efficient workmen, Wilson would have us believe, had for their object the betterment of the miner's lot. They are weighted down by argument to prove his maxim—"Reform not Revolution." They furnish the wished for material for capitalists to mask themselves. Nor is the material wasted. Like its author, it is trotted out and made good use of at charity affairs and other fakes of the capitalist class. And he rejoices in the praises of the Lords Coal and Pool, and makes it known publicly that a cheque from their hands would not come amiss. . . . If £260 is the price, then miners' leaders are cheap and worth getting at.**

Commenting on Wilson's Durham Gala Speech Harvey stated that the former cast his weight, Judas-like, against the men of South Wales, although he knew that neither monetary figures nor assurances were in the agreement, and that the Law Courts had decided against the Welsh miners on the question of the claiming of consideration for abnormal places, pointing out that any such payment was really charity.

These passages offended Wilson who demanded that the pamphlet's author should apologise for, and withdraw these statements. Harvey refused to do this, and so Wilson instituted proceedings for libel. The case was heard at the November Newcastle Assizes, and resulted in the plaintiff securing £200 damages and an injunction. Court and Jury upheld the plaintiff's contention that his position as a miners' leader was absolutely gone if any general body of men among the miners thought that one-tenth of Harvey's allegations were true. He (Wilson) would be ruined in every way, and would lose the reputation he had won and held for many years.

We understand that this would have been a calamity for Wilson. On this ground all criticism of careerists and careerism can be stilled. Trade Unionism, in our view, is a snare and delusion to labour, and the reputation of every trade union leader is founded on a false attempt to identify the interests of capital and labour.

Since 1906 our aim has been to destroy Trade Unionism, to expose the false reputations of trade union leaders, to penetrate their mask of virtue, to promote revolt against capitalism and its tools. If our Law Courts say we must not criticise the labour leader, because it is his business to make his living out of leading labour, we can only say that this legal recognition of the identity of interests with the capitalist system is no argument against, but a reason for, our antagonism. In 1912 we appealed from the Law Court decision, this no-de-script jury, this capitalist judge, and this labour leader represented by solicitor, junior, and King's Counsel, to Harvey's comrades, the Durham miners. What did they think of this prosecution?

Harvey addressed a splendid defence to the court. He contended, in our opinion rightly, that his attack on Dr. Wilson was not false nor malicious, but fair comment on matters of public interest. Seeing that Wilson admitted the accuracy of Harvey's facts in the witness-box, and only questioned his deductions; seeing, further, that Wilson admitted that Harvey attacked, not his reputation, but his policy; we agreed with Harvey, that a more flimsy and childish case had never come before a Court of Law. This awful criticism was no better and no worse than any other criticism. Wilson was not a schoolboy, but a man of great ability, who had had facts and figures brought before him for the past twenty or thirty years bearing upon the social and economic conditions of the people. He had a right to know that that which he advocated was entirely contrary to the facts which had come under his notice. He was bound to know, as a Liberal, that his party was staking their cause upon the misery and degradation of the people. Still he deliberately wrote down statements opposite to the facts.

This was the gist of Harvey's case. It speaks for itself. Even supposing it to have been a little too exacting, which we do not admit, his prosecution was a scandalous proceeding, a menace to all honest writing and terse, firm criticism. Accordingly, in our organ *The Herald of Revolt* for December 1912 (Vol. II, No. 12), we expressed the hope that the Durham Miners would have a word to say to Wilson with reference to it.

One miner in particular responded—Will Lawther!

We published his reply in *The Herald of Revolt* for February 1913 (Vol. III, No. 1). It is reproduced exactly as printed at the time:—

WILSON v. HARVEY

WHAT A DURHAM MINER THINKS ABOUT IT.

(By WILL LAWTHER).

Commenting upon the result of the libel action of John Wilson v. George Harvey in your December issue, you ask what do Harvey's comrades, the Durham miners, think about it. As one who is a member of the Durham Miners' Association, and a worker down the mine like our comrade Harvey, I venture with your permission to express my opinion on the same.

To those of your readers who know not the Durham miner, nor the way he is tricked on every hand, a little explanation is necessary.

It has been the custom for many years, whenever the period came round for the election of the Executive Committee of the Durham Miners' Association, for certain persons who wish to be "leaders of men" to start an agitation for "reform of the rules of the association," "wages to govern prices" (this savours of the "comedy" economists), or the latest cry of the "Forward" (?) Movement (a body of office-seekers who already hold checkweight jobs and other positions that have salaries attached to them), "better conditions for surface workers, etc., etc. This (the reformer and office-seeker) method has gone on for a long time, and as the various items in their programme passed away and the reformers got scrambled into office, the official element never got into any alarm over these conjurors' tricks. But when a working-miner who is not out for office comes forward to criticise not only the foundation (the trade-union) but the contemptible and dirty actions of the paid officials, legal action is taken, with the result as stated, £200 for speaking the truth.

If it is true what Harvey wrote, then let those who believe it say so. The mere fact of a capitalist judge and jury deciding in Wilson's favour is sufficient proof that whatever Harvey had said or written was not true in their eyes. But the facts of the every-day life of the miners, and the prejudices of those who batten on his degradation, are two different points of view, and can never be reconciled as long as capitalism lasts. Harvey wrote as a working miner; Wilson, the judge, and jury think and write from their standpoint, which is that of parasites living on the working miners, HENCE THEIR OPINIONS MUST BE DIFFERENT. How can they be otherwise?

People who think they know what a miner's daily life is, and yet have not lived that life for thirty years, should not be offended when the truth is told them We who live that life, who know what it means to have to scrub along throughout the year and have nothing to show at the 31st of December except poverty and, perhaps, a comrade less who has lost his life in the mine, must show, not only to the paid officials, but to civilisation if needs be, that we are not satisfied. It is up to us, as miners, to show to George Harvey, by word or deed, that we believe what he said was true. Everyone of us believes it—I have never met anyone who took an opposite view—then why be silent? Is a mere libel action to crush the spirit of revolt? They who think it will, are very much mistaken. From the stand that Harvey has taken, a movement has arisen right throughout the northern coalfield for "direct action" against the "law and order" fiends. And I believe that, during the forthcoming summer, the gospel of revolt, of direct action, of anti-leadership will spread, not because Harvey or any other person believes in it, but because of the oppression and tyranny that is taking place in the mines, due to the development of the trust and combine. This is a factor that many ignore, but just as it has awakened the rank-and-file, so will it awaken he who follows the crowd, which is the function of a "leader." He always takes hold of any end of the stick, if, by taking hold, his own end of the economic problem is solved for him.

Ideas as to social and industrial revolution and betterment do not originate in the heads of men, nor do they drop from heaven; they arise out of the mode of production, and men espouse them. Thus the ideal of direct action, open revolt against capitalism, with all its tools of Labour M.P.s, parsons, and trade union leaders, arise from the existing conditions. The person who has nothing to lose except a "soft job" will not fight for the overthrow of capitalism (except at election times, when he moves further on the worker's back). To you, fellow-slave of the lamp and pick, I appeal to carry on the fight. Do not wait for any leader to show you the way. "The time is rotten ripe for change" of tactics. Make the change yourselves. You have the capacity for thinking: think and act then, for only thus will your freedom from all tyranny be secured.

Will Lawther continued in this Anarchist, Socialist, direct-activist frame of mind for a while. The fact raised his stock among the miners.

The Herald of Revolt ceased publication in May, 1914. We replaced it by *The Spur*, in June 1914. In *The Spur*, for February 1915, Vol. I, No. 8, we published a column "What Readers think." One of the letters was from Will Lawther. It read as follows:—

> **Your article on "A Call to Manhood" is very fine indeed, and makes a splendid appeal to the man "within a man or men," rather than the appeals to-day to men to be murderers. All things stand for the moment on their head. Even some who professed to have seen the light, have gone to be butcherers of their fellows that they know not. The night is dark, but let us hope that the morrow breaks clear, and in the light, mankind will see the truth.**
>
> **Chopwell. WILL LAWTHER.**

We reprint "A Call to Manhood" in a separate column, so that the reader can note the Anti-Militarism that Lawther applauded in 1915.

If the reader will go into some public library and consult *Who's Who*, he will find the following account of William Lawther:—

LAWTHER, WILLIAM: Executive Secretary, Durham Miners' Association; President, Mineworkers'

Federation of Great Britain; General Council Trades Union Congress; Miners' National Welfare; Anglo-French T.U. Commission; b. Northumberland, 1889. Educ. Colliery School; Central Labour College, London. Contested South Shields, 1922-23-24; M.P. (Lab.) Barnard Castle, 1929-1931; Durham County Council, 1925-29; Member National Labour Party Executive Committee, 1923-26.

Now re-read Will Lawther's 1913 *Herald of Revolt* article. Note how the member of the Durham Miners' Association has arrived. The "worker down the mine like our comrade Harvey" has attained to much the same position as that once enjoyed by John Wilson.

And what about his Anti-Militarism of 1915? At the Labour Party Conference he upheld Vansittartism, which has since been repudiated by the Trades Union Congress. As leader of the British miners, Will Lawther broadcast a message of explanation to the German people, the resolution was felt to be so outrageous. This was as bad as the original militarist resolution and our comrades F. W. Jowett and Emrys Hughes have had to take Lawther to task for his ridiculous militarism.

Such is the evolution of the miners' leader.

WHEN YOU HAVE FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM'S CAUSE

When you have fought and bled for Freedom's cause,
And you are home again, we'll make great laws,
That not one single worker will complain
Of ever being left out in the rain.

Many of you will not return, we know—
We've bungled things a little bit—but show
The bulldog spirit, die like gods, and we
Will shield your wives and kids eternally.

You have a cause—as you have always had,
For are you not the chosen men of God,
To keep the world safe for Democracy,
And give all men—but niggers—liberty.

So fight like lions—as you've always done,
Crush in the mud the face of every Hun,
And when the war is over you can tell
How you saved all from slavery and Hell.

But is there any need to tell you this?
You know full well from past experiences
That British rulers always keep their word,
That's why our greatest ally is the Lord.

JOE CORRIE.

(*Concluded from Column* 3)

We are opposed to war, but we have never gone out of our way to sabotage the war effort. We do not disguise our sympathy with the miners.

Responsibility lies with the owners and the authorities who put the first man in jail.

The *Daily Mail* interviewed the Duke of Bedford. Replying to the Miners' Union allegation, he said :—

I don't know what they are talking about. They are hostile to me because of my views on the war, I suppose, and this is just abuse.

I categorically deny that I have anything whatever to do with the strike.

In the Friday, October 1, issue of the *Daily Worker*, Harry McShane, after summarising, not too correctly, the statements of Stirling and Russell, continues :—

The Scottish organiser of the I.L.P. also pleads innocence. It so happens, however, that the I.L.P. organ in its issue of August 7 boosted the Militant Miners and referred to Hugh Brannan's connection with it.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

Hugh Brannan was put up for presidency of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union. He took the chair at a I.L.P. branch meeting addressed by the Duke of Bedford a few months ago. Although he is attached to No. 6 branch of the union, he attended a meetin g of No. 1 district, which is the district most affected by the strike.

This statement is false. Hugh Brannan did not take the chair at a meeting addressed by the Duke of Bedford. It would prove nothing if he had done so. The fact that he did not do so discredits completely McShane and his "Communist" associates. Truth has no place in their propaganda.

CARDOWAN PIT STRIKE

"Communist" Officials Blame Anarchists, Troskyists and the Duke of Bedford

AND HERE ARE THE FACTS!

A pit strike began at Cardowan Colliery, Stepps on Thursday morning, September 23, 1943, as a protest against the arrest of three miners who had failed to pay fines imposed on them for taking part in an alleged illegal strike in May. The May stoppages covered thirty-two days. The protest-strike spread throughout Lanarkshire during the week. The main area of the strike was No. 1 District in the North-West of the county, but stoppages took place as far south as Castlehill, Carluke and Canderrigg, Netherburn. At the height of the stoppage it was reported that over 20 collieries were idle, involving over 7000 men.

In the last stages of the dispute there were sixteen men in prison. The strike ended on Monday, October 1.

ANARCHISTS AND DUKE OF BEDFORD BLAMED

Mr. Abe Moffat, President of National Union of Scottish Mineworkers, in a statement to the press on Wednesday, September 29, blamed Anarchists, Trotskyists, the I.L.P., and the Duke of Bedford. Why did not someone remind Moffat of his history as a miners' leader, his activity in the Miners' Reform Union which rose in opposition to the then official union, and his reputation based on attacking officials who betrayed the miners in their struggles? Let us remind Moffat that we recall Kirkcaldy days when we met him in James Bryson's house. Does he remember? But does he recall all his "revolutionary" froth and his indignation when we refused to take his pretensions seriously. What a tribe these "Communist" opponents of Adamson have shown themselves!

Moffat told the press :—

It is imperative that all miners should be acquainted with the actual position, so that they can deal with disruptive elements. . . .

The six lads in prison are victims of a deliberately planned plot not to advance the interests of the union, but to bring about a political situation for a group of people identified with the Anarchist movement, I.L.P. and so-called militant miners who are definitely opposed to the war against Fascism and have no interest whatever in the affairs of the miners.

The only people who can lose by following the lead of these anti-union elements are the miners themselves. The people who will gain are the Fascists and the associates of the Duke of Bedford.

The reference to the Duke of Bedford and his associates is nonsense. Most of the capitalist press regarded this excursion of political hate as being far-fetched and refused to publish it. But the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Worker* gave it publicity.

CARDOWAN BRANCH OFFICIALS SUSPENDED

The relationship between the executive of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers and the Cardowan Pit strikers took a dramatic turn immediately following the executive statement to the press. The Executive met the Cardowan Branch officials at Hamilton that night and decided to suspend the three chief office-bearers. The latter admitted that they were responsible for the issue of a leaflet in the name of the branch. This leaflet was circulated throughout the Lanarkshire coalfields. They declined to repudiate the leaflet.

STRIKERS' MEETING

Next day, September 30, the suspended officials addressed a meeting at Hamilton. A resolution calling for the release of the imprisoned miners and for the removal of the suspension of the Cardowan officials was carried by 276 votes to 8.

This meeting demanded the release of all men imprisoned, the suspension of all existing summonses, and negotiations with the Government Departments concerned for modification of regulations which govern working conditions in the industry, so as to make these regulations adaptable to the day-to-day conditions in the pits.

Regarding the imprisonment of miners, and their fining for taking part in stoppages, the meeting declared that

this treatment of miners as "criminals" offers a threat to every miner in the exercise of his elementary right as a trade unionist.

In our view, this is a correct statement. The demand ought to be upheld by every lover of civil liberty throughout the length and breadth of the country.

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

The executive held meetings in the same area as the strikers on the Thursday also, recommending that work be resumed.

ANDREW STIRLING'S STATEMENT

The suspended officials were Andrew Stirling (Cardowan), President; Robert Archibald, Secretary; and Patrick McGowan, Treasurer.

Andrew Stirling stated to the press that the Union Executive was evading the issue :—

The stoppage was a spontaneous expression of the unrest rampant in the Lanarkshire coalfield.

I want to make it clear that on the first day of this dispute at Cardowan no branch official and no member of the pit committee advised any man to go home. What was done was decided by the men themselves. Any accusations against branch officials are fiction.

This, of course, is true.

Stirling added that he was friendly with Gilbert Russell, editor of the Hamilton Trotskyist publication, *The Militant Miner*.

Russell used to be a miner and was at one time closely connected with the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation which was later superseded by the United Socialist Movement. The Anti-Parliamentary Socialist Movement was pioneered in Lanarkshire by Daniel Mullen, whose story was given in *The Word* for July, 1942.

For some years past, Russell has been a Trotskyist and so entirely out of sympathy with his former comrades of the Anarchist, Anti-Parliamentary and Socialist Movements.

Stirling further explained :—

At no time have I contributed either by articles or financially to "The Militant Miner."

The only connection I have had with that organisation was when I attended a meeting in Hamilton in May, and I was asked to leave my seat in the audience and take the chair. I did so.

"The Militant Miner" put forward my name as a likely man for the Lanarkshire union executive at the time of the last union elections.

I think their support has led to the executive linking up the Militant Miners with the Cardowan dispute, but there is no connection whatever. None of the Cardowan branch officials expelled to-night is in the I.L.P. and I don't think there is one member of the Anarchist organisation working at Cardowan.

Stirling's statement is correct, for the Anarchist and Anti-Parliamentarian Movements are confined to Blantyre, Burnbank, Hamilton and Motherwell.

Gilbert Russell made a statement to the *Daily Express*. He is secretary of the Hamilton Divisional Labour Party. He defined the policy of *The Militant Scottish Miner*. We reproduce his statement :—

We have fought Fascism all along and will continue to fight it. The Militant Scottish Miner has a purely industrial outlook and is in no way connected with any political party.

We have in no way tried to influence the miners to go on strike, nor have we tried to destroy the trade union.

Dan Carradice, Scottish organiser of the I.L.P. said that it was nonsense to blame the strike on to political groups when the cause was the failure of the Union to maintain the standard of living.

Eddie Shaw, of the Glasgow Anarchist Group, interviewed by the *Scots Daily Express*, denied that Anarchists had incited the strike. He added pointedly :—

(*Concluded foot Column* 1)

THE MOVING FINGER WRITES

The death of Lord Wedgwood did not receive the notice that it merited from Socialists and Pacifists. Josiah Wedgwood was a man of contradictions yet he had a flair for liberty and justice. Lady Constance Malleson (Colette O'Neil) in her "After Ten Years," published by Jonathan Cape in 1931, has a description of a C.O. meeting that was held every Wednesday evening during the critical anti-conscription struggle period of the last war, at Gustave's Restaurant, Soho. She describes Snowden, Mrs. Snowden, George Lansbury,

"And Josiah Wedgwood, with his thin, hatchet face, deeply tanned, and his lean body very taut—and whole of him uncompromisingly on the side of liberty in every single issue. A born fighter—if ever there was one."

Later,in the same work, she describes the Albert Hall meeting, on March 31, 1917, with Josiah Wedgwood on the platform. This was to celebrate the great Russian Revolution, first episode.

On the outbreak of the First World War, Josiah Wedgwood stood for social revolution *but* immediately became an ardent militarist, and served in the war. His militarism did not make him any the less libertarian and he repeatedly defended the Conscientious Objector in vigorous questions and speeches in the House of Commons. At a later period, he protested against the opening of our correspondence by the Government. He raised also the question of our 1921-22 imprisonment. All these matters will be dealt with later when we review his place in the social struggle.

We commented on Wedgwood's elevation to the peerage in these columns for March 1942 and described him as an Anarchist peer. Our mixture of criticism and praise revived a correspondence that had declined since 1925. It is permissible to publish now two letters that were not intended for publication at the time.

Writing from the House of Lords, on April 14, 1942, Wedgwood said:—

House of Lords.
14/4/42.

My dear Guy Aldred,—You say don't reply; but you write so pleasingly that you know I must say thank you. Neither your comrades of the Strickland Press nor you need lose sleep over Lord Vansittart. The Duke is, I think, in greater danger! He stands too fearlessly for principle and identifies himself too much with the well-being of the oppressed, and has too little respect for status, to please his own class. You are a known menace; he is an unexpected and incalculable one. And he has no working class backing. I like the idea of being defended against your attacks by Arnold or Ponsonby. I do have great fun.

Yours,

WEDGWOOD.

Wedgwood was suffering greatly. He knew that his hold on life was very frail. Every speech he made took a toll of the days that remained to him. And he loved life and energy. He wanted to enjoy an irresponsible fearless individualism of utterance. It required a brave patience to suffer such mockery of his will to live in a boisterous free expression. For he believed what was termed irresponsible politics, untied freedom of utterance, was, in time of crises, the most responsible of all expression. Notwithstanding this mortal disappointment, the letter Wedgwood wrote to us on May 24, 1942, was typically Wedgwood in its happy lightness of style and whimsical cynicism.

Wedgwood wrote:—

House of Lords.
24/5/42.

My dear Guy Aldred,—Your praise is deserved but verges on flattery. I don't mind. My wife is beginning to agree with you,—a very pleasant conversion. If you ever print my eloquent exhortation to their lordships, as I hope you one day will, you might correct the sentence in the report to which I have drawn your attention.

The Duke will be all right when more at home and able to jeer. At present he takes himself too seriously and has just reached the Labour Party in 1937. Defence is a fatal as well as a foolish policy. Nobody cares what the Duke thinks about himself. We all care what others think about us. And we judge our neighbour by what others say about him. We do not live in an age of worth but one of pomp, class, and status. The Duke surrenders his status from simplicity and belief in the power of democracy. His sincerity and abandonment handicaps him in his struggle against the hypocrisy and cynicism of entrenched interest. Righteousness bores the average man but aggressiveness commands his attention. The Duke must become aggressive and develop a method of vital attack if his opposition to war is to become effective.

Yours,

WEDGWOOD.

Wedgwood had a great regard for Emma Goldman and took the chair at her South Place London Meeting on Thursday, January 29, 1925. We criticised that meeting in "The Commune." February, 1925, Vol. II., No. 6, pages 57-60. There is no need to reproduce the criticism. Suffice to say that the audience that applauded Emma Goldman in 1925 would lynch her to-day, in its regard for Stalin, who upholds private property, rank distinctions in the army, honours the orthodox church, and has revived Czarist orders of merit for service to the state. Sovietism scared them in 1925 and they applauded Emma Goldman. Sovietism is their ally and defender to-day. They are scared no longer. They have no time for persons who style themselves Anti-Militarists and Anarchists. Emma Goldman died on May 14, 1940, a sadly disillusioned propagandist.

Passing on, the moving finger wrote the epitaph of a great colleague of Emma Goldman, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, on March 16, 1942. He was 63 years of age. Reitman died in Chicago. Despite the fact that he lived as a hobo and an outlaw Anarchist propagandist for many years, he was really a physician, and a very able physician at that.

In their obituary notices, the New York dailies sketched his career in Chicago since 1904. For some reason they overlooked his activities in New York, when he was associated intimately with the propaganda of Emma Goldman. Reitman came in for a great deal of public persecution in New York. Also, he was mobbed and tortured in San Diego, California, in 1912. We told the story at length at the time in the columns of the "Herald of Revolt." It is a story of dastardly outrage and one that disgraces the political traditions of the United States.

In New York, Reitman assumed the title "King of the Hobos." This description stuck. In East Broadway he organised a meeting of "outcasts" and made a speech, introducing the speakers, which was denounced as indecent by Ryan Walker, the United States radical illustrator who died in Russia in 1932.

Reitman visited London in 1910, where we lived then, and became most active in the Anarchist propaganda we were conducting in London at that time. He contributed his impressions to Emma Goldman's New York magazine, "Mother Earth," for October, 1910. This article was entitled "A Visit to London." One passage read:—

With me at all times was a wonderful boy, Guy Aldred, an Anarchist. Although a bit too precocious for his age, and too prolific in his devotion to the use of the pen, he is nevertheless very remarkable. A brilliant speaker, enthusiastic and daring, he is the mainstay of the public agitation carried on in London now. Guy Aldred has just paid his toll to the British Bull for his connection with the Indian propaganda. His great zeal and fire should serve as a lesson that prisons do not "reform." Would to goodness we had such inspiring workers here. It might help to put a little life in some of the American parlour radicals. Guy Aldred, and his companion, Rose, both through their spirit to each other and their solidarity to me, have shown me the beauty of true comradeship.

The following year a very different view of our activity was published in a paper called *Week End*. This weekly review was issued from the office of the ill-fated "Evening Times." Edgar Wallace was connected with this venture and very full accounts of its promise and failure can be found in the records of Fleet Street. Sensationalism was its line and it might have survived but for its unfortunate publication of Crippen's alleged confession, which was invented by Arthur Newton, the then famous London solicitor, who came to grief in consequence, finally landing in penal servitude and destitution. Arthur Newton was the first solicitor with whom we made contact. He was a very able lawyer and one of the ablest legal defenders to practise in the London Courts. Since this time we have become acquainted with a few other solicitors, mostly in Scotland. Strangely enough, in nearly every case they have been struck off the rolls and landed in jail. None of them went to jail for principle, but rather for principal, their clients' principal. They were all able men, what one would term "characters." They were successful in their profession and never ought to have ended their days in humiliation and poverty, even under capitalism. But that is another story.

The "Week End," in its issue for January 5, 1911, published a long article, headed:

THE NEW LITERARY CULT.
AN UNPLEASANT PHASE IN MODERN LIFE.
"G.B.S." Dissected.

The article opend by attacking the "undeserved and prosperous notoriety" of "a certain school of writers and so-called thinkers." It attacked George Bernard Shaw as being "the head of this group" and described him as "chief exponent of the art of saying nothing as if it were something." It indicted him for confounding "obscurity with profundity" and added that he was "the chief apostle of the epigram."

All this was so much skirmishing. For the purpose of the article was not to attack Shaw but to denounce us. The article concluded:—

Mr. Shaw is the most successful of his class, but he is not the only one. The least successful are the men who take up "isms" which are not yet popular, and take them up far more seriously than Mr. Shaw has taken socialism. A fair example is Mr. Guy Aldred, a correspondent of the Paris "Liberator."

Mr. Aldred is a young man very like Mr. Shaw in his ways and his writings, only he is serious, and, therefore, the funnier writer of the two. He has been a journalist, so he has, therefore, a certain command of glib phrases. Now, he is the apostle of a new anarchism who—he may be six-and-twenty years old—occupies himself in setting right all the other religions of the world. He uses the involved sentence, in which he securely hides his thoughts.

Between himself and Mr. Shaw a great gulf is fixed. Mr. Shaw is accepted and prosperous; Mr. Aldred is not. The latter likes to rush in and take the side of other nations against his own. Sometimes he is successful in obtaining thereby a little publicity (he served twelve months for publishing that seditious rag, the "Indian Sociologist," from Krishnavarna, and advertises the fact in his subsequent writings), but, generally speaking, he is not. He would call himself an idealist; most people would term him simply ridiculous.

There is still a great gulf fixed between G.B.S. and ourself. We continue to be unaccepted and unacceptable. But the world which has not accepted our "ism" does not seem to have made a great success of its servile complacency.

A WISH

I never walk through Glasgow town
When summer decks the land,
But what I wish I had the power
Of some almighty hand,
I'd lift it clean, each stick and stone,
And cast it in the sea,
And drown the folly, sin, and shame,
And filth and misery.

I'd let the fresh winds kiss the earth,
I'd bring green grass and trees,
I'd cleanse the Clyde, and bless its banks
For birds, and flowers, and bees,
Then I would say to Glasgow folk,
"There! build again, but keep
Your pride, your joy, your body's health,
And peace o' nights to sleep."

JOE CORRIE.

The Duke of Bedford's fourth speech in the House of Lords, 'The Conscientious Objector,' ought to be read by every thinking man and woman. Price 3d., post-free 4d.

A NEW CHANCELLOR BUT THE OLD POLICY

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT
(First Commissioner of Works, 1924 Labour Government).

[The following essay from the pen of our comrade, F. W. Jowett, is reproduced from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for October 1, 1943.—Ed.]

The key post of Chancellor of the Exchequer has passed with the death of Sir Kingsley Wood to another safe custodian of pre-war finance capitalism.

Sir John Anderson the newly appointed Chancellor is an altogether different type of man to Sir Kingsley Wood, but the principles for which both these types stand concerning the rights of man in relation to the rights of property are exactly the same.

Sir Kingsley Wood like his predecessor in office, Sir John Simon, fought his essentially Tory battle for class-conscious vested interest partisans under a thin disguise of reformist pretension.

Sir John Anderson's record is more openly reactionary but the principles for which he stands in politics are the same. His "wet blanket" speech in the Beveridge debate last February expressed his outlook with regard to the after-war world he expects the British people to live in, quite bluntly. Similar achievements for preservation of finance capitalism after the war to those of his more artful predecessor may not be obtained by the blunt candour of Sir John Anderson without giving him a rough passage for his proposals. Full ministerial responsibility, however, may teach him more of the way the party game is played there than he knew last February when he got himself in trouble by his speech on the Beveridge report.

Sir Kingsley Wood's greatest achievement was the swinging over of by far the greatest load of taxation onto people of the working class. In his Budget speech last April, he boasted of the fact that seven millions of wage-earners—at least one in every family in the land — were then paying some two hundred millions pounds of their earnings in income tax, this in addition to the far larger amount they are paying in indirect taxation, which he did not even mention.

The three hundred million pounds post-war credits (mainly abstracted from the wage packets of people of the working class) he said would be a strong **stabilising** force after the war. What he really meant when he said the three hundred millions compulsorily abstracted from earnings would be a "stabilising force" after the war, was that the millions of separate individual owners of these Post-War Credits could be expected to serve as shock absorbers for protection of the big financiers who through the banks have been circulating what is in substance counterfeit money, that is to say, bankers' credit money and "chalking it up" against the nation as debt.

Prime Minister Churchill himself (who like Sir John is apt to speak more bluntly than was the artful habit of the late Sir Kingsley Wood) has plainly indicated that the three hundred millions of compulsorily abstracted earnings will be made the subject of scare promoting propaganda if necessary when the war ends just as poor peoples Post Office Savings were after the last war.

Not only does indirect taxation lay the heaviest load on wage workers and people with small incomes owing to the bare necessities of life carrying by far the heaviest load of it; but the basic income tax rates are so arranged in the matter of assessment, for example, that escape clauses for heavy reliefs are readily available for big-business concerns. My collection of daily and weekly press reports of big profit returns grew so tremendously large and my opportunities for making use of it were so few that I gave up the task of collecting them some time ago. But I do happen to have before me a cutting of a letter which Sir Kingsley Wood's Budget speech last April moved a "War Worker" to write to the "Yorkshire Observer" (April 26th).

"As was expected," says the writer of the letter, "the chief target of the Chancellor in his Budget was the working man's little pleasure—tobacco and beer. Reading your paper this morning I notice on page 4 a bold headline "Mallinsons Again Pay 28¾ per cent." Further dividends were as follows: British Tyre & Rubber Co., 11 per cent., British Lead Mills, 10 per cent., W. Canning & Co., 22½ per cent. "I am a daily reader of your paper," the writer states, "and have taken particular interest in the various dividends declared during the past year and have noticed how regularly the following percentages have appeared—10, 15, 20, 30 per cent."

How is it possible to pay these large—and some even much larger—profits, and in many cases heavily increased profits in war time? Isn't there an Excess Profits Tax? Of course there is. But the kind providence of astute Chancellors of the Exchequer has so arranged that excess profits can be calculated as compared with one or more of three selected years, all of which were years when re-armament expenditure was rising in preparation for war.

Therefore, the 80 per cent. Excess Profits Tax may only be reckoned on the best selected years, giving the least possible margin for taxation, and this is **only one of many escape holes** in the war taxation system available for big business and financial interests.

How many people know that in the Income Tax Act of 1918 a clause was slipped through to give exclusive power to the Bank of England to assess its own profits for taxation? When quoted the clause reads more brazenly and defiantly impudent than could be dreamed of in an Act of Parliament. I take this account of the clause from the small weekly Social Credit Journal "Reality" of September 10th:—

"Section 68 of the Income Tax Act of 1918 (says Reality) Provides that the Governor of the Bank of England shall have all the powers of a Tax Commissioner to make his own assessment in repect of interest, annuities, dividends, AND THE PROFITS ATTACHED TO THE SAME PAYABLE EITHER TO THE BANK OUT OF PUBLIC REVENUE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, as well as profits chargeable under Schedule D . . . and all other profits chargeable with tax arising within any office or department under the management or control of either Bank."

In other words the journal referred to comments, "by Act of Parliament this institution's own officials have the power to assess what the country owes them and what they owe the country."

According to the "Sunday Express" (September 26) the reach-down into the working class for charging income tax on lower earnings is intended by the Government to go **deeper** after the war. Although the seven millions of wage earners Sir Kingsley Wood boasted in his Budget speech in April were then paying two hundred millions in income tax, since Sir Kingsley Wood's April Budget the number of wage-earning income-tax payers has grown so rapidly that the "Sunday Express" can proudly claim that

MORE THAN 10,000,000 WEEKLY WAGE EARNING MEN AND WOMEN NOW PAY THEIR BIT.

A great achievement for the late Sir Kingsley Wood, and a priceless blessing to the astute financiers who, through the banks, have been coining what is in substance counterfeit money —for it represents neither goods nor services, although it is chalked up to the nation as debt. **Ten million shock-absorbers to protect the big money-bugs!** A great achievement! A priceless blessing!

STRICKLAND'S "MARCH OF HOMICIDE."

Sir Walter Strickland's last letter, an appeal to men of science, to avert "This March of Homicide", and other Anti-Militarist and Freethought studies. 1/6d. Post free, 1/9d. Order this beautifully printed book NOW.

WAR TIME REFLECTIONS

By The Rev. J. F. GERRARD, B.A.
(Vicar, St. Thomas's Church, Wigan)

[The two short articles that follow are extracted from the "St. Thomas's Parish Magazine," Wigan, for October, 1943. They speak for themselves and reveal the writer's courage and commonsense.—Ed.]

SPECIAL SERVICES

The spate of Special Services continue in full flood and soon we shall have to alter the Prayer Book Kalendar, and instead of Saints Days insert such festivals as Farm Sunday, Salvage Sunday, National Loaf Day, and so on. The bright idea is to use the Church as a medium to bolster up the war effort. After four years of war people are getting tired; strikes and absenteeism tell their own story. So the parsons are set on praying for victory; eight thousand, say, in this country praying against twelve thousand in Germany. It would be all right if the God whom we worship was Mars or Baal who delighted in the blood of gallant men, but Christ said He was a God of Love, the Father of all mankind. In the last war such days had a certain measure of success; in this they have fallen flat; the man in the street may not know much theology, but he has sufficient to tell him that Christ's teachings and a war like this are utterly incompatible.

TIME BRINGS MANY CHANGES

To the veteran of the last war who has a retentive memory, nothing is more remarkable than the astonishing change in the ideas and utterances of the notabilities who guide our destinies in this war. Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, who can order one's internment without trial for expressing independent views (so called defeatism), was a conscientious objector in 1914/1918. Mr. Bevin, who is now conscripting women up to 50 years of age, was at one time strongly opposed both to conscription and war. Mr. Tom Johnston, Secretary of State for Scotland, who recently did homage to the King on his appointment, was a fierce republican a few years back. He wrote in 1920:—

The King business is an anachronism: a survival from more superstitious times; a chip from the medieval raree show with gilt coaches and outriders keepers-of-the-green-wax-in-expectation, and a whole army of political spongers and mouchards looking for a share of the half-million sterling that an educated British people pays for the upkeep of the Royal Family.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, provides outstanding examples of change of view. At one time he was extremely hostile to Soviet Russia: the Russians were "baboons," their system of government one that "rots the soul of a nation." Now he is ready to fraternise with Stalin, one of the worst tyrants since Nero.

He has, of late, fallen out with Mussolini, whom he describes as a "jackal." But he thought differently a few years ago. After a visit to Rome he said:

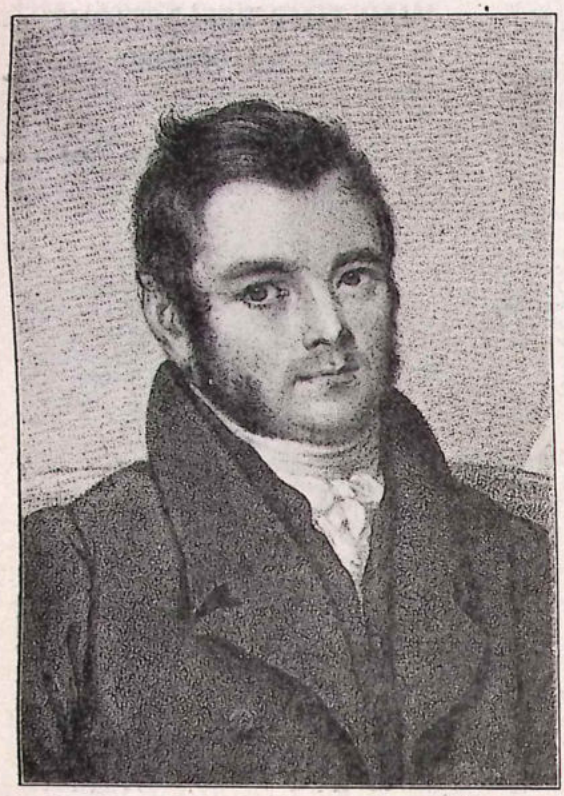
I could not help being charmed like so many other people by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing, and by his calm, detached poise, in spite of many burdens and dangers. If I had been an Italian I am sure I should have been wholeheartedly with him from start to finish in his triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism.

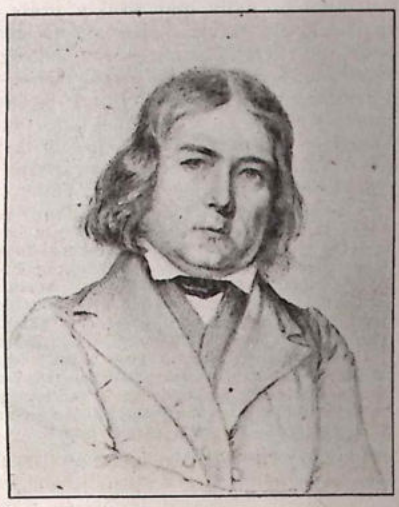
What is the ordinary man to think of such examples (and they can be multiplied) of volte-face? Is it too much to hope that he uses his common sense and refuses to be duped by politicians and warmongers? He would then realise that this war is completely evil and futile, and will lead to the same barren results as in 1914/1918:—

The Grand Old Duke of York,
He had ten thousand men
He marched them up the hill
And he marched them down again.

The tragedy is, however, that many brave and innocent men are lost going up and down the hill.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Every Friday at 8 p.m. All invited.





WILLIAM JOHNSON FOX, M.P.

1786—1864.

The large picture is reproduced from the original portrait by Wildmann, owned by the South Place Ethical Society. The engraving is by C. H. Jeens. It is copied from a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery painted by Bridell.

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(Continued from page 8)

In September, 1808, the *Monthly Repository*, conducted by Aspland and Vidler, contained a remarkably liberal reference to Thomas Paine:

"The death of Mrs. Paine has given occasion for much abuse of her husband. This was needless, ungenerous and we believe in a great measure unjustifiable."

On November 24, 1816, the congregation of Parliament Court resolved:

"That this congregation, entertaining a high sense of the character and talents of the Rev. W. J. Fox, and conceiving him to be eminently qualified to succeed our late revered minister, the Rev. W. Vidler, and to promote the great cause of truth and righteousness in this chapel, respectfully invite him to accept the pastorship of this congregation."

On December 16, Mr. Fox accepted, adding: "May the Author of all good enable me to discharge the duties as to serve the cause of genuine Christianity."

Fox was born on a farm near Wrentham, Suffolk, March 1, 1786. His father, Paul Fox, moved to Norwich when his son was three years old, and there the child had four years in a school connected with St. George's Independent Chapel. At Norwich his father had been a weaver, and at twelve his son worked at the loom; hence his signature in the Anti-Corn Law League, "The Norwich Weaver Boy."

The first minister of South Place was the son of a mechanic; the second was a stonemason; and the third was a weaver; they all acquired classical education, but always loved the tradition of the Carpenter's Son. Paul Fox was a radical politically, but rigidly religious. In 1834 his eminent son, in an article denouncing the hissing of an Atheist, Julian Hibbert, in court, and refusal of his testimony, said in kindly appeal to Atheists:

"I myself remember passing through similar sensations in my boyhood, being dragged to churches and chapels innumerable, sometimes thrice in the day, to hear dull and measured routine services, and still duller sermons wherein dogmas were made to supply the place of logic, till the very name of religion became loathsome to me as something invariably connected with privation and suffering, and Christianity became synonymous with jesuitry and bigotry. Hatred of the tyranny practised in his name made me blind to the beautiful spirit of Christ, blind to the fact that he was a beneficent RADICAL reformer to the numerous evils to which the human mind is subjected."

On a later occasion Fox said:

"I was brought up on the sour milk of Calvanism, and sorely it disagreed with me."

How much does liberalism owe to John Calvin! He burnt one heretic, but has made millions. The "sour milk of Calvinism," in Fox's case, was not mother's milk. There being no children's books in the house, few books save the Bible, his mother got access to some library, and used to sit beside her son at the loom reading novels to him. So his imagination became cultivated. He became messenger in a bank at 13, which brought him money enough to buy books. He had a fondness for mathematics, and went through a thorough course.

Calvinism does not lose its grip on youth because of its repulsiveness; it held young Fox with its glittering eye, and offered him the only door to a career, and one helpful to mankind. So in September, 1806, he entered the Protestant Dissenting College at Homerton to study for the ministry under the popular John Pye Smith, D.D., whose "evidences" for orthodoxy were answered by Robert Taylor in his famous *Syntagma*. Fox left college early in 1810, with highest testimonials and settled with the Independent Chapel at Fareham.

No sooner had he left college than he was beset by doubts. Probably he had, like most divinity students, indulged in heretical speculations without taking them very seriously, and believed them securely buried under graduation and ordination. But he had hardly begun preaching before he found his doubts embarrassing. This is shown by a letter which he wrote to a friend on March 12, 1810. In this letter, reproduced in full by Conway in 1893, Fox praises the heretics, especially the Universalists, speaks of their attachment to himself, and denounces the orthodox as fools.

At the close of 1810, his twenty-fourth year, his mental struggles became painful; not one point only, but the whole confession by which he had entered college and obtained a congregation, began to float. Amid these doubts he was borne as by a torrent, his heart still moored to the old associations. The dogmas of the Trinity and Original Sin were given up in 1810; the pre-existence of Christ and Atonement were abandoned a year later; and the eternity of hell yielded in 1812.

A minority of the church at Fareham followed him, and a separate society was formed, but apparently could not support him. In 1812 the Southern Unitarian Association met at Portsmouth, and there Fox made his first speech in any assembly of that denomination. Soon afterwards he settled with the Presbyterian (really Unitarian) Church at Chester, where he passed five peaceful years. There is one sentence in Fox's notes of his experience which now has a pregnant significance. He says that when his orthodoxy was leaving him, at Fareham, his first aim was to *"form a congregation on a comprehensive principle, with virtue and not faith for the bond of union."* The Ethical Culture leaders may thus learn that their movement was anticipated by the first minister of South Place near the beginning of the nineteenth century. On that principle his chapel was founded, by it grew, and to it has remained faithful. Beside old Chichester Cathedral Fox found a congenial circle, and leisure for reading. He there met the lady he afterwards married.

Fox now preached in various cities and lectured at Norwich. Towards the end of 1814 he desired a wider sphere of activity. Within three years he was invited to the pulpit of Parliament Court Chapel. The Committee proposed that he be introduced by eminent preachers, and Fox replied:

"I can have not the least objection, provided it be kept perfectly clear from anything which may look like ordination, to which ceremony under every form I have a strong dislike, from its tendency to transform a preaching brother into a priest, and to invest a minister with dignities and privileges to which, according to my notions, they have no Christian right. I do not know but that ordination may be so conducted as to be perfectly innocent and useful, but I am convinced that the practice has a tendency to abuse, which would never long remain dormant. There are certain evils felt now amongst the Independents, such as exactions of a creed, the peculiar authority of ministers to invest with the ministerial office, erroneous notions of that office, etc., which spring immediately out of memory, and will follow its adoption, in no long period, by any sect, however unexceptionable may be their first mode of adopting it. The best way, therefore, in my opinion, is to avoid it altogether."

In accordance with Fox's wishes, he was introduced to the Parliament Court pulpit on Wednesday, April 2, 1817. Robert Aspland delivered an address against priesthood and priestcraft from the text, Matt. xviii, 15-20. Dr. Lindsey discoursed on the origin and constitution of Christian assemblies. Madge of Norwich, Gilchrist, and Dr. Rees welcomed the young minister cordially. Mr. Anderton, for the Committee, mentioned the steps taken to secure Fox's services. A contemporary report says:

..."Mr. Fox, in a short but animated address, signified his acceptance of the invitation, declining to make any confession of faith, except that he was a Christian and desired to be extensively useful as a Christian minister, which desire was the great motive to his removal from his late situation to so public and important a station in the metropolis. Unfettered and unlimited freedom he claimed for himself, and would cheerfully concede to all his brethren!"

That April 2, 1817, was a very bright day in South Place Society's calendar. The chapel was crowded at noon. At 4 p.m., nearly one hundred male guests sat at dinner at King's Arms, Poultry, with Fox at the head of the table. Great enthusiasm prevailed when the toast was given: "The cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world." The toast has been the motto—in modern phrasing, the slogan—of South Place (or Parliament Court, as it was then) ever since.

On July 15, 1817, Parliament Court was registered legally as an Unitarian Chapel. Fox became a recognised leader of Unitarianism in London. On June 13, 1819, the Society formally united itself with the Unitarian Association.

Fox, with his taste for music and the drama, his scholarship, his love of the world various, addressed himself to the task of emancipating Unitarians from moral superstitions. He supported the new Lancastrian system of education. The Duke of Sussex and Lord and Lady Darnley lionised him for his educational work. Recognising his opportunity, he opened Parliament Court for evening lectures, dealing with all phases of the great social problem, Church and

State, War, Philanthrophy, Population. He became the great human revivalist.

The French Revolution had passed into a French Reaction. Radicals mourned the degeneration and renegadism of Coleridge and Wordsworth. Faith in man was declining. Fox revived the vision and raised again the song of the morning stars. He brought the Society into relation with the general cause of humanity, drew its members away from their lingering Puritanism, liquidated the Unitarian controversy in the broad issue of human welfare, and so transformed their textual dissent from orthodoxy into a bold heresy of human right. He was entirely fearless and knew no sectarian limitations.

Richard Carlile's 1819 prosecution gave Fox a splendid opportunity of supporting that brave Deist (later Atheist) and bringing a judgment day among Unitarians. No Unitarian before or since has written or spoken with the splendid courage displayed by Fox at this time of crisis.

There is no need to retell the story of Carlile's prosecutions to the readers of these columns. Our Carlile studies are well known, and his immortal trials have been canvassed well.

Fox denounced the 1819 prosecutor for being a Unitarian.

On the Sunday preceding the trial Fox boldly arraigned the whole principle of such prosecutions. On Sunday, October 24, 1819, after the verdict against, but before the sentence on Carlile, Fox delivered a discourse which shines as the one religious candle in that dark time of theological and political persecution, and social ignorance and depression. At this time Fox was very orthodox in his theology. He believed firmly in the Bible and in Christianity, as many Unitarians do not believe to-day. But he spoke bravely and fearlessly in defence of Richard Carlile, Thomas Paine, and the *Age of Reason*. He respected the honesty of the attack on Christianity and the sincerity of motive that inspired Paine in writing the work, and Carlile in insisting on its publicaton. Fox uttered no mean or evasive word and made no fling at Carlile. He upheld the equal right to Free Speech of Deists and Atheists, and maintained that unless the rights of Atheists were upheld, religious freedom was denied. Fox's discourse made London shudder. He was as truly a pioneer as Richard Carlile.

On Monday, October 25, 1819, the congregation met and resolved unanimously:

"That this congregation do hereby express to the Rev. W. J. Fox the high degree of satisfaction with which they heard the manly, energetic, and argumentative discourse delivered by him last evening on the duties of Christians towards Deists, and earnestly request him to publish the same."

There were sharp replies from the narrow wing of Unitarianism when the sermon was published, but its best men rallied to the standard.

On August 19, 1821, he preached a discourse, now of historical interest, on the mournful death of Queen Caroline. It was a powerful and pathetic arraignment of those who embittered the life of the unhappy Queen. Fox now became a London institution. He was the darling of the "Non-Con Club" (Nonconformist), was made a Trustee of Dr. William's Library and Charities, and became a favourite orator on public occasions. On April 20, 1820, he was married to Miss Eliza Florance, of Chichester. He was just then urging a Dissenters' Marriage Bill on Parliament, the need of which had a notable illustration in the fact that he, a Unitarian, had to be married in a church—St. George's-in-the East.

In February, 1822, Fox's health broke down. He was absent from his pulpit until March 17, 1823.

On May 22 of that year he laid the first stone of South Place Chapel. He delivered an address in which he recalled the memory of Winchester and Vidler. South Place was opened on the 1st day of February, 1824, with a discourse entitled: "The Spirit of Christianity, the same as the Spirit of Unitarianism"; the text being Romans viii. 9; his subject in the evening being St. Paul's discourse at Athens.

Fox consecrated the chapel to the cause of virtue and freedom above any doctrines he then held, some of which he gradually abandoned. He summoned as witnesses those "who have raised the standard of religious freedom, and fought its battles, and suffered in its cause, and prompted its manly and generous assertions, not only for those who were like-minded with themselves, but on behalf of all"; and exclaimed: "Here be the tree planted that bears such fruit, and long may it flourish, for it is the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations!"

And so was transplanted to South Place the tree long fruitful, and now rooted in Conway Hall. The South Place trust-deed (enrolled March 2, 1825) provided for the growth and expansion of the tree. It established the chapel

"as a place for the public religious worship of One God, even the Father, and for instruction in the Christian religion as professed by the said Society, at such times, according to such forms, and under such regulations as are now adopted, or shall from time to time be adopted by the said Society."

This trust, made not only to the then existing Society, but expressly to its "future members," subjected both worship of the Father and instruction in the Christian religion to those subsequent modifications which have transformed South Place into Conway Hall, the centre of Humanism and true Ethical thought. At the date of the Trust there was no such statute of limitations as that which later protected trusts, and the careful provision of the founders of South Place Chapel for future changes of belief proves how deliberately, at a time when Deists were in prison and Unitarians in peril, they planted the taproot of their tree in liberty.

All of this is the more remarkable and the more notable because at that time, and for some years later, Fox himself did not question the authority of the Bible. That he was still regarded as a firm believer, even by his most intimate friends, appears by a letter to him written by Sarah Flower, know to the world as Sarah Flower Adams, author of the hymn, "Nearer, my God, to Thee."

(To be continued)

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY
(1793-1943)

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London, W.C.1

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

are the study and dissemination of ethical principles, and the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment.

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Nov. 7—Professor G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D. Six Great Englishmen: (2) Sir Robert Walpole.
„ 14—C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D Lit. On Intellectuals.
„ 21—Rennie Smith, B.Sc. Russia and Ourselves, 1918-1943.
„ 28—Professor J. C. Flugel, B.A., D.Sc. Anti-Semitism.

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JOSIAH WEDGWOOD

Tributes were paid to the sincerity and political fearlessness of Lord Wedgwood in the House of Lords on Tuesday, July 27, by Viscount Cranborne (Lord Cecil), Lord Addison, the Marquess of Crewe, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, The Earl of Onslow, and Lord Strabolgi.

Viscount Cranborne stated that Wedgwood would have liked to have been regarded as a typical Englishman, although he did not conform to a common pattern. He was *sui generis*. There was nobody completely like him. He was absolutely fearless, both personally and politically. The heavier the odds were against him, the better he was pleased. He was never so happy as when he was standing absolutely alone in defence of a cause in which he believed. He had, to a notable degree, a deep and sincere sympathy with the under-dog. He would fight always to the very last breath of his being for those whom he considered to be the suffering and the oppressed. He was utterly without any personal ambition or any of those lower motives which taint the lives of so many politicians. He was in political life not for what he could get from it but for what he could give to it. He was courageous, single-minded, and a lover of England. Above all, he was a lover of individual liberty, which was the guiding passion of his life.

Lord Addison referred to Wedgwood as "Josh," and declared that he was ever the champion of those whom he thought needed an advocate. He was fearless and uncompromising always. He never feared to stand alone.

Lord Addison recalled a scene which occurred in the House of Commons thirty years ago. Josiah Wedgwood took it upon himself, alone, to oppose a Bill promoted by the Home Office. He cvered the Paper with Amendments, and he, alone, kept the House of Commons up till about six in the morning, singlehanded, fighting by himself, because he believed intensely in his cause and feared not at all to be alone—in fact, he rather enjoyed it.

Wedgwood was an intense individualist and possessed a love of individual liberty. He loved the land and was impatient with any restraint being placed upon its use. With all his impatience of wrong, he was a patient and lovable friend, and possessed an indomitable and unselfish spirit.

The Marquess of Crewe spoke of Wedgwood as a country neighbour, and dwelt on his close study of old histories and old families. Lord Wedgwood was something of a paradox, because, although he described himself as a Socialist, there was never another such individualist in the world as he was.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood stated that Wedgwood was a relative and a very old friend. His disinterestedness exceeded that of anyone Viscount Cecil knew. Wedgwood's honesty, straightforwardness and courage might be regarded as a beacon and a guide to all those who are engaged in public life.

Lord Onslow spoke of the part Wedgwood took in taking the initiative in the great work of the History of Parliament Joint Committee. This work will cover the whole history of parliament from the very beginning onwards.

Lord Strabolgi spoke of his intimate friendship with Lord Wedgwood for 27 years, and their close association in the House of Commons. Wedgwood possessed fearless determination to expose abuses and to uphold, at any cost, the cause of liberty and justice.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

SUNDAY AFTERNOON MEETINGS
CENTRAL HALLS, Bath Street, 3 p.m.

Nov. 7—"Dangerous Trends in Trade Unionism"—W. H. Marwick, M.A.
Nov. 14—"Racial Ideologies"—C. R. Watson, B.A.

Questions. Discussion. Collection.
For other meetings, see local Press

MISSION TO MOSCOW

(*Continued from page 31*)

The domestication of high politics includes Stalinist Russia. Litvinov also travels with his wife and daughter. The families of the Russian and American diplomats are joined by ties of the strongest mutual affection. Mrs. Molotov appears as the manager of the cosmetic trust of the Soviet Union and we learn that in Russia as in the United States and Britain women wish to be beautiful. Both in America and Soviet Russia the wives of diplomats are business women. When Davies calls upon Churchill in 1939, the English politician, not yet in the government, is laying a brick wall in his garden, like any English or American or Soviet workman, while the two wives exchange amenities.

Democracy must not be too human. The divine mystery of Government must be upheld. Consequently, President Roosevelt never appears in the film, except as the back of his head and shoulders; a voice; or a mysterious hand. Stalin is represented as the mysterious presence until the end, when Davies is about to leave the Soviet Union and is saying good-bye to the Czar's successor in the little father role, President Kalinin, Stalin comes in unexpectedly, and displays a most affectionate bonhomie that shows how right it is for him to be the dictator of the Russian sixth of the globe.

Outside these two poles of the human and the superhuman in the United Nations lie all those treacherous, mediocre,ignorant and foolish elements who dare to question the wisdom of the great leaders: in Russia, the traitors who wreck factories and conspire with Hitler and the Mikado; in America, a swiftly filmed amalgam of pacifists, Bundists, isolationists and hysterical liberals, who are obstructing the efforts of the President on the eve of Pearl Harbour. The symmetry of Russian and American affairs is established with the same combination of newsreels and fabricated reality.

Davies is shown arriving at the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. hungry, as if American ambassadors were half-starved in pre-war Germany and Poland. He finds everything in the Soviet garden lovely.

He makes a grand tour of inspection of the territories of Soviet Russia and wanders through the land to the accompaniment of much old Czarist Russian music, but does not hear "The Internationale." A Russian woman coal miner, impersonated by a Hollywood film star, assures him what fun it is working in the Russian coal mines! All would be well but for sabotage, and so we are led up to the travesty, already recorded, of the Moscow Trials where Radek, Bukharin, and others confess that they are all in the plot to destroy Socialism. At the instigation of Trotsky, who in the pay of Hitler, they aim to hand over the U.S.S.R. to the Nazis and Japan.

Ignoring the fact that Ribbentrop, as German Foreign Minister, actually signed a Pact of friendship with Russia, in Moscow, on August 23, 1939, and was photographed with Stalin and Molotov (the official photograph was reproduced in *The Word* for October, 1942), the first still published in advance of the film was of Trotsky negotiating with Ribbentrop, an incident that is not even mentioned in the testimony of the Moscow trials. In selecting this shot, the producers gave away a central aim of the film, to fix in the mind of the English-speaking citizens of America and Britain the belief that opponents of the government are a fifth column of the enemy, and that the strength of the Soviet Union comes precisely from the extermination of plotters against the state. But this phony incident was deleted from the film, with all other shots of Trotsky. Jewish groups were disturbed by the anti-Semitic conclusions that would be drawn from such a scene. Subsequently, the advertising avoided all mention of the purges and the fifth column, and tried instead to establish the exactness of another order of correspondence. Day after day, there appeared in the press paired photographs of the actors and the people they impersonated, Huston and Davies, Whipper and Haile Selassie, Malone and Churchill, as if to convince intending film audiences that the film was true because of the resemblance of the faces of the actors to the historic personalities portrayed.

The climax of this displacement of the test of truth was reached on the day before the first public showing of the film. The most marvellous and suggestive correspondence of all was boosted! Joe Stalin and Joe Davies resembled each other in their lives. The two Joes come up from the ranks the hard way; the mother of the American Joe was an ordained minister of the gospel, and the Russian Joe studied in a theological seminary. The meeting of the two Joes in Moscow brought about the unity of their two nations in the struggle against fascism. What a story!

This story reminds us of the theologians and their defence of Church invented miracles, the aim of which was not to promote the Glory of God but merely the power of the Church. The truth of the utterly impossible miracle was established by a most pedantic and scrupulous or unscrupulous dwelling on the correctness of the account of the setting. All the statements about the people, the buildings, the roads and the instruments involved in the miracle were verified. So the directors of the film who wish to establish a correspondence with reality, where none exists, are forced to multiply examples of correspondences irrelevant to the main question.

Warner Brothers held, during the first week in March, 1943, a five-day conference on this picture. The conference decided to allocate towards advertising the film the greatest sum of money ever spent by the company on advertising a single motion picture, over a million dollars. The Hollywood columnist, Jimmie Fidoler, mentioned the sequence concerning Leon Trotsky that had been inserted in the film, and could be cut out under pressure.

It must be admitted that the United States Government disclaimed all official responsibility for the film, which was wise as well as correct. But if we are to accept the unofficial statement of the American columnist, Drew Pearson, for May 12, 1943, the U.S.A. Government bestowed an unofficial blessing on the film.

Drew Pearson wrote:—

Ambassador Joseph Davies' film "Mission To Moscow" has been welcomed by the State Department as one of the most important movies which could have been made at this time to help the American people understand Russia.

Despite Warner Brothers heavy advertising for the film, which secured some technical favourable comments from some of the movie critics, all manner of orthodox commentators found themselves unable to accept the falsehood we have instanced.

Dorothy Thompson, who has been received well in Britain, and whose capitalist journalist credentials cannot be challenged, was the first important columnist with courage to speak truthfully about this film. In the *New York Post* for May 5, 1943, she wrote:—

The characters are phony; the history is phony . . . The picture is full of fiction presented as fact. . . . The famous purge trials are grossly fictionalized.

In the *New York Times*, for May 8, Ann O'Hare McCormick describes the film as

the false picture of America, the false picture of Russia and the false picture of history that are combined in the distorted composite to which the former Ambassador unluckily gives his authorization in an introductory speech.

The same day, *The Nation*, leading cultural organ of United States liberal thought, described the picture as "whitewash" and added:—

In the matter of the "purge" "The Nation" has always held that the evidence on which the alleged Trotskyist conspirators were convicted was unconvincing and the film version of the trials does nothing to change this opinion.

Writers in the Socialist and pro-war *New Leader* of the same date, described the film as "a blow to democratic unity in America" and as evidence of 'moral depravity." We endorse these descriptions.

James T. Farrell, noted American author, enjoying wide popularity for his work, *Studs Lonigan*, declared:—

"Mission To Moscow" follows the prescription for propaganda written by Hitler in "Mein Kampf": it tells a big lie. The purpose of big lies in totalitarian propaganda is that of falsifying history. This film is a gross and shameless falsification of history. It misrepresents the Moscow trials, the history of Russian foreign policy in recent years, and the sequence of events which happened in America prior to Pearl Harbour.

Farrell recalls the Commission of Inquiry of which John Dewey was chairman. He indicts Davies and Warner Brothers for ignoring the records of this investigation and denounces their want of fairmindedness and objectivity. Farrell adds:

Warner Brothers have spent well over a million dollars on a film which carries the message that Leon Trotsky was an agent of Hitler.

Long before any Hollywood studio would dare to consider a picture which attacked fascism or had one favourable word to say of the Soviet Union, long before the fight against fascism became a proposition in which the film studio could spend and make huge sums of money, Trotsky was a bitter foe of fascism. He wrote urgently calling for the fight against Hitler's assumption of power. After Hitler became Reichschancellor, Trotsky wrote predicting that Hitler would be the Super-Wrangel attacking the Soviet Union: it is a known fact that Trotsky never deviated from his position advocating defence of the Soviet Union. Trotsky's political record is totally ignored. Why? . . .

Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks are dead: you cannot injure the dead; when you misrepresent the dead, you injure the living. And in this case, the living are right here in this country. Opposition to the falsifications contained in this film is an immediate and practical question. It concerns us here and now. It has happened here in a reverse way, totalitarian methods have been introduced into American culture.

In the *New York Times* for May 9, 1943, John Dewey, the noted American educator, and Suzanne La Follette, liberal writer, who served respectively as the chairman and secretary of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow trials, declare that the film is

the first instance in our country of totalitarian propaganda for mass consumption—a propaganda which falsifies history through distortion, omission or pure invention of facts.

This letter further declares:

"Mission To Moscow" deals essentially with three things: Soviet history since January, 1937; international relations since that time, and American history since 1939. It falsifies all three. . . .

In this synthetic trial (shown in the film) the accused confess that their alleged crimes were directed by Trotsky. What is omitted is the testimony in the actual trials of specific alleged meetings with Trotsky abroad—testimony immediately challenged in the world press and conclusively disproved by evidence offered in rebuttal before the international commission of inquiry of which the undersigned were respectively chairman and secretary. It is not irrelevant to mention here that the commission, after painstaking investigation, concluded that the Moscow trials were frameups—a conclusion endorsed by intelligent world opinion at the time of its announcement.

In Boston, the City Council wanted to see the film banned. Moving one of the banning resolutions, a councillor described Stalin as being

the greatest murderer the world has ever seen and the greatest ambassador from the pits of hell whose name has ever been written into the dirty pages of history.

Describing the Boston voting, William Henry Chamberlain, in the pro-war Socialist *New Leader*, says:

The Joe Davies travesty on recent Russian and American history ran into stormy weather in Boston, where the City Council voted in favour of forbidding the showing of "Mission to Moscow." But the Mayor refused to comply with this recommendation and a spokesman for Boston's Trotskyists, while expressing abhorrence of the distortions of the film, came out against suppression. He argued, and I think with very good sense and reason, that the right method of dealing with such a film is not to invoke the double-edged weapon of suppression, but to hammer into the public consciousness the falsehoods, absurdities and inconsistencies, of which one can find such an abundance.

Another protest against the film, asserting that it *falsifies history and distorts even the very book on which it is based"* was signed by 52 leading

writers, educators, editors, and Negro and Labour leaders. The signatories include:—George S. Counts, state chairman of the American Labour Party; Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College; A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Max Danish, editor of Justice, publication of ILGWU, AFL; Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman Negro Labour Committee; Joseph Schlossberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, CIO and others. Additional signatures have been received from B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary, March on Washington Movement; Arthur G. McDowell, National Representative in Missouri, Textile Workers Union, CIO; Harry Lundberg, President Seafarers International Union, and others.

Against this volume of denunciation, based on a critical factual approach, Bosley Crowther, as film critic for the *New York Times*, in its issue for April 30, declares that the film was *"a generally faithful screen version"* of current historical events therein depicted. He commends the Moscow "purge" trials as *"briefly but effectively played."* He adds, with sublime irresponsible impudence:

It puts into the record for millions of movie goers to grasp an admission that the many "purged" generals and other leaders were conspirators in a plot—a plot engineered by Trotsky with the Nazis and the Japs. . . .

The American Communist Party organ, the *Daily Worker*, seized on Crowther's comments with ill-concealed glee and reproduced them in its colums for May 2, 1943.

Similarly, in Britain, the *Daily Worker* applauded the film and its lies. D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P., emphasised his own worthlessness as an apologist when he wrote in the *Daily Worker* for July 22, a glowing account of the film. He ignores the discrepancies between Davies' book and the film. He ignores the serious falsification of the trials as originally staged in Moscow. He establishes his disrepute as an apologist by declaring that in his book Davies *"performed a tremendous public service"* and the Warner Brothers have turned it now into a film which *"will reach a far wider public and impress that public more vividly."* In particular, and here the man establishes his fraudalent mendacity, as a stooge apologist, Pritt is as delighted with the scene of the mass trial, as he was with the mock trials, which he himself witnessed and approved. Any travesty seems to satisfy the legal sense of equity and reason of this strange legal worthy.

JEWISH METHOD OF SLAUGHTER

To the Editor.
Dear Sir,

In your issue of September there is a letter signed by Mr. John Salter in which he suggests that anti-Jewish feeling might diminish if the Jewish method of slaughter were abolished.

I am quite certain that Mr. John Salter is well-meaning, but I am afraid he is quite ignorant of the subject on which he writes.

The Jewish method of slaughter, so far from being the "most primitive, cruel and bloodthirsty" method is, in the opinion of the highest medical authorities, the most humane. I will quote from so eminent an authority as Lord Horder, who points out that "the instantaneous cutting of the blood vessels, the trachea and oesophagus produces an immediate loss of consciousness" and goes on to say, "It is difficult to conceive a more painless and more rapid mode of death." Convulsive movements which are often noticed in animals after they have been to all intents and purposes killed, are due merely to the bloodless state of the brain and no sensation exists after the cut has been administered.

Nor is Lord Horder alone in his opinion. It is supported by more than 400 of the most eminent physiologists and pathologists in the world, including such men of international fame as Virchow, Dubois Reymond and Lord Lister. Sir Leonard Hill, F.R.S., said that statements to the contrary are founded on ignorance and false sentiment.

I am, Yours faithfully,

ROBERT E. LYONS.

(Hon. Secretary, Glasgow Jewish Representative Council).

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EHRLICH AND ALTER

[In our August issue, Comrade H. W. Henderson reviewed at length the pamphlet issued in London by Representatives of the General Jewish Workers' Union "Bund" of Poland, dealing with the case of Henry Erlich and Victor Alter. The pamphlet can be obtained from the Strickland Press, 3d. post free. We ask every worker to read, study, and circulate this indictment of the persecution and assassination of our Jewish Socialist Anti-Fascist comrades. Below we reprint, from page 40 of the Report of the National Executive Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the Labour Party, held in the Central Hall, Westminster, last June, the official Labour Party view of these assassinations, miscalled executions.—Ed.]

OUR POLISH COMRADES.

The National Executive Committee, in their Report of the Bournemouth Conference, 1940, expressed their deep concern for the personal security of our Polish Socialist and Trade Union comrades (including Heinrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter) who were left behind in the territory occupied by the U.S.S.R. as a result of its military operations, and described their failure to obtain any assurances with regard to their freedom and safety, or to ascertain the facts of their whereabouts and present position.

In accordance with the assurances given to the last Annual Conference, enquiries and representations continued to be made in responsible circles with regard to Heinrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter. On March 1, 1943, the following letter was addressed to His Excellency M. Ivan Maisky, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Great Britain:—

Dear Ambassador,

The National Executive Committee of the Party have always been disturbed by the re-arrest in Kuibyshev early in December, 1941, of Heinrich Ehrlich and Victor Alter, leaders of the Jewish Labour Party Bund, of Poland, and as you may remember, this anxiety was expressed publicly at the last Annual Party Conference.

As you are aware, these two men are our political friends, and personal friends to many of us. They were members of the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International, and Alter was also a member of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

I was instructed recently by our National Executive Committee to ask you to convey to your Government our earnest wish that they should be immediately released and even permitted to come to this country and help us in our struggle against the common enemy.

I understand that there is alarming news in the United States Press to the effect that these friends of ours are, in fact, no longer alive. I urgently beg you to give my Executive Committee the latest and most reliable information.

J. S. Middleton, Secretary.

The following reply dated March 30, 1943, was received from the Soviet Ambassador:—

Dear Mr. Middleton,

On receipt of your letter of the 1st March, I made enquiries on the matter you raised, and have recently received the following information from the Soviet authorities:—

For active subversive work against the Soviet Union and assistance to Polish Intelligence organs on the territory of the U.S.S.R., Alter and Ehrlich were sentenced to capital punishment in August, 1941. At the request of the Polish Government, Alter and Ehrlich were released in September, 1941.

However, after they were set free and at a time of the most desperate battles by Soviet troops against the advancing Hitlerite army, they resumed their hostile activities, including appeals to Soviet troops to stop the bloodshed and immediately conclude a peace with Germany. For this they were again arrested and, in December, 1942, sentenced once more to capital punishment by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court.

The sentences were carried out in regard to both of them.

(Signed) I. MAISKY,
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Great Britain

Henrich Ehrlich, born in Lublin, Poland, 1882, was Chairman of the Revolutionary Students' Organisation at the age of 20. He was arrested by the Czarist Police in 1902, 1904, 1909 (when he was exiled from Russia), and again (upon his return) in 1911, for belonging to the revolutionary and "subversive" General Jewish Workers' Union, the Bund. He was the representative of the Bund in the Czarist Duma, and, after the Revolution, was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. He visited this country in 1917 as one of their four representatives to organise an International Socialist Congress at Stockholm, and conferred with the National Executive Committee of the Party, and, in Paris, with the Executive of the French Socialist Party.

Victor Alter, born in Mlava, Poland, 1890 like his colleague, was a gifted journalist, editor, and author, and also an economist. He joined the Bund in 1905, and soon became a member of the Central Executive Committee. Both comrades represented the Bund on the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International

Their Polish Party comrades in London declare that after their release from prison in september, 1941, the Soviet authorities assured Alter and Ehrlich that the action taken against them had been a mistake and made due apologies; that they possess documentary proof. for the period after release, that Ehrlich and Alter devoted their energy and attention, in full agreement with representatives of the Soviet Government, to activities which were the very opposite of those with which they were subsequently charged; and that, in the circumstances under which they lived, Alter and Ehrlich had not even the opportunity to make any appeals to the Red Army.

The members of the Polish Socialist Party now in Britain declare that

Thanks to their work, and under their leadership, the solidarity of all working people of Poland grew and developed into a living body without distinction of origin, religion, or nationality. . . . We have known these two comrades. They have been in the same ranks with us for years; they shared with us for decades our sufferings and sorrows. . . . The mud that is being thrown at them by some people will never reach them!"

Satan on Man.

I know your race. It is made up of sheep. It is governed by minorities, seldom or never by majorities. It suppresses its feelings and its beliefs, and follows the handful that makes the noise. Sometimes the noisy handful is right, sometimes wrong, but no matter, the crowd follows it. The vast majority of the race, whether savage or civilized, are secretly kind-hearted and shrink from inflicting pain, but in the presence of the aggressive and pitiless minority they don't dare to assert themselves. Think of it! One kind-hearted creature spies upon another, and sees to it that he loyally helps in iniquities which revolt both of them. Speaking as an expert, I know that ninety-nine out of a hundred of your race were strongly against the killing of witches when that foolishness was first agitated by a handful of pious lunatics in the long ago. . . . Monarchies, aristocracies, and religions are all based upon the individual's distrust of his neighbour, and his desire, for sefety's or comfort's sake, to stand well in his neighbour's eye. These institutions will always remain and always flourish, and oppress you, and affront you, and degrade you because you will always be and remain slaves of minorities. . . .

There has never been a just war, never an honourable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half-a-dozen instances. The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object,—at first. The great big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing; the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who, in their secret hearts, are still at one with those stoned speakers. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth. . . . Next the statesman will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing fallacies, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutation of them, and bye and bye will convince himself that the war is just. . . .

Cain did his murder with a club; the Hebrews did their murders with javelins and swords; the Greeks and Romans added protective armour, and the fine

arts of generalship and military organization; the Christian has added guns and gunpowder; a few centuries from now . . . all men will confess that without Christian civilization war must have remained a trifling thing to the end of time. . . . It is a remarkable progress. In five or six thousand years, five or six high civilizations have risen, flourished, commanded the wonder of the world, then faded out and disappeared; and not one of them except the latest ever invented any sweeping and adequate way to kill people. They all did their best—to kill being the chief stern ambition of the human race, and the earliest incident in its history—but only the Christian civilization has scored a triumph to be proud of. . . . And what does it amount to? Nothing at all. You gain nothing; you always come out where you went in. . . . Who gets a profit out of it? Nobody but a parcel of usurping little monarchs and nobilities who despise, would feel defiled if you touched them, would shut the door in your face if you proposed to call; whom you slave for, fight for, and are not ashamed but proud; whose existence is a perpetual insult to you, and you are afraid to resent it; who are mendicants supported by your alms, yet assume toward you the air of benefactor toward beggar; who address you in the language of master to slave, and are answered in the language of slave to master; who are worshipped by you with your mouth, while in your heart—if you have one—you despise yourself for it.

—*From The Mysterous Stranger, by Mark Twain.*

NEWCASTLE WAR RESISTERS

Newcastle upon Tyne has the distinction of having one of the largest P.P.U. groups in the country known as the War Resisters. An average weekly attendance of about sixty is maintained throughout the year, meetings being held in the Theosophical Hall, 151 Barras Bridge, Newcastle.

This group started at the outset of the war, and was mainly inspired by John Morley and Jack Sadler, who by argument and example showed that strength and consistency lay in adopting the absolutist stand. Other stalwarts who had maintained their opposition to war since 1914 assisted, and many young people "freshers" to pacifism found their spiritual home in the War Resisters.

Their meetings are not only instructive, but enthusiastic and convivial as well. Humour plays its part. The gathering, although mainly political and humanitarian in its approach to pacifism, is more varied in the personnel of the members—business men, clerks, tradesmen, labourers, typists, housewives, and also children mixing together in one fellowship.

The prison record of its members who have been sentenced during the present war in connection with th various conscription measures is a notable one. Up to the present 28 sentences have been imposed, eight members have served or are serving two sentences, one member, John Potter, has served three sentences, whilst the total length of all sentnces amounts to 252 months.

The stand made by John Morley and his two sons, Bob and Alan (which was described in a previous issue of "The Word") and also the witness borne by two generations of the Alexander and Sadler families, have earned the designation of "The Royal families of Pacifism."

Other members who have served two sentences include Albert Oxley, Alf Sharp, Jack Walton, Douglas Gordon Maitland (christened after two generals) and Edward Archbold who joined the army during the last war under age, and whose fine statement made in court at his second conviction will appear next month. An account of Douglas Gordon Maitland's stand will appear also. Likewise an essay on real Absolutism by John Morley.

The women members of the Newcastle Group have not only stood loyally by the menfolk, but have also witnessed by going to prison. Imprisoned women comrades include Constance Bolam, the first woman C.O. to be imprisoned, Doris Philipson and Kitty Alexander, the first women to be prosecuted for refusing to attend a MOLNS interview, and for declining to register, respectively. The present roll of honour is seven; at one period it was ten, and the names of all comrades in prison are read out together with a few words to include all pacifists both in and out of prison who are doing their utmost for pacifism, at a specific time during each meeting—4.30 at Sunday afternoon meetings during the winter, and at 8 p.m. on Mondays during the Summer. This communion is shared by the members inside prison and by all absent friends at these especial moments.

Activities in addition to normal indoor meetings, consist of the current open air meetings in connection with the P.P.U. Negotiated Peace Campaign, and in the past campaigns have been held protesting against the maltreatment of the non-combatant C.O.s at Dingle Vale, Liverpool, during 1940; the defence of Stuart Morris as general secretary of the P.P.U. was warmly maintained by all members of the group; whilst an ever vigilant stand is made against war and conscription in any form.

The younger members have an additional weekly meeting during the winter, when the "Under Forty" club meet at the home of Harry and Constance Wood,

(*Continued foot Column* 3)

WRITTEN IN 1914

EDITOR'S ANTI-WAR DECLARATION THAT WAS APPLAUDED BY WILL LAWTHER THE NOW PRO-VANSITTART MINERS' LEADER.

In another column we reproduce Will Lawther's 1912 attack on miners' leader, in particular Mr. John Wilson, M.P., for many years the Durham leader. Lawther was then a working miner. To-day he is the Durham miners' leader and has outdistanced John Wilson. In 1914, when the first world war occurred, he was still a working miner. And he was opposed to war. The following editorial was approved by him. We reproduce that all may see what Will Lawther, the working miner, approved, as opposed to Mr. William Lawther, the miners' leader, who upholds Vansittartism and war for unconditional surrender, forgetting that the common people in all countries have a social power with which, finally, to overthrow Fascism and Nazism, and so establish a world Socialist Commonwealth.

The following editorial was written and published by us in *The Spur*, December 1914, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 55-56. It defined our position in 1914. It defines our position to-day.

A CALL TO MANHOOD

Many Socialists have left these shores for America, to escape service in Kitchener's Army. It is said that some Irish Nationalists are doing the same. Such conduct must cease. Every opponent of modern murder must stand firm in face of danger. No friend of freedom must seek a refuge across the Herring Pond. It is cowardice to run away at such a time.

Let every man's conscience and information guide his destiny. The one cannot, and the other should not, lead to America. If you believe the war to be just, you will march—without conscription, unless your work at home is as serviceable to the end in view as any you could accomplish on the field of battle. To fight, in this event, is your bounden duty. If you do not believe the war to be just—you will not march, even under conscription. No man must shoulder a rifle against his conscience. No man can be forced to point one against his will. There is no call to fire a shot, if your reason bids you refrain from killing your fellow-man. It is murder of the worst description to do battle with him whom you feel to be your fellow-victim of a monstrous conspiracy of assassin interest. Knowing OR deeming killing to be unjust, you must not slay. Decide then your destiny, accordingly as you believe in the war or not. Decide as becomes a citizen NOT a slave. Stand firm in that decision, no matter how incessant the clamour of the world without. The kingdom of your allegiance is within you. Be no coward.

All who believe in brotherhood to-day, all who would dethrone the demon of sudden death, the moloch of mammon and militarism, are the salt of the earth. See to it that the salt preserves its savour. Never was such salt more in demand. Never was the supply so poor, the quality so inferior.

Display resolution. Do not quake. Fearlessly, proclaim the truth that is in you. Let the light of wisdom be seen by all men. Stand firm against the division of mankind into conflicting death-traps. Declare the world to be your country, assert the brotherhood of man, and hold that it is better to be destroyed rather than to destroy. Seek not to save your life, only to lose your soul. Preserve your soul's integrity, at the expense, if needs be, of your life. Be a man—not a subject.

Not only can you be ordered to repel invasion, you may be bullied into foreign service. Or again, you can be called upon to suppress riot and rebellion—to murder your own kith and kin. That is your duty to King and Country. Consider well the issue thus presented to your mind. Let your reason pronounce its verdict, and do not shrink from acting upon its recommendation. Reason is the mark of manhood. But the mark of Cain is that of the brute. Comrades, be men!

Some of our friends suggest maiming their limbs to evade the responsibility of pronouncing judgment. Do no such thing. Keep your limbs intact. Let the whole body, the complete man, pledge its strength not to fight. To maim the body is to corrupt the soul. If maiming come, let the Government be the assassin, because it fears integrity; let your life be the measure of its guilt, not your limb the price of your cowardice. Be of good faith.

A just war cannot be waged unjustly. If you believe the war to be just, if you back your belief with the offer of your life, then see to it that your near and dear ones are treated justly. See that justice is done to your comrade's unmarried wife. But ah!—justice under capitalism. We would not have you weep. We must not incite to revolution. Our aim is not to scatter incitement, only to plead with all men to act from principle. The woman who has lived with the soldier is prosecuted should she claim to be in law what she is in fact, a wife. She is seeking to obtain money by fraud. But the gun-trust share-holder, bank director, and politician who affirms his poverty to secure a state-pension, is honoured as a patriot. His declaration is but a matter of form. The ruling class of Europe is waging a just war, an honourable war. Its apostles are all honourable men, and we would not that the stones should rise and mutiny. We would that that good world citizen, the Socialist, should remain loyal to his internationalism, however. Freedom has a greater call upon his devotion than the desolation now being prosecuted in Europe. His outlook as a man must not be purchased by his price as a commodity. It were contemptible to be a hireling. It were an insult to accept the hire. Meanness is not manliness.

Prove no coward. Be no slacker. Our mother, Earth, would have us heal her wounds. Our sister, Liberty, would have us be her champion. Both bid us be clean in our manhood, upright in our dealings. They call us from tradition and from prophecy, from the dreamland of past and future, to stern realities that are, to the living world of to-day. Never mind the philosopher who drank hemlock, the prophet who died on the cross. Think not of the world that will be, whose beauty will have had for its manure the martyred persons of the sages and heroes that have been, and are to be. Our sires have died for truth. Our children will do as they have done. Shall we do less? Belongs cowardice to our generation alone of the generations of men. If not, then let us welcome the modern equivalent of hemlock and crosses, so long as our testimony avails the cause of Liberty and brings relief to our Mother Earth.

It is we who are the chosen sons of men, the children of our sires. We did not fight yesterday. We shall not create to-morrow. But we must discharge our filial obligations to-day. King capital rejoices to have our common mother chained. Her fetters must be removed. The tears of sorrow must give place to those of gladness. Smiles and laughter must abound where to-day weeping is made manifest. Here, in the shambles of Europe duty has appointed to each of us our tasks. They permit of no shirking.

Man was destined for a nobler end than the feeding of cannon. Yet death were chosen well, when all ways of living truthfully are closed to us. Life may offer us many pleasing fancies, to lure away from the narrow path of destiny. Their rejection, and the choosing of death, are decreed still by every canon of honour. The life we owe to nature must be sacrificed to the mistress of every freeman's idolatry.

We feel our personal impotence at this juncture. But we know something of what is needed. The fires of battle must be put out. No less is demanded by the mothers of Europe. The fire-brigade is recruited from the workers. They may spread the flames—they can extinguish them.

For our part, we pledge our refusal to participate in this blood-shed under any circumstances. May be, not always with a smile, but certainly with such minimum determination as is necessary, we shall resist any and every government assault on our neutrality. And we shall seek no refuge in flight.

Our place is at home. Our duty to the red-flag is to remain under the threatening shadow of the Union Jack, until the crisis is past. Our greetings, comrades, to liberty. Our love, comrades, to all mankind. Our duty to Mother Earth. We must stand firm for peace and sanity at all cost. It is the cause which has the first and last call on our manhood. Let us hearken to its bidding, and respond without fear to its demand. Every man of us must be as true as steel, as firm as iron. To retain our manhood, let us not fear to lose our lives.

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS.
By CHARLES WORTHAM BROOK.

Stories of The Surgeon of Dorchester Gaol; The Surgeon Who Recanted; The Surgeon Who Became a Party Leader; The Surgeon Who Became The Devil's Chaplain; The Surgeon at the Post Mortem. Illustrated. A wonderful Study of the early 19th century.

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ERRATUM---Page 44, Col. 1, Par. 5, Line 13, Read Trotsky, who is in the pay of Hitler, they aim to

(*Concluded from Column* 1).

to encourage younger members to speak and put their case.

The secretary of the War Resisters is Frank Gillender and his sister Alma is "Peace News" distributor. Two members serve on the P.P.U. National Council—John Morley and Frank Maitland, the latter as local area representative, and both are also on the P.P.U. Negotiated Peace Committee.

The motto of the group is "The highest morality is the greatest expediency," and although the absolutist attitude is stressed throughout, an open forum is maintained, to which exponents of the "alternativist" position and even the war supporter are invited to speak, where together with all visitors, they will be assured of a critical, but nevertheless a keen and kindly audience. Nobody could attend any function of the War Resisters without being impressed by their solidarity, their warm fellowship, and their burning desire to end the war and conscription.

A REFORMED MONEY SYSTEM DESIRABLE

An Answer to J. Craig, showing that Money Reform is not a "Red Herring."

By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Mr. Craig's summary of certain of the points in my speech at Motherwell is a not unfair one, with the following reservations. Banks preserve the system which yields them such lucrative rewards—and gives them so much power—not merely by creating and destroying credit and manipulating interest rates, but by refusing to allow money to be created for any purpose save the making of loans: the buying of securities (by banks); and the buying of gold.

Slumps and booms are certainly caused by the deliberate action of the banks in conjunction with a foolish money system which makes no systematic provision for making up the shortage of consumer purchasing power indirectly due to investment; and which does not recognise the right of the average man to an adequate income not obtained by taxing other people, unless he can get a paid job.

A boom is caused by financiers creating large sums of new money by bank loans, for the sake of the interest on those loans. A time, however, comes when the boom has made many industrialists so prosperous that they show a tendency to become independent of loans and finance their businesses out of their own capital. This is a signal to the financiers that they must be brought to heel even if the process of bringing them to heel involves some temporary loss of interest-profits. Many remaining loans are called in and the money represented by the principal of the loans is destroyed. Securities are sold by the banks and the money so obtained is also destroyed. This destruction of money quickly produces its effect. Consumers have less money for buying goods and because loans are refused, would-be producers are unable to carry on. In the ensuing slump the money-creating moneylender reasserts himself when at length he again decides to bestow his favours on his subdued and disciplined clients.

Mr. Craig makes the common mistake of the orthodox economist (strange company, surely, for a Socialist reformer?) when he calls the alternation of boom and slump a "natural" feature and not the work of financiers. But what has "Nature" got to do with it?

Mr. Craig accounts for the coming of the slump by saying that, owing to the increasing use of labour-saving devices in the face of competition, the average rate of profit has a tendency to fall. But *why* does the average rate of profit tend to fall? Simply because our silly pre-machine age, out-of-date maxim "No work, no income," coupled with a money system which only allows money to be created for bank loans, bank purchases of securities and bank purchases of gold will not allow money to be created and issued on the Social Credit National Dividend plan to enable people put out of work by the labour-saving devices *to continue as effective and adequate purchasers of goods.* If they *were* enabled to continue as adequate and effective customers why should "the average rate of profit" tend to fall because of labour-saving devices? The fact that investment causes a shortage of consumer purchasing power has nothing whatever to do with profit. It would happen under a non-profit system if workers in an established industry chose to invest part of their wages in setting up a new industry. The reason is that investment in further production puts on the market a new lot of goods from the new industry brought into being by the invested money and you cannot sell those new goods—*and all the "old" goods as well*—unless you put additional money into consumers' pockets. It is precisely this creation of new non-debt money issued direct to consumers to enable them to buy new goods (the result of investment setting up new industries), that our present money system does not allow. The wage reductions Mr. Craig refers to are only a reflection of the money-starvation of consumers. The industrialist normally only reduces wages because his sales are falling off owing to the poverty of his customers though of course, in the long run the "remedy" aggravates the general disease for which, however, the financier and the politician and not the industrialist, are primarily to blame. I have never denied that *in theory* you could do away with money in a Socialist state peopled by socially-minded individuals. I only say that in the world of reality where so many people of all classes are anything but socially-minded, a reformed money-system is a desirable half-way house to Utopia and *not* a red herring!

Mr. Craig's 'coupon' plan is thoughtful and interesting, but his coupons are themselves only a form of money with certain new qualifications and even he would, I take it, insist on having *enough* coupons and also insist on recipients not having to borrow the coupons and pay interest on them!

I do not think that the mere fact that Mr. Craig's 'money' lost its value after a period would prevent it from possessing a certain "bribery" value while still effective. Until the forces of education and religion have redeemed humanity it will always be possible to "buy" a man, more or less, by offering him a rare and coveted article or experience which, with or without money, you have the power to bestow. Under a reformed money system combined with an enlightened social system which increased production to the maximum and distributed money claims on that production in a fair and enlightened manner, the evil of human "purchase" would, however, be reduced to a minimum.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Many readers wrote expressing their appreciation of the article, "Prisoners at the Bar," published in these columns for May last. This particular issue was circulated widely in Norfolk and Suffolk by an Anglican cleric who had been a prison chaplain, but resigned his appointment from horror at the indignities of the prison system. Many found readers in Norwich. A solicitor there sent us a list of addresses to which to send the paper at his expense. He also asked that copies be sent to Clerks to the Court in several parts of Britain, with the "Prisoners" article marked. Our solicitor friend was much impressed with the account of the stand made by Maurice Healy, not then K.C., against Mr. Justice Horridge, in defending the "Prisoner at the Bar," in February, 1922, and the discussion of the status of the accused person in Court, by Mr. Albert Lieck. Mr. Healy received the paper, with the long overdue tribute, on his deathbed.

As a commentary on the article, the following news item from the *Daily Mirror*, London, for Wednesday, September 15, makes interesting reading:—

NOW ALL SIT FOR JUSTICE

Instead of standing in the dock guarded by a burly policeman people charged at Norwich City Police Court will in future sit in the body of the court room in the fifteenth century Guildhall while their cases are tried.

Only in "special circumstances" will the dock be brought back. In other words if defendants behave like law-abiding citizens they will be treated as such.

The Norwich City Bench is believed to be the third oldest in the country after London and Bristol. Its complete record dates from 1280 and the Court is believed to have been sitting in 1194.

Mr. R. H. Mottram, the author, who is one of the magistrates, told the "Daily Mirror" yesterday:

"Although we are one of the most ancient in the country we are a progressive Bench.

"The days when accused persons had to be caged up and closely watched by four policemen are dead.

"A person is innocent of a charge until found guilty, so why should he suffer the embarrassment and humiliation of having to stand in a dock?"

The Chief Constable of Norwich, Mr. J. H. Dain, has expressed entire agreement with the magistrates' decision.

The *Edinburgh Evening News*, in its issue for September 9, had some unkind things to say about the Duke of Bedford, because of his opposition to war and conscription.

Our contemporary wrote:—

DUCAL SPEAKER

I see that at the Cosmo Cinema, Glasgow, on Sunday afternoon, the Duke of Bedford will be the principal speaker at a meeting of the No-Conscription League.

At this stage of events I must confess it "gars me grue" rather to read of the No-Conscription League's continued existence. Judging by its name, this pacifist organisation doesn't know yet there's a war on.

OUTSPOKEN

In recent years the 54-year-old Duke of Bedford has carried on an active pacifist campaign from his Scottish seat, Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, although he rarely appears on a public platform.

His campaign was denounced in the House of Lords on one occasion by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, in language more outspoken than is usually heard in that august chamber.

"I have informed myself of some of the Duke of Bedford's opinions," said Lord Simon. "I am afraid I regard these opinions as utterly irresponsible and completely pestilential."

Simon's phrase is sufficiently abusive to be quotable. The speech from which it is taken did not add to his reputation. He made the speech in the House of Lords on Tuesday, November 18, 1941. In the first place, Simon was defending Herbert Morrison's altogether irrelevant and unnecessary reference to the Duke of Bedford in the House of Commons. Simon, replying to Ponsonby, said that he did not doubt that the Duke of Bedford was *"high-minded, disinterested, and sincere"* but his views were *"utterly irresponsible and completely pestilential."* These phrases ought not to be said in the same breath. The dual utterance was scarcely worthy of the mind of a Lord Chancellor. History may agree that the Duke of Bedford's views are pestilential. On the other hand history may indict as being pestilential the views advanced by Simon. Who can say? Certainly history will not eulogise the statesmen who wanted to bring Goering to Britain for the Coronation of George VI and later denounced the same Goering in the Houses of Parliament. It was not the Duke of Bedford who visited the Nazi leaders in Germany and invited them to Britain to be his guests. He never offered to put them up during the Coronation. All this was done by men who pose to-day as great servants of the State and enemies of Nazism.

We suppose that Simon was not expressing "utterly irresponsible and pestilential" opinions in December, 1932, when he defended Japan's seizure of Manchuria. Then there is the press photograph picture of Simon, Eden, and Hitler, taken and published in March, 1935. Simon is hardly the man to pride himself on his sense of responsible utterance.

Punch ridiculed the Lord's speech in its "impressions of Parliament" in its issue for November 26, 1941. Our contemporary's parliamentary reporter declared that *"Alice* herself, after all her adventures in the Land-in-Rabbit-Hole might have been surprised had she strayed into either House this week."

The parliamentary impressionist added:—

There in the Lords to-day was the Liberal Lord Chancellor, wigged and silken-gowned, standing by the side of the Woolsack and giving a Conservative Noble Duke a right royal telling-off—all in the silkiest, most judicial tones. . . .

And sitting on the Independent Labour benches was a Noble Baron who had defended the Noble Duke against the words of a Labour Home Secretary in "Another Place."

Complicated enough for the Mad Hatter himself. . .

A week or two back Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, defending his action in refusing an exit permit for an M.P. to visit Ireland, had mentioned the Duke of Bedford in none too flattering terms.

Lord Ponsonby (in spite of an expressed fear of the prison bars for himself) complained of these remarks, which he said were in bad taste and Gestapo-like in their implications.

Lord Simon, on the Woolsack, and therefore bound to be impartial, listened with courteous, mask-like

face. Then he rose, and taking the two paces to the left (of course with a small "I") that turn him from the impartial Speaker of the Lords into the very effective partisan of the Government, as a Minister, he bowed to Lord Ponsonby. That seemed to be the equivalent of the boxers' handshake, for next moment Lord Ponsonby was staggering under a shower of oratorical blows.

Blandly smiling, Lord Simon said he wished to say nothing against the Duke of Bedford—whose opinions however he found "utterly irresponsible and completely pestilential." Anyway, the Home Secretary had been both right and correct in his words and actions.

We do not think that a wise columnist would recall such an incident. Clearly, the Duke of Bedford was not to blame for the discussion. Herbert Morrison and Simon were both in the wrong.

Morrison's attack in the Commons on Tuesday, October 21, made big headlines. His reference to the Duke conveyed the impression that the Duke intended to apply for a passport to go to Ireland. This was untrue.

House of Commons Reports, for November 20, 1941, contained the following question and answer:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD (TRAVEL TO IRELAND).

Sir W. Smithers asked the Home Secretary what were his reasons for forbidding the Duke of Bedford to visit Eire?

Mr. H. Morrison: The Duke of Bedford has not, in fact, applied for an exit permit for the purpose of travelling to Ireland since February 1940, but as I explained during the Debate on the 21st October last, I should not feel justified in granting an exit permit to him if he applied for one. I do not think it would be right to give any facilities for travel to Ireland to a person who propagates views described by the Lord Chancellor as "utterly irresponsible and completely pestilential."

Morrison's reference served the purpose of starting a huge press campaign. Here are some descriptions culled from the British newspapers on October 23, 1941:—

"Our No. 1 Cassandra." (meaning the Duke of Bedford).

"An unrepentant prophet of woe."

"No sunny Jimmy. The Duke cannot be called encouraging. You couldn't say he radiates sunshine."

"Much curiosity has been aroused by Mr. Herbert Morrison's somewhat cryptic allusions to the Duke of Bedford."

"The strange misguided peer."

The *Glasgow Evening News*, for October 24, wrote:—

Duke of Bedford who has been giving voice to very individual views of the war, is a man with a very individual philosophy of life.

West Africa, London, for October 25, published the following note from its Parliamentary Correspondent, under the caption "Freedom of M.P.s curbed"—

Lest the Coast Colonies think that all repressive legislation starts and ends in the Colonial Empire, let it be here recorded that under the Defence Regulation the Home Secretary can restrain in Britain, even Members of both Houses. This week he named two, one in each House, namely, Mr. McGovern and the Duke of Bedford.

This led some Members, anxious about freedom and rights to liken the Home Secretary and his Staff to Hitler and his gang. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth and the Home Secretary and Prime Minister were prompt to correct that unhappy impression—which should never have been given expression.

The *Star*, London, same date, in its "Star Man's Diary" wrote:—

Two more peace pamphlets by the Duke of Bedford—inaddition to the one entitled "What a Game," to which I was the first to draw attention, in this column two days ago—have been brought to the notice of the Home Secretary.

As to NO-Conscription being reprehensible, part of the Anti-Socialist propaganda in which the *Edinburgh Evening News* used to engage in former days, consisted of horror at Socialism because it would involve State Conscription. And now, the Tory Capitalists applaud such Conscription, and their mean legal and press apologists hate the people who defend civil liberty against such bureaucratic oppression. Unless conscription is opposed, civil liberty will not survive the war, and all mankind will be enslaved from the cradle to the grave.

At the very moment when the *Edinburgh Evening News* was publishing this stupid attack on the Duke of Bedford, the conscription issue was blowing up. Within less than a week the Nottinghamshire Miners went on strike, to the tune of about 15,000, as a protest against the imprisonment of a young man named Page, who refused to work underground. Notts enjoys the reputation of having been always the sleepiest spot of all mining areas. Northumberland miners were threatening the same action on similar grounds. In Lanarkshire and Fifeshire the "Communist" stooges blamed the unrest on Anarchists, the I.L.P., and the Duke of Bedford.

The South Wales papers, on September 13, reported that Arthur Horner had been heckled at a Communist meeting because he had criticised the strikers at Penrhiwceibr. The men are furious that they are paying Horner for championing the Russian bureaucracy instead of the South Wales miners. This is, indeed, enlightening.

Perhaps the Duke of Bedford, like Rhys Davies, M.P., has a clearer understanding of the working class reaction to conscription, than the scribe in the *Edinburgh Evening News*, and the more time-serving Labour careerists in the Commons.

In reply to Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., the following appeared in the official records of the House of Commons for the 14th October, 1943, from Mr. E. Bevin, Minister of Labour:

Up to August 31st, 1943, the total number of workers prosecuted in England and Wales for offences that were not punishable before the outbreak of War was:—

Men—14,072.

Women—3,067.

Of these, 1,255 men and 199 women were sentenced to imprisonment.

Mr. William Quin, Deputy Regional Commissioner for Scotland, in his "Scottish Notebook" in the Glasgow *Sunday Mail*, for September 5, makes the following reference to Mark Starr.

The Ministry of Information arranged for me to meet an American visitor last week. He turned out to be Mark Starr, one-time South Wales author and educationist.

Mr. Starr is now the Educational Director for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, one of the most powerful Trade Unions in America. . . .

He is over here on a visit to meet representative people with the job of gathering data to educate his Union members on the need for close co-operation between U.S.A. and this country in the post-war period.

It was impossible to picture Mark Starr as a war-time traveller for capitalist imperialism, seeking to perpetuate the status quo, without recalling our 1916 anti-war activity in Wales, just prior to our arrest for resisting military service. Our addresses were reported at length in the Merthyr *Pioneer* and make better and more valuable reading to-day than when reported. Mark Starr fell foul of our contributions and wrote as a received authority on Marx—a man who was an authority on the workers' struggle and must not be questioned.

We reprint a letter published in *The Pioneer* April 16, 1916:

ALDRED AND MARX

(To the Editor of the "Pioneer")

Dear Sir,—Ioan's letter, in the "Pioneer" of the 8th inst., relates that Mr. Guy A. Aldred claims Marx as an Anarchist. A study of Marx's works refutes that claim. Quotations cannot do justice to the theories attached to his name, and where he disagreed with many of his contemporaries was the fact that he believed in a Socialism which would not be a graft upon present society, but would grow naturally out of it. In his materialist conception of history he showed the ruling class in every age producing its own gravediggers.

In your report, upon another page, Mr. Aldred bemoans that "we are more concerned with the vote catcher and Trades Unionism than with real Labour emancipation and Socialism." It is our lack of concern about our Trade Unions he should bewail, for in them lies our emancipation; they are the basis of the future society. Marx saw the failure of the Labour conditions in their guerilla warfare of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," but "the abolition of the wage system" is a different proposition. The Socialist should not be driven by the present conditions to wish to take a leap into the dark. The industrial union provides him with an opportunity to first learn to control his own organisation, and finally control and own the industry, thus avoiding State Socialism, which by buying out the present owners would create a large body of bond-holders, and the "servile State."—Yours, etc.,

MARK STARR.

And so to-day, Mark Starr tours for the M.O.I.! Well, Well!!

TO THE READER.

Last month, Councillor Earl appealed for support for our deficit fund. Since the cost of printing is rising, and we carry no paid advertising, continuous support from those who feel the urge of the struggle is necessary. We may have to increase the price of the paper. Many of our contemporaries have increased their price. We are reluctant to do so. A conditional offer of help came from London. We have hesitated to accept or make it known, largely because we were jealous of the space needed, and wanted to concentrate on the factual propaganda. We believe this to be the best paper in the movement and we aim to improve it. We work under the pressure of one very large debt that we wish to clear. So we ask every comrade who can to make a special effort. Address your support to: THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

FABIAN COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

The public conference organised by the Sheffield Fabian Society in conjunction with the Fabian Colonial Bureau on "The Colonies and the Future," at the Victoria Hall, Sheffield, on Saturday, October 9, was an outstanding success. It was attended by 210 people, including 87 delegates, representing 41 organisations. Reports of the excellent speeches made by J. F. Horrabin, John Carter and Rita Hinden will appear in our next issue.

CAT AND MOUSE

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S MOTION.

Since delivering his famous speech in the House of Lords on the treatment of conscientious objectors the Duke of Bedford has made a close investigation of the continued "cat and mouse" treatment of many objectors. As a result, the Duke is to call attention in the House of Lords

to the continuation of cat-and-mouse treatment of conscientious objectors, with special reference to practices which deprive them of the measure of protection which, under the National Service Acts, it is intended they should receive.

BOLSHEVIK BOGEY IN BRITAIN.

By EMRYS HUGHES (Editor, "The Forward")).

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The Story of British Government Policy Towards Russia from the Bolshevik Revolution to the Anglo-Russian Treaty.

80 Pages of Facts, Figures, Quotations.

A wonder factual exposure. Every Socialist should read this splendid work. Obtainable at and from The Strickland Press. We hope to review this work at an early date.

MARXISM: IS IT SCIENTIFIC? by Max Eastman.

This wonderful work of 344 pages, stiff covers, has been purchased by us from the publishers. Published at 8s. 6d., it can be secured new for 5s., post free, 5s. 6d. Supply limited. Order now direct from The Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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OUR MARTYRED DEAD

TO THE SOCIALIST MEMORY OF OUR COMRADES
HEINRICH ERLICH and VICTOR ALTER
who died at the hand of the executioner, in a prison in Kuibishev, one day in December, 1942, because they had dedicated their lives to the cause of Human Freedom.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS' TRIBUTE

Tribute was paid to the life and work of our comrades Erlich and Alter by representative Socialists of the Allied countries (other than the U.S.A.) opposed to Fascism and Nazism, as follows:—

LOUIS DE BROUCKERE; CAMILLE HUYSMANS (Belgian Labour Party).

A. J. DOBBS; LINCOLN EVANS; WILLIAM GILLIES; J. S. MIDDLETON; ELEANOR STEWART; MARY E. SUTHERLAND; JAMES WALKER, M.P. (British Labour Party).

JOSEF BELINA (Czechoslovak Social Democratic Labour Party).

LOUIS LEVY (French Socialist Party).

ALF SEVERIN (Norwegian Labour Party).

BERL LOCKER (Palestine Jewish Labour Party).

The United States appreciation was expressed by the following Socialist and Anti-Fascist citizens:—

WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labour.

Professor ALBERT EINSTEIN.

Rev. HENRY SMITH LEIPER, Executive Secretary, Universal Christian Council.

DAVID DUBINSKY, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Dr. ALVIN JOHNSON, Director, New School for Social Research.

ADOLPH HELD, Chairman, Jewish Labour Committee.

LEO KRZYCKI, President, American Slav Congress.

Dr. FRAN KINGDON.

JOSEPH WEINBERG, President, Workmen's Circle.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Chairman, Union for Democratic Action.

CLINTON S. GOLDEN, Assistant President, United Steelworkers of America.

Dr. B. HOFFMAN, President, Jewish Writers' Union.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING.

J. B. S. HARDMAN, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Editor Official Press.

PHILIP MURRAY, President, Congress of Industrial Organisations.

EXECUTION DEFENDED.

Litvinov admitted the execution and attempted to defend it in the following letter addressed to Mr. William Green, of the A.F.L.:—

EMBASSY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 23, 1943.

Dear Mr. Green,

I am informed by Mr. Molotov, People's Commisar of Foreign Affairs, of the receipt by him of a telegram signed by you concerning two Soviet citizens, Alter and Erlich.

I am instructed by Mr. Molotov to inform you of the following facts:

For active subversive work against the Soviet Union and assistance to Polish intelligence organs in armed activities, Erlich and Alter were sentenced to capital punishment in August, 1941.

At the request of the Polish Government, Elrich and Alter were released in September, 1941.

However, after they were set free, at the time of the most desperate battles of the Soviet troops against the advancing Hitler army, they resumed their hostile activities including appeals to the Soviet troops to stop bloodshed and immediately to conclude peace with Germany.

For this they were rearrested and, in December, 1942, sentenced once more to capital punishment by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court. This sentence has been carried out in regard to both of them.

Yours sincerely,
Ambassador MAXIM LITVINOV.

[Specially drawn for "The Word," by McPhail.

THE DESCENT OF MAN

MASS ARRESTS OF POLISH SOCIALISTS.

Erlich and Alter were arrested by the Soviet authorities late September, 1939, a few days after the Red Army entered Eastern Poland —Erlich at the railway station of Brzesc (Brest Litovsk), Alter at Kowel.

Litvinov's letter was meant to create the impression that both Alter and Erlich had been arrested on a definite charge. The truth is that they were detained along with thousands of other Polish citizens, especially Socialists and trade unionists.

Close upon the heels of the U.S.S.R. army which occupied Polish territory in September, 1939, followed many detachments of the N.K.W.D., the political police of Soviet Russia (formerly the "G.U.P.") Immediately mass arrests were made among all classes of the population of Poland. Especially great numbers of arrests were made among the Polish Labour leaders, belonging to the Polish Socialist Party and to the Jewish "Bund." The arrests began on September 20th, three days after the Soviet army had entered Poland. The town councillors, members of the committees of the local Socialist parties, members of the trade union executives, organisers of working-class peasant youth were arrested.

Among these were Erlich and Alter.

The way in which the arrests were made was typical. In the houses, where the arrests took place, not only the men whom the police had come to fetch were arrested but everybody who was in the house with them. In Wilno, for instance, the police entered the house of an old active "Bund" leader, Zeleznikov, who had been exiled to Siberia in the time of the Czar, in order to arrest him. Quite accidentally they found there also a man named Rosenstein employed in the sanatorium for working-class children named Wladyslaw Medem. This man, who had fled from Warsaw and the Germans, they also arrested. He was sentenced to the labour camp where he met his death.

Also in Wilno, the Secret Soviet police came to arrest a well-known Socialist leader, a lawyer named Tajtell. But they found there a refugee from Warsaw, a well-known trade unionist and Socialist, who had spent years in Czarist prisons—H. Himelfrab. They took him along and sentenced him to eight years in the camps.

It proved quite impossible to intervene with the examining magistrate or the public prosecutor. The wife of one of the arrested men, Mrs. G., was told by the examining magistrate:—

You have funny women here. In our country, in Russia, when the husband is arrested the wife sues for divorce and looks for another one. But here you come along pleading and begging, which can, after all, only result in your being sent away also.

CONFESSIONS OF A "COMMUNIST."

(Suggested by an anonymous leaflet now circulating in London, entitled "Confessions of a British Stalinist.")

I call myself a Communist;
A skunk by any other name would smell the same,
But I know the attraction of the term,
Although its meaning puts my lies to shame.

I have renounced as crudely vain
The independence of my mind, and so opine
That black is white when tactics so demand
In loyalty to Stalin—this is the party line.

Fretting within my head are words,
A stock of undigested slogans which I shout,
Accustomed well to discipline,
My party leaders deem "the comrades" but a throng,
To give praise unceasing, without stint
To all that Moscow stands for—"right" but wrong.

My party is the Kremlin,
In that political machine I am a cog,
I do not pause to ask the pros and cons
Of twisting lies to form a blinding fog.

"Power to the Party" is my guide;
My strength lies chiefly in my tongue which with a lie
Can so urge unity for doubtful ends
That all the workers' cause in knots I tie.

I am a British Stalinist,
I have to chop and change my views from left to right,
But though the sides so very swiftly change,
For Moscow's aims, I tell you all to fight.

Printed by the Ripley (Believe It or Not) Press, and published by the Imperial Communionist Party (affiliated to the anti-Socialist Union) in the neighbourhood of New Scotland Yard, London, S.W.

LET'S HONOUR THOSE WHO MAKE OUR SONGS.

Let's honour those who make our songs,
The lowly bards who know our joys,
Who know our cares, and weave a tune
To ease our hearts, and light our eyes,
A heart without a song to sing,
Oh, what a desert it would be,
And yet so many of our bards
Have wept in sorry poverty.

Shame on us that have no more soul
That starve the heart that makes our songs!
What hope for humankind to right
The many cruel, bitter wrongs
That wreck the world, if we respect
The hollow pride that Wealth can show,
Yet see not in the bard a king
Whose glory we may never know?

JOE CORRIE.

SIR THOMAS MOORE M.P.

"COMMUNIST" PARTY'S NAZI APOLOGIST PET

Sir Thomas Moore, M.P. for Ayr Burghs since 1925, was exposed in "The Word" for August and September, 1940. A few copies of these issues can be obtained still and ought to be read and circulated by our readers at the present. The two papers will be sent, post-free, so long as the stock lasts, to any address for sixpence.

In the August, 1940, issue we indict Lt.-Col. Moore, M.P., as one of the Tory M.P.s who must resign. He was a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship and a supporter of the notorious Nazi "Anglo-German Review." This paper defended Hitler's claims to Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Austria.

In the September, 1940, issue we quoted at length from Sir Thomas Moore's essay in the "Daily Mail" for April 25, 1934, entitled: "The Blackshirts Have What the Conservatives Need." We also reproduced from the "Sunday Dispatch" his article urging the return of the German colonies and the strengthening and developing of German power in Africa.

Secure these two issues of "The Word," if you have not seen them, or filed them for reference. Then turn to our contemporary, "The Ayrshire Post," for October 15, 1943. We reproduce from its columns essential passages of its report of an address delivered by Sir Thomas Moore to the Old Cronies Club on Tuesday, October 13, 1943:—

STALIN: REALIST AND CYNIC.
Sir T. Moore and Red Army.

Greater Anglo-Soviet unity was stressed by Lt.Col. Sir Thomas Moore, C.B.E., M.P. for Ayr Burghs, when he delivered the opening address for the winter session of the Prestwick Old Cronies Club in the clubhouse on Tuesday afternoon.

Sir Thomas revealed the interesting fact that he had, at the request of M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador, become a vice-president of the National Association for Anglo-Soviet-Unity. Mr. J. B. Langlands, president of the club presided. . . .

Dealing with his subject, Sir Thomas said that he had been asked to speak on current topics, and he thought that because of the tremendous victories in Russia, the best and most interesting topic was "Russia and the Red Army." He had spent a considerable time in Russia, and he knew Russia and the Red Army.

Russia, Sir Thomas wanted to make quite clear, was not Communist, whatever else she was. From 1917, when the revolution broke out, until 1922, Communism, undoubtedly, in its purity was observed throughout Russia. Then Lenin, who was a very shrewd man, saw that, although equality was necessary immediately after the revolution, it could not work perpetually because of human nature. Every human individual had ambition and wanted to improve the conditions of those he loved. Lenin realised that they had to give reward according to merit, and so he introduced his New Economic Policy. That was the first break with Communism.

Sir Thomas went on to refer to Stalin's three five-year plans which raised Russia from the state of a vast backward agricultural community to an agricultural and industrial community. During his second plan Stalin saw the red light of danger coming from across the frontier from Germany, and he devoted this plan to making a great military power of Russia. He also realised that Communists would not fight their national brothers, and so he changed the whole theoretical policy of Communism, substituting Nationalism and love of country. That was the reason the Russians were fighting with such force and vigour to-day. He was convinced that the whole of the progress of civilisation depended on the good-will between Russia and ourselves.

NAILS IN NAZI COFFIN.

The mysterious force, the Red Army, where did it come from? asked Sir Thomas. Foreign agents had known nothing of its strength before the war. He had seen it born and had seen its gradual development in Moscow. At the beginning of the last war the Russians were forced to fight, poorly armed and clad, and for three years they progressed to certain destruction. After the war they gave voice to their grievances in the revolution, and the Red Army was born. In the revolution they fought, and held out until they conquered, thus laying the foundation of the all-conquering Red Army we knew to-day. The Russians had two great leaders, Stalin and Lenin. Whatever was thought of their methods they were still great men.

Stalin's third five-year plan drove the first nails into the coffin of Nazism; not quite the first, however, said Sir Thomas, for Hitler himself had driven that home when he attacked Russia on June 22, 1941, starting the most amazing military campaign history recorded. Hitler decided that the Red Army must be destroyed, but Stalin decided that it should not be destroyed. . . .

Speaking of Stalin, Sir Thomas said he was a realist, if ever there was one; a cynic too; a man of great resoluteness of purpose. He had been greatly blamed for his conduct when he took time by the forelock in Finland and Rumania to gain territory to prepare the defences he needed to bring final victory. This was a great man. . . .

Sir Thomas said that before the war he had known Germans whom he thought to be upright, honest people, but when things were going their way every German would participate, and when things went wrong they would welcome our forces as an army of liberation and tell us how much they hated the Nazi regime. (Applause.) The way to deal with the German people after the war was one of the most difficult questions, and he could only tell a story of a Russian officer who had said that we would get to Berlin before the Russians because we had certain advantages in transport, but we should leave Germany to the Russians for a fortnight, and the German problem would be solved. (Laughter and applause.)

Since he praises Stalin for having destroyed Communism and Internationalism, the "Communists" applaud this Tory Blackshirt Apologist! They do not ask what he was doing in Russia, 1918-20; or in Ireland, 1916-18 and again in 1920-23? Was he serving the cause of Socialism and Labour? Was he on the side of James Connolly and Sheehy Skeffington? And why does he wear the orders of St. Anne of Russia, 2nd class and St. Vladimir of Russia, 4th class? These are Czarist orders!

What a gang the "Communists" are!

"CONCHIE."

Refuses to fight, eh? Declares he will NOT?
The fellow's a bounder, sir—ought to be shot!
Thinks bombing is barbarous, warfare a crime,
Parades and saluting and drill, waste of time?

Thinks murder is murder in just the same way,
When it's masses, and not merely one, that we slay?
Calls a man worse than beast who, when ordered to, cuts
A fellow-man's limbs off, or bayonets his guts?

Thinks the slaughter of children is too high a price
For profitable trading in rubber and rice,
And honour and glory are not worth the tears
Of one bereaved mother, nor one sweatheart's fears?

Thinks hatred degrading, and cruelty vile,
The slaughter of men to gain ground, not worth while,
And "stern retribution" a doctrine of vice,
When all who call war's tune must pay the full price?

Thinks maltreatment of women, and torture of men,
Cannot be condoned, nor excused now and then
By phrases like "national security," or
"The steps we must take to continue the war?"

Says unthinking obedience to orders from me,
Right or wrong, without reasoning, question or plea,
Stifling all instincts to follow my plan,
Is degrading the powers that make him a man?

Thinks people like me are a lower type still,
Because we take pay to send others to kill?
I tell you, quite plainly, sir, plainly by Gad,
The fellow's a rotter, an absolute CAD!

IVAN BEUTTLER.

WILL NO ONE SING A SONG?

Will no one sing a song,
Great as the hills, or the sea,
To the men of all nations,
That will shake the dullest of heart
To its very foundations?

That will open our lust-red eyes
Now blind in ignorance,
To the grandeur and glory
Of Life, simple, wond'rous and grand
As a fairy story?

JOE CORRIE.

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS.
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Stories of The Surgeon of Dorchester Gaol; The Surgeon Who Recanted; The Surgeon Who Became a Party Leader; The Surgeon Who Became The Devil's Chaplain; The Surgeon at the Post Mortem. Illustrated. A wonderful Study of the early 19th century.
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POST-WAR CONDITIONS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Reports which have been reaching me from a number of independent sources, show a remarkable agreement on the following three points. (1) People are losing interest in the war and many who were once ardent in their pursuit of "victory" are now anxious only that the war should end quickly, provided, of course, that it does not end in our defeat. (2) There is anxiety extending even to political circles as to what the results of a Russian victory may be. (3) There is profound despondency with regard to post-war conditions.

I must confess that I might share in some measure the anxiety as to the possible results of a Russian victory, not, as my "Communist" critics have suggested, because I fear the spread of a movement bringing freedom and justice to the workers; but for the opposite reason, that the Soviet Government, by its political cruelty and tyranny, disregard of the rights of the individual, and tendency to military aggression where national interests have been thought to be at stake, has forsaken the principles of Communism and imitated the defects with which Fascism is usually associated. In saying this, I do not mean to imply that I do not desire the friendliest relations with the Russian people, nor do I even mean to suggest that I do not wish to make the best of the Russian Government and deal with it in all matters honestly and fairly. It is only by making the best of a government, whether Communist or Fascist, that one can render enlightened service to its people; while if a serious crisis does ever develop by reason of the government's misconduct, you can then alienate the sympathy of the people from their government and deprive it of the power to engage in war.

Despondency with regard to post-war conditions is extremely well-founded, assuming that our present political leaders and financial masters are retained. As I pointed out in a recent speech in Glasgow, whatever its final military result may be, the war, as far as the attainment of any of the original idealistic aims is concerned, is already well and truly lost. We have no power, as that organ for the expression of Government opinion, the "Times," has virtually admitted, to prevent Russia from keeping as much Polish territory as she desires, nor, it might be added, can we prevent her, in the event of an Allied victory, from dominating to any extent she wishes other small neighbouring States.

As for the overthrow of Fascism, the ugly features characteristic of Fascism are now firmly established in our own country, and an army of political bureaucrats and planners are making it increasingly clear that, if they have any say in the matter, State tyranny is to remain, even when the war is ended, including, of course, the worst of all forms of State tyranny, military conscription.

The position in the Far East is obscure and may be distinctly awkward in more senses than one. If it should be true that Japan (doubtless in return for important trading rights) has granted independence to Burma, the Phillipines, etc., Britain and America may find themselves fighting to re-impose upon those countries an alien rule in defiance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

The Morganthau Plan; the defects and omissions in the Keynes Plan and Beveridge Scheme; the policy and personnel of AMGOT; the evasive answers given by Chancellors of the Exchequer when questioned by Members of the House of Commons who favour monetary reform; the sending of gold by the American Government to China; and the conversation of prominent American financiers and business men; all point to the fact that after the war the tyranny of "sound" finance and Big Business is to be re-established, with its necessary accompaniment of poverty in the midst of potential plenty—a poverty brought about by the restriction of the money supply in the interests of money-creating money-lenders, and by interference with foreign trade in the interests of currency buyers and speculators.

The post-war economic prospects in Britain are not made too rosy by the loss of our foreign investments and most of our export trade—a loss which may make it extremely difficult to secure adequate imports for our over-populated islands. If the American Government insists on our depleting our limited supply of home products by exporting goods to pay for Lease-lend war consignments, our position may be grim indeed. Personally, if I were Prime Minister, I should not be very accommodating if such a demand were pressed after the cessation of hostilities. I am the last person to wish to defraud any ordinary American citizen or inflict hardship upon him by failure to repay a straight-forward loan; these war debts, however, are not straightforward loans and I can well remember the nonsense that was talked after the last war and the unjust resentment which financiers on the other side of the Atlantic stirred up against us in order to hide the shortcomings of their policy from their own people. Apart from the fact that the American Government was more than anxious to enter this war, and might therefore, one would have thought, very well treat as a gift all help given to a hard-pressed ally, it will be within its power, when the war has ended, to bestow upon American citizens many times the volume of goods that we could send as exports, by the simple process of re-forming its money system and developing the vast natural resources of U.S.A. to the full. When the last bill for munitions has been met a few weeks or a few months after the end of the war, there is no reason why we, or the American people either, should have to continue to pay for the war either in goods or money, and if any attempt is made to force such payment, it will be by reason of another financiers' racket. If American citizens should again be tempted to resent Britain's alleged failure to repay a "debt of honour," let them look nearer home for the true source of any economic hardships that may seem to threaten them: they need not look in vain!

Yes, there is certainly cause for anxiety about post-war conditions; indeed, if things are allowed to continue on the same old lines, there would seem no hope at all. But **need** they so continue? The way to a brighter future is still clear, if only men would take it. A negotiated peace in which Britain, America, Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan all recognised that they had a share of war guilt, and, frankly admitting their common failings, agreed to abandon the domination of other races and pledged themselves to treat their neighbours as they themselves would like to be treated; a peace in which the Allies, in the interests of their own peoples no less than in those of the peoples of other countries, threw off the shackles of orthodox finance and really co-operated with other countries in developing to the full the world's resources, distributing them according to human need; then out of black darkness might come a new dawn and out of despair, a hope for all mankind.

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Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
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THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY
are the study and dissemination of ethical principles, and the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11 a.m.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The following news items tell their own story.

Glasgow "Bulletin," Monday, November 1, 1943:—

DUKE'S CALL TO MINERS

Addressing a working-class audience of over 700 in the Burnbank district of Hamilton last night, the Duke of Bedford who was accompanied by Mr. Guy Aldred, Glasgow, outlined the main points in his programme for a new social order after the war.

The people ought to begin now to organise themselves, he said, with a view to bringing pressure to bear on their Parliamentary representatives and they should set about agitating immediately for a reform of our existing monetary system.

Glasgow "Evening Citizen," November 2, 1943:—

TO PLEAD FOR MINERS

The Duke of Bedford is to plead in the House of Lords for better conditions for Scottish miners. He visited the Lanarkshire coalfield and discussed with the miners questions of wages, housing and holidays and promised his support in urging reforms.

In Glasgow, the duke interviewed a large number of people, particularly on pensions questions, and promised he would do everything possible to remove anomalies.

"Daily Worker," London, November, 5. 1943:—

MINERS DENY TALKS WITH DUKE

"Daily Worker" Reporter

The Lanarkshire Miners' Union have issued a denial of the Press report that conversations take place between the union and the Duke of Bedford on miners' wages, housing and holidays. "All questions of wages and working conditions will be handled by this organisation and not by the Duke of Bedford," it says.

The statement also rejects such claim by the Duke who, together with Guy Aldred, the well-known anarchist, spoke at a meeting at Burnbank, Lanarkshire, last Sunday.

Glasgow "Evening Times," November 4, 1943:—

MINERS SAY DUKE HAS NO MANDATE

Lanarkshire Mineworkers' Union issued a statement last night denying that the Duke of Bedford had any mandate to speak on behalf of local miners.

A report appeared to the effect that the Duke of Beford is to plead in the House of Lords for better conditions for Scottish miners, said the statement.

It was stated that he visited the Lanarkshire coalfield and discussed with miners questions of wages, housing and holidays, and promised support in effecting reforms.

"We of the Lanarkshire Mineworkers' Union wish to state that at no time did any conversations take place between us and the Duke of Bedford. He has no authority from this union to make any such statement. Questions will be decided by this union and not by the Duke of Bedford."

A similar paragraph appeared in the "Daily Record," the same day. The Pearson-Moffatt clique seem worried by the Duke's activities, his mining contacts, and his visits to the proletariat of Lanarkshire.

The "Evening Times," Glasgow, November 8, 1943:—

DUKE AND MINERS

Mr. Guy A. Aldred writes:—"I was somewhat surprised to read the announcement in the "Evening Times" concerning the Mineworkers' Union alleged repudiation of the Duke of Bedford on behalf of the miners of Lanarkshire.

"The facts are simple. Last April the Duke arranged to visit some Anarchist miners in Burnbank and to stay with one. The week before last he stayed with this miner and his wife. He has arranged to go back and to meet a number of miners.

"He never pretended that he was speaking officially for the union. But he has examined and is examining miners' conditions. He has first-hand information. And he has been asked to take up the miners' case in the House of Lords. He intends to do so.

"Surely one does not need to receive a permit from the union to speak as a legislator with authority in the House of Lords."

MOTHERWELL I.L.P. OPEN FORUM,

Meeting in Lesser Town Hall, Motherwell, on Sunday, 19th December, at 6-30 p.m. Speaker, GUY A. ALDRED. Subject, "The Church, The War, and Peace." Questions and Discussion.

All Welcome.

WILLIAM JOHNSON FOX, M.P.

Dear Aldred,

In your sketch of the history of the South Place Ethical Society, you are giving a useful account of the development of an old group from supernaturalism to humanism. The first ministers were Christians of the older Biblical school; the transition period was reached under William Johnson Fox. It is by no means the least useful part of your sketch that you call attention once again to a very remarkable man whose story has been so largely forgotten.

Fox went to Parliament Court Chapel, Bishopsgate, from Chichester and the old South Place Chapel (demolished in 1927) was built for him in 1824. He had become a definite Unitarian and gradually broadened upon this basis. At first, he was a prominent figure in denominational circles and was the first secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Later on, he withdrew from these positions and was in fact put out of the association by his fellow-ministers in London. This act of ostracism was avowedly due to his views on divorce and his separation from Mrs. Fox.

There are just two things to be said about the happening. Fox's views upon divorce were exactly the same as those sponsored by the poet, Milton, whose theological writings the older Unitarians held in high esteem. The conduct of the London ministers was censured by no less a person than James Martineau, then of Liverpool. It is impossible to avoid the feeling that their behaviour was dictated largely both by Fox's political radicalism and his widening theological views.

Fox had come to reject any concept of a specific supernatural revelation; his religion was a thesis which continued to reverence Jesus of Nazareth whilst rejecting the whole cycle of historic Christianity. To compare these views with those of the typical Unitarians of the day, nourished in the Biblicism of the XVIII century, is to see the vast advance which Fox had made in thought. He was an outstanding early exponent of the broadening process in theology of which Martineau and J. J. Hayler were to become distinguished exponents within a few years. Fox's real farewell to South Place was in 1848, when he gave the lectures, "The Religious Ideas." They presuppose by forty years the comparative method and the conclusions of the Hibbert Lectures. The series was an amazing achievement for a man who had not been trained as a pure scholar and who yet proved himself to be a pioneer in these studies.

The decline of parochial life at South Place led Fox to seek wider outside work. He abandoned pastoral visitation as impracticable in a scattered congregation and his growing humanistic views led him both to give up clerical dress and to abandon the title, "the Rev.," though he always retained an elaborate preaching gown in the South Place pulpit.

Moving to Bayswater, he took to journalism in which he made his mark as a radical publicist by such utterances as "The Letters of A Norwich Weaver Boy." As editor of "The Monthly Repository," he published the earliest poems of Tennyson and Browning. He continued to draw large congregations in his Sunday ministrations and South Place became known popularly as "Fox's Chapel." The audience was a distinguished one and many well-known city men made a weekly journey to town with their families in order to hear him.

Taking to politics, he was a prominent speaker for the Anti-Corn Law League and sided with the League against the Chartists. In popular esteem, he was a far better orator than either Cobden or Bright.

Entering the House of Commons when over sixty, and suffering from heart trouble, he yet did useful work as radical M.P. for Oldham, a town where his name is still remembered.

The local elections were fought with every filthy device of which Tories were (and still are) capable; the aid of the publicans was enlisted and Fox's Unitarian views were urged against him by the champions of church and state. Nevertheless, he retained the seat until 1863, the year before his death. When he then lost it, he retired from public life, declaring that he was too old to start again. Dying in 1864, Fox's life was so completely identified with the events of his time that within ten years of his death he was all but forgotten in the London where his name had once been a household word.

Fox is deserving of memory on two grounds. He was a pioneer in theology and his writings in this field are still worth turning over. By rejecting Biblicism and supernaturalism, he opened the way for Unitarianism to pass over into a humanistic culture, the full and lasting potentialities of which it has yet to discover. The road which he carved out was further paved by his famous successor at South Place, Dr. Moncure D. Conway.

Fox was also an eminent radical who really believed in civil and religious liberty as meaning more than ip-service. He championed Richard Carlile and Caroline Brunswick in the name of liberty of thought and action even though disagreeing with their actions.

During the dangerous days of George IV, Fox spoke at the popular London forum in Leicester Fields and risked arrest by so doing. His later work was one long battle for freedom for the common man.

As a warrior for liberty both in religion and in politics, William Johnson Fox should be resurrected from his grave and should be presented as relevant to a very different age. The Strickland Press, through Dr. Brook's studies and your own, has done yeoman service in resurrecting Richard Carlile from oblivion. It should do the same useful service for Fox by sketching his life and reprinting from his numerous writings and sermons.

Fox's works were republished in twelve volumes after his death and the edition was on sale at South Place for some years. The only modern reissue is of his lectures on "The Religious Ideas," which the Lindsey Press reprinted with a biographical preface by Dr. Courteney Kenny of Cambridge but it is now out of print. A valuable life, also out of print, was written of him by Richard Garnett of the British Museum and the Conway Lecture for 1924 by Professor Graham Wallas dealt with his life and work.

It is good to know that, after a lapse of eighty years, Fox's name is still fresh and green at South Place. His immediate successors in the pulpit were mostly failures and the chapel came near to closing. Its work was revived by the American, Dr. Conway, an old graduate of Harvard and friend of Emerson. Conway continued the work where Fox left off; his old forerunner lived to see him in office and the causes for which he had striven continued and strengthened at South Place Chapel. At the last, he had no need to mourn lost countries.

Fox was many things in one lifetime. Preacher and journalist, he did much to assist the passing of the Anti-Corn Law legislation. He was also a prominent popular educationist and strove for early schemes for compulsory education. But an inner consistency and unity was supplied by his strong radicalism which dictated his message in religion, politics and social service. His memory needs to be recalled if only because his message is so necessary at a time when the values for which he stood are in grave danger of defeat at the hands of political reactionaries and vested interests.

Yours sincerely,

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT.

Manchester, November 5, 1943.

David Berkingoff, 315 East 209 Street, Bronx (67), New York, U.S.A., is forming a U.S.M. Group. Local comrades please note.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND CIVIL LIBERTY

BY C. H. NORMAN

To the Editor of "Civil Liberty."
Sir,—

REGULATION 18B.

I should like to enter the strongest protest against the reactionary character of the terms of the memorandum published in the July-August (1942) issue on Regulation 18B. The whole principle of the indefinite detention of so-called "dangerous people" without trial is justified by the memorandum, which is the very principle that real believers in civil liberty deny. The laws of England (in peace-time, apart from war regulations) are wide enough to cover any real or contemplated offence committed or to be committed by anyone, as was shown noticeably in the cases of Tom Mann and George Lansbury when it was desired to prevent those gentlemen making speeches in peace-time on political subjects.

The whole purpose of Regulation 18B is to relieve the Government of the onus of proving that the persons detained have committed any offence against the law and the Regulations. Why such a power is required when anyone can be proceeded against for anything which does not smell of "patriotism" under the Defence Regulations is beyond comprehension, except on the hypothesis that the Government wish to lock up anyone who is in favour of a negotiated peace, which seems to be the only reason why Sir Oswald Mosley and his wife are being detained, unless one is to assume that anti-Semitism is a criminal offence, which is certainly news to me.

Detention without trial (which has extended over three years in some cases) is a shocking abuse of the law, because, in many cases, had these people been tried and convicted even by war panic-stricken juries and judges, their sentences would hardly have been more than eighteen months for a first offence of a purely political character, mostly only representing acts done, or words spoken, or written before the war. Anti-Semitism is an objectionable state of mind: but it is equally objectionable to uphold legally pro-Semitism as a state of mind. The Jews as a race are no better than other people; in some of their activities they are rather worse. Why people should be indefinitely detained for saying so I fail to understand as being consonant with any belief in the principles of civil liberty.

Yours faithfully,
C. H. NORMAN.

This letter, as perhaps was to be expected of an organisation which parades its faith in freedom of discussion, was not printed. It may be read with convenience in conjunction with a later letter of protest against the attempt by the Council to secure the promulgation of a Regulation designed to making the holding of anti-Semitic opinions a criminal offence, a nice project for a society concerning itself with the protection of opinion to embark upon! The second letter is as follows:—

The Secretary,
The National Council for Civil Liberties.

Dear Madam,—I enclose cheque for 15/- subscription, though I do so with some little hesitation for the following reasons. I am rather anxious at the attitude of the Council on anti-Semitism. That is an objectionable state of mind: but I do not think that pro-Semitism is any remedy for it. Why the Jews should be selected for special protection by law against criticism, I fail to understand. To introduce such a principle into legislation seems to me a retrograde step, certainly not advancing the cause of civil liberty. Anyone who has the knowledge gained in my profession of the activities of the Jews can hardly regard them as proper subjects for legal privilege, any more than Catholics or anybody else should be.

It is a pity that the Council does not consider taking steps concerning the shocking conditions in military detention prisons, civil and penal servitude prisons, internment camps and the various other places where people are detained after or without trial. On these subjects during the war the Council has been remarkably silent, quite unlike its predecessor in the last war, which was very active on these proper matters for their consideration.

Yours faithfully,
C. H. NORMAN.

This letter was sent as a protest against the agitation being promoted by the National Council of Civil Liberties to secure an amendment to the Regulations under the Defence Act for the purpose of making criticism of the Jews under the phrase "promoting racial prejudice," or one wide term of that kind, a criminal offence. This is a most reactionary proposal at bottom and entirely contrary to any principle of freedom of discussion or debate.

FREEDOM AND POST-WAR CONSCRIPTION

BY COUNCILLOR CHARLES A. EARL

YOUR FREEDOM IS IN PERIL—DEFEND IT WITH ALL YOUR MIGHT.

Early in 1942 Dr. Temple, now Archbishop of Canterbury recommended conscription for two generations after the war. This presumably is the Archbishop's interpretation of "freedom of will," with which, the Churches insist, God endowed each of his children.

The Archbishop of course, is over the age for conscription to affect him, and he claims and receives exemption for the clergy, but he evidently thinks it is exhibiting Christian brotherly love to inflict this imposition on future generations. In a few years he will be dead, but his dreadful work may live after him, as a result of which, young people, many not yet born, will spend years of suffering in prison, because they will not tolerate State slavery. This willingness to impose conscription on youth who have never had a voice in the matter, is apparent in most of our over-age parliamentarians, these opportunists and careerists, who prating of freedom and democracy, take to themselves the right to dictate to the masses what shall be their way of life, and it is the so-called Socialists who have been in the forefront to make slaves of the people in this war, e.g., the Labour Party's support of "Vansittartism." How differently they talk now, compared with a few weeks before the outbreak of war, is shown by the following:—

I am quoting from the Labour Party's official "Notes for Labour Party Speakers" for the dates mentioned:—

March 31, 1939.

"Talk of conscription need not be taken seriously. The Labour and Trade Union movements are not prepared to consider it."

April 27th, 1939.

WILLIAM GALLACHER, "COMMUNIST," IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"No matter what happens in any country, I will stand by the workers of this country and oppose conscription and oppose the Prime Minister."

In the House of Commons on April 27, 1939, the Labour Party moved an amendment of "NO CONFIDENCE" in opposition to the Government's motion for the approval of the conscription policy."

April 28, 1939.

"TRADE UNIONS AND CONSCRIPTION, GOVERNMENT'S BROKEN PLEDGES, LABOUR'S UNCOMPRISING OPPOSITION. The National Council of Labour met on April 25th and reaffirmed its uncomprising opposition to conscription."

CONSCRIPTION.—"Decisions taken by the Special Conference of Trade Union Executives held under T.U.C. auspices last week confirm the parliamentary opposition to conscription conducted by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. The outstanding fact of the Conference was it's declaration of RESOLUTE OPPOSITION TO CONSCRIPTION."

The resolution of the T.U.C. adopted by an overwhelming majority, instructed the General Council in consultation with the Labour Party

"To maintain the utmost vigilance in regard to the administration of the Act and TO OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO MAKE CONSCRIPTION PERMANENT OR TO EXTEND ITS SCOPE."

Ernest Bevin, in "The Record," for May, 1939, made a statement, describing how he had been approached to support conscription. This declaration appeared in "The Word" for July 1941, and need not be quoted again. It is an emphatic denunciation of conscription and an exposure of the flattery employed by the reactionary members of the ruling class in an attempt to persuade Labour leaders to support the industrial, social, and moral slavery that conscription implies.

We all know what great parts in the conscription of the workers Mr. Bevin and Mr. Herbert Morrison have played and how strongly they have been supported by their Tory-Labour colleagues in Parliament. The flattery was apparently effective. And now in view of the recent conscription of women the following statement by Mr. Bevin in December, 1941, is very interesting:

"Some women will be so absolute in their conscientious objection that they will not touch anything associated with war. They will be regarded as absolutionists, and they will not be directed."

Quite so, and women, such as Dr. Kathlean Lonsdale, a mother with three young children, are sent to prison for refusing to touch anything associated with war.

Enough has now been quoted to show how very real the danger of post-war conscription is. Neither the religious leaders, nor the politicians, have learned the lesson, so plain to people with intelligence, which has been borne out so unfailingly as history has been unfolded: viz.:—that standing fighting forces, and fighting equipment, political intrigue and a "what we have we hold" policy, are the sure breeding ground of future wars. On the other hand, they are desperately afraid that the common people may desire to live as brothers and may wish to abolish the competitive and profit-making system, which is largely responsible for war. So that in imposing the bitter pill of conscription for our good, they attempt to sweeten it with Beveridge palliatives. Mr. Herbert Morrison, conscientious objector in the last war, speaking to the Kennington Labour Party on September 30th, 1943, said

"It was obviously impossible and against the rational interest to turn the country into a Socialist Commonwealth all in one piece. It was a task of years, not a week-end picnic."

It is obvious, how extremely little, if any, reliance can be placed in the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders to put up an unswerving opposition to conscription. If our children and grandchildren are to be free citizeans of the world then we must be constantly on the alert and absolutely tireless in our efforts to resist any and every attempt to take our freedom from us. All No Conscription League members and other war resisters must seize every opportunity to point out the danger that overshadows us. Every sort of excuse will be used for putting this conscription law into effect:—"We must have strong fighting forces to prevent another great war." "We must take our part in policing the world." We must have a large army of occupation." "It is a Christian duty to save the world from another terrible upheaval," etc., etc.

It is the avowed intention of the present coalition Government to remain in office for some years after the war ends. Tory, Liberal and Labour all insist on the necessity for this, and presumably the political truce will be observed. This coalition Government hopes that the ordinary people will be so relieved by the ending of hostilities, they will not care what happens, nor who is in power, until awareness is forced upon them by the fact that the freedom for which they had been fighting, for which so much blood had been shed and which they at least thought they had won, had been treacherously stolen from them.

Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of freedom.

COMMUNISM

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CARLILE AND HIS TIMES

"Tit-Bits," founded in 1881, is one of the most orthodox and unthinking journals of our time. Such journals a century to a century-and-a-quarter ago were busy slandering Richard Carlile when they referred to him. Yet our contemporary in its issue for March 26, 1943, published an excellent small picture of Richard Carlile and a short comprehensive article on his life under the heading: "He Fought for our Press Freedom." The essay condemned the statesmen and politicians of Carlile's time but did not mention how they were applauded in the press. We reproduce the essay:

The freedom of the Press, one of the freedoms for which the United Nations are now fighting, is not even in Britain a plant of very long growth. One of the pioneers of the fight for liberty, Richard Carlile, died only a hundred years ago, worn out by poverty and illness caused by frequent imprisonments.

He defied Lord Sidmouth's Gagging Acts, and drove the Press Censor out of Fleet Street. He paid a heavy price; for he served nearly ten years in prison, and died in 1843 at the early age of fifty-two.

In the course of his tempestuous career Carlile edited and published at least eleven newspapers and twenty-four books and pamphlets. Probably most noteworthy of his achievements was his re-publication in 1818 of "The Rights of Man," "The Age of Reason," and other works by Tom Paine, which up to that time had been proscribed.

He was heavily fined and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but nothing could break his spirit. He continued to sell Paine's works after his release; and finally the Government gave up the struggle. It is mainly due to Carlile's unremitting efforts that "The Rights of Man" may be bought in any bookshop to-day.

A band of loyal and devoted workers helped Carlile in his struggle against oppression. His bookshop in Fleet Street was staffed by a succession of courageous volunteer shopmen. They were committed to jail one after the other; but new fighters in the cause of freedom were continually available. Carlile's wife, Jane, helped him in his work, and was herself sent to jail, although she had a young child and bore him another while in prison. His sister, Mary Anne, took Jane's place at the shop and followed her brother and sister-in-law to jail.

Carlile, who was born in Ashburton, Devon, in 1790, was a tin-plate worker who settled in London in 1813. He began to take an active interest in reform four years later, when he started to sell illegal Radical publications. He was always an ardent defender of the "under-dog"; and among the offences for which he was imprisoned were his advocacy of the cause of the agricultural labourers who rose against "intolerable oppression" in 1831, and his attack on the Government at the time of the "Peterloo Massacre," when yeomanry in Manchester rode down the unarmed demonstrators.

A convinced materialist in his early days, Carlile later became a convert to what he called "allegorical Christianity." He took out a licence to preach, and became entitled to (and used) the designation "Reverend." But even when preaching Chritianity he still maintained the right of unbelievers to the free expression of their views.

A man of unalterable fixity of purpose and a staunch individualist, whose enthusiasm could not be quelled by any measure of repression, Richard Carlile did as much as any Englishman who has ever lived to destroy Government control of the Press. His name will continue to be honoured as long as the British Press remains free.

Those who want to know more of Richard Carlile's heroic struggle should secure from The Strickland Press the following works: "Richard Carlile, Agitator" (fully illustrated) 1s. 6d., post-free 1s. 9d.; Carlile's "Jail Journal," 2s., post-free 2s. 3d.; and Dr. Brook's "Carlile and the Surgeon," illustrated, 2s., post-free, 2s. 3d. These works cover Carlile's life, struggle, thought, period and contemporaries, very well.

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,, 12—The Young Soldier—Is Joad Right?
,, 19—The Roman Catholic Church—Is Wells Right?

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(Continued from page 43)

Sarah Flower wrote her letter from Harlow, November 23, 1827, when she was 22 years of age.

The epistle opens with a very frank confession:—

You did not ask me to write, and perhaps will be little thankful for what you are like to receive, a regular confession of faith, or rather, the want of it, from one whom you little suspect guilty of the heinous sin of unbelief. It reads like half-jest; never was I more serious. My mind has been wandering a long time ,and now it seems to have lost sight of that only invulnerable hold against the assaults of this warring world, a firm belief in the genuineness of the Scriptures.

No, not the only one. I do believe in the existence of an All-wise and Omnipotent Being—and that, involving as it does the conviction that everything is working together for good, brings with it a comfort I would not resign for worlds. Still, I would fain go to my Bible as I used to—but I cannot.

She describes how the change came over her gradually. Her mind refused to answer Robert Browning. At Norwich Musical Festival, the choruses of praise to God moved her, but the rest of the "Messiah" dwindled to mere musical enjoyment. Sitting in the room in which her mother died she realised she had lost her Christian faith. Her belief in a resurrection is doubtful. She wants to read a good ecclesiastical history but if afraid to let her father know of her infatuation for doubt. She continues:—

I would give worlds to be a sincere believer; to go to my Bible as to a friend in the hour of trouble, feeling that whatever might befall, THAT would never desert me, and defying the world to rob me of its consolations.

The letter continues, sadly and beautifully, to depict her scepticism, and is signed: "Yours affectionately, Sally."

Out of these pangs was born, thirteen years later, in November, 1840, the hymn "Nearer My God, to Thee." This hymn was sung by the South Place congregation for nearly a generation before it was taken up by the outside world. The first draft of it, a beautiful autograph, was exhibited at South Place fifty years ago. It is written for choral responses. Fox and Eliza Flower having adopted a plan, once suggested by Mrs. Bartauld, of a choral antiphone between the choir and the congregation. It is strange but the entire emotion of the Christian world has responded to this hymn born of scepticism, Theistic, but definitely Anti-Christian. This hymn is sung by Christians throughout the world in different tunes, in blissful unconsciousness of the fact that it is really a beautiful hymn of pilgrimage from the old faith to the new.

Moncure Conway considered that the history and adventures of "Nearer My God, to Thee," would make an interesting monograph. In the year of the centenary of American Independence, 1876, Conway was in the United States. He occasionally visited evangelical gatherings, and observed that their chief inspiration was this hymn. There was a great meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Washington City, from which the Unitarian Minister, Dr. Shippen, was excluded pointedly and deliberately. Conway attended its prayer meeting and discovered that there was no fervour at all, until a blind preacher, the Rev. Thane Miller, arose and asked all to join in singing "Nearer My God, to Thee"—a hymn written by a far more unorthodox person than Dr. Shippen. Yet the mere singing of this hymn excited deep feelings.

In the New York "Truthseeker" for August 19, 1893, Ward Diehl, of Waterstown, Pennsylvania, relates an incident on a coach, in which eight men and two women accepted with awe a real revivalist story about the hymn. He declined to accept the story and was regarded with horror.

Sarah Flower's 1827 letter was in advance

SARAH FLOWER ADAMS

of Fox's opinion at that date. Her letter influenced him even as a New England young woman liberalised the Calvinism of Elhanan Winchester, the founder of the Society. And her hymn was an expression of heretical growth and unfolding.

In another aspect of religious evolution the story of South Place is strange. South Place receives no mention in the history of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Yet this Association was founded at South Place. Fox was its first foreign secretary. And it developed an understanding of Unitarianism in which, rightly, Unitarianism was held to be something more than Christianity. This idea of Unitarianism including, but extending beyond, Christianity, is a marvellous concept of spiritual harmony and progress. It is the beginning of Humanism and world religion. It is the end of theological strife and the beginning of world understanding. It represents the at-one-ment of all mankind. As such, it merits a chapter to itself.

(To be continued)

THE SCOURGE OF WAR

Through the annals of history people are taught
That for Freedom and Justice in wars we have fought,
It's an old British custom begun long ago,
But when will it end? That's what we want to know.

When the Great World War for "Freedom" was won,
They said that our duty was nobly done,
'Twas a "war to end war" that promised to raise
"A land fit for heroes to live in" always.

But the trumpets of battle, not yet died away,
Have blazed forth once again to our sons of to-day,
And on these "playing fields" they are asked to redeem
The price paid for that "wreck creation" scheme.

Have the masses to "fight for their country" anew
To safeguard the land that belongs to a few?
Are these wars for our "freedom," as we have been told,
Or a life and death struggle for oil and for gold.

War is righteous they say when we've God on our side,
And true Christians should shoulder a rifle with pride,
But the Church that puts faith in a bullet or shell
Is more Godless than countries where Atheists dwell.

What can victory bring to the workers who toil?
Are their lives worth the nickel ,the ore, or the oil?
If those who made wars did the fighting, they say
No war would endure for a week or a day.

When the common people throughout every land,
Use the power they possess that is theirs to command,
Then war's bloody toil of the millions will cease,
And the world will enjoy everlasting PEACE.

W. E. CURRIE

WORD BOUND VOLUME, for three years: May 1939 to July 1942 inclusive. Green Cloth 12/6. Post Free 13/6.

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street, Sunday, December 5, 1943.

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

SLOW CALVARY: THE CUP

EDITOR'S JOURNAL OF WAR RESISTANCE

[The Duke of Bedford is calling attention in the House of Lords to the Cat and Mouse treatment of conscientious objectors. This is illustrated by the fifth court martial of the Jehovah Witness, Stanley Hilton. There has been other cases to which attention has been directed in these columns. Actually, so far as military service is concerned, under the National Service Acts, 1839-41, if a man is court-martialled at all, the fault is originally his, for accepting medical examination. If he does not accept medical examination, he is not handed over to the military machine. "Cat and Mouse" operates in other cases, such as Fire Watching, Essential Works Orders, conditional exemption, and has affected women objectors. During the last war, the issue was more direct and simple. There was no question of medical examination being accepted. One was deemed a soldier without undergoing any medical examination.

In these columns we have published various articles dealing with the Wandsworth Prison Revolt of 1919, the Cat and Mouse treatment of objectors, including ourself, and the 1916 Tribunals, which were terrible mockeries. Our army discharge certificate was reproduced in "The Word" for October 1939 and in March 1940, our musings and reaction, from the time we were "handed over" by the magistrate at the West London Police Court, on May 4, 1916, to the date of our first court martial ,twelve days later.

The present journal continues the record of our war-resistance and depicts the effect of Cat and Mouse treatment. The notes, letters, essays, are reprinted from the columns of "The Spur." They were addressed to our comrade, Rose Witcop, who maintained "The Spur" as a monthly journal of Socialist Anti-Militarism throughout this period of struggle, and were published by her in its columns, between July 1916 and September 1918. It is, therefore, an actual prison and camp detention journal of resistance and not some description written from memory. It is not complete as it does not tell the full story. But it is sufficient for the moment.

Comrades should obtain our 1939 and 1940 copies mentioned in this introduction. They cover four or five issues. A few sets are obtainable and will be sent post-free for 9d.—Ed.]

FOVANT CAMP JOURNAL.

Fovant, May 28, 1916.

With Christ, I pray that the cup may pass from my lips. Like him, may I endure, meekly and firmly, the agony and bloody sweat of a slow Calvary.

Sunday, June 15, 1916.

I pass to my Court Martial, which took place at Fovant camp on Wednesday, May 17th.

I denied the jurisdiction of the Court and after much argument the Court retired, whilst my point was considered. Two noticeable things in connection with this Court Martial were the determination of the authorities here to prevent me getting in touch with anybody: and, two, the fact that, at the Court Martial, everyone was supplied with a copy of the King's Regulations except myself. Virtually, I was not allowed to prepare a defence. That fact exposes the tyranny of the whole proceedings.

The actual court trying the case consisted of three persons. The chairman was very anxious to be fair but too bluff to appreciate legal niceties. On his right, sat a judge at whom I smiled whenever I looked. I could not help myself. Instinctively, I smiled. And it was fatal. When I affirmed my evidence, he objected that an Atheist could not have a conscience!

I was recalled with escort, to find ruling against me. Evidence of my refusal to go on parade was given, it being admitted, under my cross-examination, that I refused courteously and without insolence of any kind. Many charges were dropped and only this one was proceeded with. I affirmed my opposition to war and the proceedings closed.

Two days later, I was marched out on parade and faced the regiment to have my sentence read out. I was sentenced by the Court Martial to six months' military detention, but the

General Officer Commanding remitted four months of the sentence. I served twelve days, dating from date of trial, at Fovant Camp, on field punishment. On the thirteenth, I was removed to Devizes Detention Barracks to finish my sentence—and to earn another one if I wished to do so. The doctor examined me after my sentence and denounced the lightness of it, forgetting that, in thus expressing his feelings, he was guilty of a breach of discipline. He examined me again two days before I left for Devizes, and expressed the hope that they would drill me there. He said they could do what they liked with me. Thus he passed me not because of my physique, but because of his spleen.

On Friday, May 26th, I drew up a formal appeal against my sentence, which was forwarded duly to the General Officer Commanding. To show how farcical such appeals are, it should be added that no argument is permissable and that the statement of grounds of appeal must be confined to one side only of a sheet of foolscap. The Colonel said that the appeal would be turned down. And he was right. The appeal was turned down. On June 8th, I was called before the commandant at Devizes' Detention Barracks, and informed of the fact. Yet that appeal recorded my conscientious opposition to war, and on the day upon which I sent it in there was issued an Army Council Order to the following effect:

"A soldier charged with an offence against discipline who, at a Court Martial, alleges as his defence conscientious reasons, should be sentenced to imprisonment and not detention, and should be handed over to the nearest public civil prison."

Were justice intended to those conscientious objectors who were in detention already, or to one like myself who had stated a formal appeal, the sentence should have been varied to one of imprisonment. The importance of this point, at last appreciated by the government superficially at least, will appear from the following facts:

Devizes Detention Barracks seems to have been at one time an ordinary prison, but is now entirely under military control. On admission you suffer one or two indignities I need not relate. You are warned then of certain cell treatment, roughly corresponding to the lot of the hard-labour prisoner in the civil institution. You are advised also that, if refractory, you may be ironed, put on punishment diets, and, for breaches of discipline, liable to further District Court Martial. The reader will understand, readily, that, if in the ordinary camp, secrecy prevails concerning Camp Court Martial, much worse must the case prove in connection with a prison Court Martial.

I recall a time when I studied seriously the lives of the saints in order to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit. One that amused me most was that of St. Bartholemew. It is related of this worthy that when he was roasted over a gridiron, and was well-nigh burnt to death on one side, he sweetly told his persecutors to turn the other side to the fire. I do not say that there is no moral to the story, nor that there is no truth in it. Of course, every martyr boasts the spirit that this story typifies. But the point at the moment is, that the government test for the conscientious objector whom it sends into detention is the Bartholemew test. It is not enough for the C.O. to suffer one side to rest comfortably on the gridiron. He must be willing to turn the other side as well. Indeed, he must have more sides to roast than nature gave him. And even then, the government will not credit his credentials.

Our old-time forefathers used the hot irons to test a man's honesty. But they were at least satisfied with one test. And later, when a man was made to walk the plank, it was enough that he walked the plank. But the C.O. must needs walk the plank and then dance on the side of it to an eternal strain of discord.

There are men incarcerated in our Detention Barracks to-day who have been sent there for varying terms, for disobeying orders from a conscientious objection to militarism. Some belong to the Non-Combatant Corps. Others are riflemen.

What has been their fate? They have been sent to the Detention Barracks, fully equipped, to be drilled, or again Court Martialled. And in addition to drill, they are compelled to fill in the day with arduous prison labours. If they refuse work or drill, not only are they remanded for Court Martial, but are kept during the period of the remand on a bread-and-water diet.

This has been the fate of some twenty comrades whom I have left behind at Devizes Barracks. Their leader was Emrys Hughes, of Merthyr, a well-known writer to the local "Pioneer." [Now editor, as the reader will know, of "Forward."—1943.] Four others came from the same district. The others are from Exeter, Bristol, Reading. I wish to hail publicly the dauntless courage of these comrades. Down to the time of my unexpected release on Saturday afternoon, June 17th, they had been through the mill in silence and solitary confinement, and had enjoyed only a bread-and-water diet. This punishment carries with it, inability to receive visitors, write, etc. Hughes received one visit from his sister by special permission of the Commandant. But it was allowed in the hope that his sister would move him to repentance. On Tuesday, June 13th, they were remanded for D.C.M. Meanwhile, the government had ordered imprisonment, as distinct from military detention, for conscientious objectors and these men are on bread-and-water diet, awaiting Court Martial because they are receiving an injustice of treatment which the government acknowledges to be wrong. And in the Houses of Parliament, we have been informed officially that the C.O. is treated as well by the military as by the civil authorities, that there was no reason for civil imprisonment, etc.

Returned to Fovant, I was brought before the Colonel at 12 o'clock noon on the Saturday, and told that I must decide what to do about going on parade. I refused to give any undertaking and was taken back to cells, but shortly afterwards released. I have had a Sunday afternoon free. I refuse parade and await another Court Martial.

Monday, June 16th, 1916.

At 6 a.m. this morning, I refused to go on parade. Later, after many formalities, was remanded by the Colonel for my second Court Martial. Since May 4th, last, my maximum amount of "freedom" has been 22 hours of "open arrest," and nine hours of ordinary "Military liberty" within a redius of five miles. The Colonel seemed very weary of the struggle and was very courteous.

Tuesday, June 20th, 1916.

Was taken before the Adjutant this afternoon for details of evidence to be taken. Treated very courteously indeed. My opposition to war was brought out well in the written evidence taken down in the preliminary documents.

Thursday, June 22nd, 1916.

Visited by nonconformist Chaplain. He seemed chatty, and made no attempt to alter my views. Said I was not such a terrible fellow, but too logical in my vision of things. Later examined by doctor. This person hates me! Previously, he had visited another C.O. now here awaiting his first Court Martial, Frank Prior, of Walthamstow N.C.F. Doctor told latter that I was "a bad lot," etc.

Sunday, June 25th, 1916.

Colonel visited me this morning, and handed me the minutes of evidence. This was not done last time. Am preparing my case. Heard about Sara's sentence of four months in Wormwood Scrubs. Am closely watched and unable to get letters out, in anyway. Chaps willing to do a lot for me, but afraid to help me communicate. My attitude is having a disturbing effect on the camp.

II. WINCHESTER PRISON REFLECTIONS.

Many incidents occurred at Winchester worthy of mention. I record one. The prison chaplain visited me soon after my arrival and learned that I had no religion. I told him that I viewed Christendom as a world of pagan make-believe. His cold pious hatred knew no bounds.

"You like skulking in a prison-cell," exclaimed this reverend stay-at-home escape-all-discomfort fire-eater.

"Yes," came my reply, "and some people like skulking in pulpits."

He banged the door and never visited me again.

1. Nine Months.

Winchester Prison, July 4, 1916.

Monday, July 3rd, I left Fovant for Winchester Gaol to serve a sentence—passed upon me by a secret Court Martial which ridiculed the provisions of the Military Service Act—of nine months hard labour. Of course, I have no right of public appeal. After Devizes, Winchester. After the Devil, Satan. Lucifer assumes a different suit of black and smiles with all his old cynicism at any idea of principle or justice. He hopes, by breaking my body, to destroy my will. We shall see.

I was sentenced on Friday morning, June 27th. That morning, I understand, the newspapers contained Mr. Asquith's statement concerning just treatment for objectors. And so I got nine months' hard. Good!

I hope and trust that comrades will keep the "Spur" going. I hope its size and influences may increase, and I assure comrades that my old rebel self, surviving all persecution will return from imprisonment to the platform, and the press determined and aggressive in thought and utterance, until action calls to sterner duty. For this system, with its senile gods and its degenerate monarchies, I intend to see buried in my own time and generation.

Now to my sentence. I was charged with refusing to obey a lawful command in that I did not go on parade. One offence! And the sentence is supposed to be proportionate to the said offence. At the same C.M., Frank Prior, of the Walthamstow N.C.F., and F.O.R., was charged with the same offence. He was senteneed to six months' hard labour, but this was commutted to 112 days. This was his first offence. Which means that conscience gets worse with consistency. Thus does the Military mind reveal itself.

But I am not complaining.

I know what is before me. And I have not gone to war without counting the cost. The expense will be weariness and persecution. The reward will be knowledge of a certain testimony to peace and justice, to fredom and truth. A happy pleasure in resisting cant.

What a farce it is! The men who style us traitors, who condemn the N.C.F. as a treacherous organisation, have declared, in the Commons, that the masters of the controlled industries are forming a powerful organisation to resist government taxation of their war profits! Patriotism! Sacrifice the bodies of the workers? Yes! Sacrifice the profits made from the war? No!

Thus we see the old class war again at work. Which is good. Soon the mists of the sham fight shall pass. Soon the clouds of illusion will vanish. From the battle-plains of Europe will go up a great cry of vengeance and angry indignation. Tremble then, my masters, make the most of your power to persecute. Every day brings you nearer your doom. Every night hastens the end of your dreams of ambition and conquest. Soon your sleep will be troubled; and, finally, sleep will cease to be your solace. You will cry for it in vain.

Yes, most respected superior suits of clothes, I foresee your doom. Lessons that we have learned at your Tribunals and Court Martials will stand us in good stead. You have practiced the cynicism of power. Beware, lest you be called to account before the cynicism of revolution. It will surprise you to witness then the

wonderful flattery of imitation to which you will be treated. But the flattery will not please. And you will not imitate us so well. For, when down and out, you will do what despots ever do: whine and cringe. Then satisfied to have destroyed your sway over us, we will scornfully hearken to your whining, and see that no evil befalls you. May your children become co-operators in the great task that will follow—beautifying the great republic of social liberty.

2. "The Grace of Jesus."

Winchester Prison, July 9, 1916.

It has occurred to me, just now, as I sit in this cell, to consider how wise in their own day and generation are the children of this world of domination and cant; how much wiser they are than the children of light. That their wisdom is hypocrisy does not detract from its wiliness. This fact is evidenced by the way in which they turn every good thought, every gracious word, every noble sentiment to the service of evil, the advancement of degradation and the upholding of ignorance, and despotism.

My thoughts have turned to my study of Jesus Christ and his disciples. And a favourite phrase, found in the "Acts of the Apostles"—an early Christian benediction—has revealed its meaning to me for the first time, despite obvious corruption of language.

"The grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, now, and for evermore. Amen."

Is not this benediction used continually in the Church services of Christendom? And what, pray, is it imagined to mean? Why, an actual personal blessing regularly dropped down in some mysterious way from Heaven by a person dwelling there without ageing in the least, called Jesus Christ: actual love shewn to the man below by God above: and some personal fellowship with a mysterious person called the Holy Ghost, who, somehow, is Father, and Son, and himself, and is neither Father nor Son.

This benediction is uttered by priests on fixed occasions as part of their trade. It is offered in gaol churches, where no blessing is known, where love is never suspected, and where personal fellowship is denied. Beyond hypocrisy is the further humbug, that, as employed by priest and dupe, the benedictions have no meaning. It is a solemn and outrageous farce and lie to pretend that they have.

Let us apply Atheist logic and rebel understanding. Let us see if these words have any meaning. We shall find them rich in meat, and know that it is foolish to repeat them parrot-like to-day.

The earliest Christians disliked the Pagan title, Lord, though it meant but teacher or master. Let us translate in this sense. Thus the first portion of the blessing is: "The grace of our teacher or master, Jesus Christ." This did not mean that Christ was dropping prosperity down from heaven, or that he was other than dead. It meant the grace, i.e., the power influence, the patient wisdom revealed by Jesus, or other teacher,

"The love of God." Elsewhere I have shewn how Christ thought and spoke in the terms of the God superstition, but always in the Jewish prophetic sense, meaning a covenant of righteousness. The Pagan Roman Imperial use of the term God, as applied by Constantine, for example, to himself, was but the State agreement with the Mosaic view of God as a God of war and a personal being, bestowing honours and withholding justice. That is the present Christian conception. It was not Christ's, nor that of the first Christians. "The love of God" means, then, not the love **bestowed by God,** but the love bestowed **on God.** Hence "the love of God" means the love of the convenant with righteousness, experienced by the child of light, who had learned to possess the grace that characterised Jesus and his manner of preaching the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

I have explained often before that the Holy Ghost means, but the Holy spirit of Truth. Hence the fellowship of Truth.

The early Christian benediction is seen now, not to be a blasphemous and superstitious jargon of lies such as the Church makes it out to-day, but a beautiful diction of good, a farewell of comradeship.

The phrase, "for now and for evermore," means throughout life, and has no reference or relation to heaven or some life hereafter.

To-day, I would not use this benediction. Its phrasing belongs to the past. We can reverence Truth now without personification. But I do protest that the Church which uses this benediction mocks it every time. For the Church **is** the Synagogue of Satan, and the blessing means alliance against this institution of Imperialism and falsehood.

As an Atheist, under my second sentence, within a very short time, for refusing to kill, I say, knowing the full meaning of the words, to all my comrades in the struggle:—"The grace of the teacher, Jesus, and the love of Righteousness, and the fellowship of Truth, be with you now and for evermore. Amen."

In penning these words, I have leaped the centuries, and am at one with the heresiarchs and early iconoclasts of the Christian era, who heard and understood the message of Jesus, the message that meant but the way and the life of individual and social health.

III. WORMWOOD SCRUBS' MUSING.

Wormwood Scrubs, December 28th, 1916.

And now for a little fancy. Some idle thoughts of an idle fellow: for whoever is debarred from following his soul's passion, whoever has a mission and not a career in life, and cannot follow it, he is idle even though every moment of his life be occupied with some care, worry, or task. I do not pretend to experience so much energetic excitement as this suggests, but only to sense an idleness which neither palls nor oppresses, but incites. My brain throbs through my being the thought: "Time flies: death urges." I feel myself responding, all my nerve concentrated to live my work, and I am compelled to patient sufferance. But I do not wish the hours to fly: that would be folly. I just want to lay up a store of quiet energy, to watch my wasted moments turn to a reserve of future power, and to muse smilingly on my past, my present, and my days that are to be. But I wish to know and to interpret life in my own being. For all knowledge must be assimilated and lived through oneself, if it is to become wisdom and understanding. Doing this I feel a rare contentment here, which I would not exchange for all the luxury of a palace.

The penitentiary, if not the abode of penitence, is at least the home of reflection. And the fact that it is Wormwood Scrubs that I write from, offers me much food to this end. How the place links you and I with the Mylius case: and then, by many links, with the late Charles Voysey, and Brixton! Ah yes! I have to pause when I think of Voysey, my visits to his Hampstead residence, our correspondence, and his visits to Brixton.

Dear conservative Theist Voysey, with but one iconoclast humour! Yet he believed in me as he watched me pass from Anglicanism, beyond his cherished hopes on to my present thought. He saw all my development and was disappointed sorely. And yet, he could put his hands on my shoulders, gaze into my eyes with that wonderful fervour, and say:

"Guy, my dear boy, I believe God means you to know the truth and to reveal it. Perhaps you will know a larger truth than I possess. Never doubt the revelation. Go on, in your sweet faith in liberty and human happiness. Have faith, whatever happens."

I remember his words now, his constant striking of the same note. And memory makes me grateful. I have seen Voysey explain away the future life, heard him point out there was no objective efficacy in prayer, but he never doubted that I believed in truth. Since then, those who used like jargon of belief or creed to my own, have sneered and questioned my efforts to make known first principles of social well-being. And if bitterness has failed to consume my zeal and to render worthless all my work, it has been because Voysey's faith has counted. One day, I will try to do justice to his memory, but more than this, I yearn, as the years go by, to give to the youth of my age, that understanding Voysey gave to me.

(To be concluded.)

"DON'T BE A GULL."

The author of this pamphlet is well known. He omitted his name so that the pamphlet should be read without prejudice. He reveals himself in his style, exclaim many readers.

"Peace News," in its issue for August 27 last comments on the pamphlet as follows:—

"Don't be a Gull" is the curious title (whose appropriateness is explained in a preface) of a pamphlet which suggests "a way in which a satisfactory ending to the war might be achieved.

The plan is simple—that it is too simple is one of a score of objections to the answering of which the author devotes most of his pamphlet. It is based on the method of negotiation, but on two fundamental conditions, and with safeguards, that should make the case for a negotiated peace almost more attractive to non-pacifists than to pacifists!

Advocates of a negotiated peace would do well to keep "Don't be a Gull" handy for answering critics though they will find the "three unspoken objections," to which it refers, by no means so easily disposed of. The summary might have been better put at the end of the pamphlet, though at the beginning it serves as a rough index.

"Written for those who want lots more war and for those who don't by one of the latter," it is published by the Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1, at 3d.

The pamphlet will be sent post-free for 4d.

"NOT BY NIGHT"

Mr. B. A. S. Brunskill's little booklet, "Not By Night . . ." is a very persuasively written statement of the case for Christian pacifism, which many who are pacifists on religious grounds will find a most useful addition to their equipment of helpful literature for lending to possible new converts.

Mr. Brunskill has the rather unusual "background" of twenty-two years' service in the Indian Army, before he came to the pacifist position.

—BEDFORD.

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DUKE OF BEDFORD

LANARKSHIRE MEETINGS' IMPRESSIONS

By J. TAYLOR CALDWELL

The Duke of Bedford spoke in Motherwell Empire Theatre on August 8 and in Burnbank at the Plaza Picture House, on Sunday, October 31. Both Meetings were held under the auspices of the Motherwell I.L.P. Socialist Open Forum. In Burnbank, local Anti-Parliamentarians and Anarchist comrades assisted in the advertising and organising. Guy Aldred also spoke at both meetings. I wrote my impression of each meeting immediately after leaving it.

The meetings, especially the first one, caused a great stir in Motherwell, Hamilton, Burnbank, and Blantyre; not only because of the rank of one speaker, and the revolutionary reputation of the other, but also because of the antagonistic activity of the Communist Party.

At Motherwell, the C.P. did what it could to have the meeting banned altogether. As the organisers of the meeting anticipated, the attack was a failure, and the hall was packed.

At Burnbank, the C.P. showed more wisdom. They repeated their leaflet attack, but made no attempt to get the meeting banned. They restricted their opposition to heckling. Had their statements shown some regard for truthfulness, no objection could have been taken to that. The struggle for truth demands vigorous statement of pros and cons, of point and counterpoint.

Here are my impressions.

I.—Motherwell Meeting

At the last moment, with a kind of electioneering strategy, the Communist Party issued a leaflet attacking the Duke, and accusing him with a wearisome lack of imagination, of being a Nazi agent and friend of Hitler. The last moment device was to obviate the possibility of an unanswerable rejoinder being issued in the same form.

The C.P. leaflet was distributed widely, and called on the people of Motherwell to "rally" to "protest meetings" against the Duke's visit. It was announced that these meetings would be held in the open-air at certain street corners near the Empire Theatre. The idea was to block the approaches to the theatre. **"Don't Let Bedford Use the Hall"** was the slogan, printed in large type, on the leaflet. This was the bold injunction that the people of Motherwell ignored. The I.L.P. chalked the streets: **"Hear Bedford's Reply to His Accusers."**

It is to the credit of the people of Motherwell that they were affected neither by the C.P. leaflets, nor by the libellous C.P. street chalking which augmented them. Instead, they responded to the I.L.P. invitation to "Hear Him."

The C.P. was able to hold only one of its protest meetings, so small is its influence in Motherwell these days. The common people are tired of its contradictory sensationalisms. Most of those who attended this meeting spent their time attacking the speaker, until the doors of the I.L.P. hall opened. Ten minutes later there were only two dozen people round the Communist Party platform. Soon they too dispersed, and the "great protest meeting" had to come to a close for want of an audience.

Two of "the Party" leaflet sellers were sent to the doors of the Empire to wave a pamphlet, ostensibly for sale, and to shout about "Hitler's Agents in Britain." But their cries became a little less insolent and an embarrassed self-conscious note crept into their voices when two I.L.P. supporters emerged from the Hall with bundles of "The Word" for October 1942, bearing an illustrated front page showing Stalin, Molotov and Ribbentrop at the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The cry of "Hitler's Agents" seemed then to lose its force, and the vociferous ones became silent—then departed.

But, being unable to gather a meeting outside—despite their efforts—these intrepid advocates of the dungeon availed themselves of the democratic spirit of the socialist meeting by attending the meeting they had hoped to suppress, and at discussion time abusing the procedure by over-lengthy participation in discussion. Through the tolerance of the chair these people were able, probably for the first time in years, to address a full meeting in one of the largest halls in the district.

Comrade Aldred was the first speaker. He had intended to deal with "The War—and After," but the conduct of the Communist Party, in their efforts to stop the meeting, had to be dealt with.

Having "been introduced" by the Chairman he rose, and striding to the front of the stage, he stood, just behind the footlights, straddle-legged, leaning slightly forward, his hands clasped behind his back and, beginning quietly and gently, was soon pouring forth a storm of denunciation of pseudo-communism and political opportunism in a voice that filled the auditorium to its furthest walls, and overflowed into the vestibule beyond. The stewards on duty there left their posts and crowded round the doorway to hear. A policeman, passing the hall, stopped, as though he heard the voice and was reminded of something. He put his head in the door and whispered across the vestibule: "Your opposition has gone. They've given up. It's all clear now." Then he continued his slow walk down the street.

The Duke was the second speaker. With the aid of a microphone (which Aldred did not use) he addressed his audience in an even, clear voice; without emotion, and with great clarity, despite the difficult nature of the subject. The audience, most of whom were hearing an exposition of monetary reform for the first time, were obviously able to follow the speaker's arguments, for at no time did they lose interest or become restless. A silence of wrapt attention held them while the Duke spoke. This was probably because the Duke's grasp of his subject is so complete and his interest in it so keen that he can always speak on it without lapsing into cliches or using Exchequer phrases which would confuse the uninitiated.

An hour and a half was allowed for questions and discussion. Taking advantage of the leniency of the Chair the C.P. members tried to monopolise this time by keeping up a fire of questions. The speakers dealt very ably with these, and soon the opposition lost its vigour.

When the Chairman announced that discussion was in order and three minutes would be allowed each speaker the local C.P. organiser rose and spoke for nearly ten minutes.

It was possible to tell this speaker's political affiliations by the tone and manner of his speech. The raucous voice, the stacatto phrases, the dogmatic tone—all true to type. "The Party" seems to appeal to a mentality whose tonal expression is the same the world over. He made no attempt to substantiate the charges made on the leaflet; and seemed quite unaware of the fascist strong-arm nature of his Party's effort to prevent the meeting being held.

Fascism, he said, was tottering before the victorious march of the Red Army. When Russia, the only Socialist country in the world, had been attacked, the phony war of 1939 had become a war against Socialism. The workers of this country should rally behind the boys in the armed forces and support the Red Army in their struggle. The Communist Party had been carrying on the fighting against Fascism long before some people in this hall . . . "Five hundred British lads lay dead in Spain—"

The implication was that all of these "lads" were members of the C.P. Vigorous, full-blooded members. For the Communist Party has adopted them and enshrined them as heroes; just as it has canonised every other dead leader, or outstanding figure of the Socialist movement. The object is not to immortalise these dead fighters and agitators, but to make them posthumous members of "the Party"—or rather to identify "the Party" in the minds of the people with every dead fighter for social liberty. For they know that the people are muddy-brained and will reverence the church for its dead saints, even though it persecutes living prophets. For numbered with those who went to Spain are Robert Smillie and Daniel Mullen—both dead. One lies somewhere in Spain and the other in a London cemetery. Both were brave lads, and both had their deaths hastened by the Communist Party. And hardly had the dead fighters grown cold in their graves before "the Party" extended a hand of friendship to the alleged arch-enemy whom the "brave lads" had given their lives to destroy, and against whom another set of "brave lads" were now urged to wage war. But handshake and the bayonet thrust have but one meaning to those who seek power. Neither have any meaning in themselves; both have to submit to the test of how far they will carry "the Party" on its road to power.

Most of the other participants in discussion were in sympathy with the views expressed by the speakers.

In reply to discussions the Duke dealt very ably with the chief criticisms levelled against him.

Aldred urged his listeners to think for themselves on all questions. He reminded them of a piece of advice contained in a book, much older, and in many ways much wiser than anything yet offered by the Socialists: the words recorded by the prophet Isaiah: "Come, let us reason together."

Many of those who attended the meeting had to walk back to Glasgow, to Paisley, and even to Kirkintilloch. It was a wild, stormy night. A wild night and a long journey such as they might remember for a long time.

But after the memory of the journey has faded they will recall and relive the thoughts and feelings that accompanied them home on the night they heard the Duke and the Anarchist united in combat against aspiring despotism and desolation.

(To be continued)

Welsh Anti-War Literature

In spite of the censorship and shortage of paper several small volumes have been published in the Welsh language against the War since 1939, and some journals printed in Welsh have been equally outspoken. Indeed, it is gathered that one such weekly has increased its circulation considerably merely because of its stand against the ghastly slaughter that is now proceeding all over the world.

The biggest attempt yet made, however, in that direction is the forthcoming publication of a substantial Welsh volume entitled "Gair y Cymod" (Word of Reconciliation); published by Lewis, Gwasg Gomer, Llandyssul, Carmarthenshire; 5/- per copy post free.

It will contain twenty articles by a similar number of the leading literary men of the Principality and twenty poems composed by another twenty of the most famous Welsh poets.

It is hoped to review the book in "The Word" in due course. It is understood that orders are well in hand already to secure the success of the venture; it will be on sale just before Christmas.

SUGGESTED ENGLISH MEETINGS

It has been suggested that the Duke of Bedford and the editor should speak, under Socialist auspices, in Lancashire. It will be some time before arrangements can be made as the idea is to speak in more than one town.

The editor has been asked to speak in London at various meetings. Before agreeing he would like to hear from all London comrades so that really worthwhile meetings might be arranged and also private contacts made. He is not anxious to leave Glasgow which he regards as his field of activity. But if he is to visit the metropolis he wants the visit to be useful and he desires to meet all his various Socialist, Humanist, Ethicist and Freethought friends and comrades. One meeting is to be under Unitarian Pacifist auspices.

The visit cannot take place until after the New Year. This will give all comrades an opportunity of planning meetings and private discussions. One Labour Group has asked that he speak in company with the Duke of Bedford.

THE DEATH STRUGGLE OF MODERN CAPITALISM

By FREDERICK LOHR

On the morning of Sunday the third of September, 1939, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, broadcast to the world that a state of war existed between Britain and Germany. His announcement came as no surprise to people who had been for years living under the threat of war, and who were daily conditioned to its expectation. There was no shock, no outburst of incredulity, no manifestation of horror, such as we are told greeted the outbreak of war in 1914. In Parliament, all save a few pacifists registered their approval of the war decision. No prominent voice was raised against a repetition of the barbarism of the last War. Perhaps among a few people who during that fateful period between Munich and the Russo-German Pact, believed that a major conflict could be avoided, the feeling existed that still in spite of the declaration of war, the nations might yet be persuaded by sane counsels, and the reality of open warfare be avoided. But by the great majority the Prime Minister's solemn declaration was accepted with resignation, and even with relief. For it brought to an end those long years of exhausting suspense which had permeated every phase of social life with uncertainty and questioning. Those dragging months of waiting upon Hitler's speeches, those years of watching in impotent fury the aggressive policies of the European Dictators unfolding before their eyes. Those years of heavy anxiety had come to an end, the storm clouds hanging oppressively over torn and troubled Europe had broken, the veneer of a false peace had cracked, and the festering sore of political hostility once more erupted in bloody struggle.

To most people the war was unavoidable. Better, they felt, that it should come now than be protracted into the future when Germany and her Axis partners might be stronger still. To most people it was a necessary war. For long they had recognised that European affairs could not just drift along in such an unsatisfactory manner. The bluff of Hitler and Mussolini had to be called, and the position of Russia clarified. Almost one might say that in those early days of September 1939 there was an atmosphere of relief. Mr. Chamberlain had finally brought matters to a head; the tension was broken. Long years of dilatory diplomacy and vacillating policies were at an end. The country was finally done with that concealed enmity, that brooding fear beneath the outward semblance of an uneasy peace. England was at War!

September 1939. There was no ranting enthusiasm. No beating of drums: no military parades. No hysterical cheering and no patriotic demonstration. After the feeling of relief came a mood of anxious anticipation. War, in 1939—what did it imply? For twenty years since Versailles platform and press had described the terrible advances in the methods of scientific warfare. China, Abyssinia and Spain had evidenced the death-dealing potentialities of the modern warplane. So that when the first practice wailings of air-raid sirens were heard over England on that Sunday morning in September 1939, there could be sensed the fearful recognition that this would be no war on foreign battlefields only, no war merely of newspaper reports of continental campaigns. A new weapon had been forged from the crucible of the Great War, and perfected in the peaceless years between wars. The bombing plane! The dread of this paralysed enthusiasm for War in September 1939. Like a dark cloud of foreboding Storm hung the prophecy of death from the skies. War for both combatant and non-combatant; death for both soldier and civilian; terror and destruction for both guilty and innocent—TOTAL WAR! People looked up into the skies and were afraid.

From the beginning, and for months prior to the declaration, the war had been publicised as a just war. A moral crusade. It was to be a war against aggression, against bad faith, against tyranny and persecution. Above all else it was a war for freedom, a war to make it possible for the plain and common man to live in peace and security, free from secret police, racial persecution and the domination of military conquest. Mr. Chamberlain's voice had broken when he had described the war's purposes, and generally speaking the population of the country were in agreement with his sentiments. They had not wanted war. They had tried strenuously to avoid war. Hitler would not be appeased. There was no other way.

Still, there was no enthusiasm. No determined bearing. No rush to volunteer. No eagerness to open hostilities. In spite of all propaganda from platform, press and radio, in spite of general sympathy with allied hopes and general hatred of Hitler and Nazism, the fear of War itself—*Total War*—the unknown potential of modern scientific war, stifled popular enthusiasm and made ludicrous the martial fervour of politicians and journalists. Nazi war-guilt, Hitler's wickedness, the wickedness of the German people in general, all were agreed and denounced, but all were secondary to the issue of WAR itself. The people were *for* the war, thought it necessary; had even at times demanded war against aggression. Now that it had come, they were not surprised; they would not have had it otherwise. And yet they could not fight it. Could not summon up the energy to proclaim it and to prosecute it. For they were very, very afraid. The dominant, overriding characteristic of England during the early winter of 1939 was fear. Fear, not of Hitler, not of Germany, but of WAR. For the first time in the history of the British people, War *as a thing in itself* focussed itself prominently in the public mind. All efforts to concentrate attention upon the issues, moral, economic or strategic, failed to achieve their purpose. Daily from the outbreak of war was to be observed a steady decline in the attention devoted to the attributes of this particular war, and an increase in the preoccupation with the question of War itself. War as a human experience. War and its modern implications. Now whether this attitude sprang from a cowardly fear of bombing planes, in a country which had felt but little of the terrible devastation of previous wars, or whether it originated from a sense of war futility, or from an instinctive consciousness of the inadequacy of Great Britain to fight a modern Total War, with this I am not concerned. Whatever was the reason, the feeling existed in September 1939, and exists to-day in a much more tangible shape. It presages some hope for the future, for it means that England is approaching a consciousness that modern Total War represents a greater threat to worthwhile values than do the theatrical ambitions of the European Dictators. It represents a growing awareness that the democratic way of life, the belief in the free expression of human personality, cannot be defended by Total War, but on the contrary a prerequisite of efficient war prosecution to-day, is the abandonment of such a way of life and an acceptance of totalitarianism in social organisation. It means above all that the War is being regarded not as an episode in the history of this particular age, but as an evolutionary resultant of past conditions. And the recognition of this fact is a necessary introduction to the examination of this war as the expression of a social antagonism which is inherent in modern capitalist society.

This is the second world war within the lifetime of one generation, and there are many signs that the lessons of history are slowly being learned by that vast section of the general public which is not usually given to speculation regarding world affairs, outside the limits of their daily newspapers and the nightly radio. Each year dealing expertly and scientifically with all shades there are published many hundreds of volumes of opinion concerning War in general and this war in particular, but these studies reach only a minute proportion of the population, and knowledge which is commonplace to this minority is unknown and unsuspected by the general reading public. Nevertheless, through the mediums of press and cinema, popular periodicals and political organisations, certain tendencies in war are being noticed and questioned by people who a few years ago would not have troubled to examine them. It is being noticed that each succeeding year has a tendency quickly to outstrip the local animosities that occasioned it. That there is soon revealed a connection between the wars of small nations and the interests of large Powers. The politics of the Gran-Chaco, the Spanish Civil War, etc., are observed to link up with the ambitions of great Empires. Most people have already noticed that whilst each great conflict appears to settle issues between Governments, yet nevertheless the same issues recur again and again in ever larger perspective, and from each war a whole series of new issues are raised for succeeding generations.

Thus behind all the patriotic support for the present war policy, there can be described a growing realisation that war is not an episodic eruption due to individual or national wickedness, but an international phenomenon of *social* significance. Once it is perceived that a particular war originates in causes which are out of sight of the local manifestation of the outbreak, the way is prepared for the realisation that each war has a common social root. Thus to-day, more and more people are taking up a realistic attitude to the war. The propaganda devoted to the idea that wars are caused by the power hunger of megalomaniacs is losing ground. So also is the idea that any state-structure is built up solely for war purposes, unrelated to its position within a world in arms. Once it is admitted that war is not a biological phenomenon, and so cannot be regarded as a manifestation of any natural hostility between racial or national groupings, the causes of war must be sought within the internal structure of society. In other words, it is recognised that war is not a human characteristic but a social problem.

Now a modern industrial society is an exceedingly complex organisation and the human relationships within such a society tend to become increasingly complicated. So it is with war. The issues involved in a war between highly organised and technically equipped States are extremely difficult to unravel. Simplification is impossible except on broad and general lines. The scale upon which mechanised war now operates introduces with every campaign new factors and fresh issues which were outside the range of the original war purposes. The world is to-day so closely linked together, the interests of the great Powers so delicately interwoven, that it is impossible, so swiftly do the objectives broaden and conditions change, to discern clearly the ultimate policies of any warring State. As more and more of the surface of the world is brought within the sphere of military operations and nations divide themselves into hostile camps, each possessing incalculable potential for destruction, it is difficult to perceive how any end to this conflict can possibly serve the interests of any State or people. War to-day has reached such dimensions, and involves such awful implications that it is fast becoming a *raison d'etre* in itself. Whatever aims or purposes it had when it started, they are fast becoming secondary to the necessities of war itself. Once the conception of Total War becomes an active reality, then the very logic of its movement takes control and creates its own purpose and destiny. Original war aims and promised peace policies become meaningless. Victory and Defeat take on the same significance. Both mean a cessation of War and both must contemplate a return to the problems of Peace. Now this War is itself, in a way, an expression of the failure to face up to these problems. War is a method of shelving social problems, but when war develops into Total War, not only is the direction of industrial production changed, but the very basis of society is shifted. No great industrial country once organised for Total War can revert back to the loose and undisciplined social organisations of capitalist democracy. To attempt such a return would immediately produce a condition of economic and political chaos. Neither can the war provide a solution to any of

the problems of Peace that contributed in large measure to its outbreak; in every case it can but exacerbate and develop them. But war can temporarily obscure these problems, and total war can provide a measure of escape from peacetime embarrassments so long as it continues, and so long as Victory or Defeat can be averted. Thus we find ourselves to-day in the tragic circumstance that war is preferable to peace; war is becoming the normal activity of our lives, and peace the abnormal eventuality to be feared.

It is an ironic comment upon our civilisation. Circumstances have plunged us into a conflict in which fear of the weapons of destruction, the possibilities of starvation, the potentialities of pestilence and disease, all conduce to a sane and reasonable rejection of war, yet on the other hand fear of the uncertainties and insecurities of peace fill us with forebodings of the cessation of war. Our world contains all that is necessary in materials, inventiveness and labour power, to provide a full and free life for all, and to satisfy all the wholesome desires of mankind, yet within this sphere of plenty and this prospect of happiness, only war can to-day provide mankind with a modicum of security and a meagre supply of material comfort. Only in Total War have we discovered an outlet for the tremendous productivity of human energy and modern technical equipment. Only in war can man find release from the drabness and frustration of his social environment. If ever there was a dilemma of absurdity, this war is one. It goes forward to ruin and despair, because it dare not return to poverty and disillusionment.

Many clever politicians and others are to-day lifting up their voices in extravagant promises of a rosy future to come after the war. One and all endeavour to maintain the childish illusion that a military victory over Germany is all that is needed to bring about the millenium. Few now pay attention to such charlatans, for most sensible people recognise that the war is supported more out of fear than hope, and that whilst the war continues, gathering each day ever increasing momentum, engulfing each week more and more of the total energies of humanity to the purposes of futility, it is idle to pretend to plans of a better world, or to promises of a more just and equitable society after the war. The war itself is in command of these pretentious ambitions. Our new society arising from the aftermath of cruel and bloody war will bear indelibly the marks of such a conflict. This war will be its foundation stone and the lives flung so uselessly into such a foundation, will prove to be a solvent that will mock its edifice. A service would be done to society if someone with a more able pen than mine, would convince these political hucksters and economic shamans that the society of to-morrow is being built to-day. There is never a clean break with history, never a new start. As we sow to-day, to-morrow we shall reap, and to pretend that a war of such magnitude as this one, with consequences so immeasurably heavy to bear, can be lightheartedly regarded as a prelude to better times, is to spit in the face of truth and reason. Such men are criminals.

So that, before all questions of social importance is this question of War, for now War assumes such proportions that it represents the total product of our civilisation. We have reached a historical phase which has no meaning outside of war. The very nature of our age is mirrored in mechanised warfare. It is the culmination of capitalist endeavours, the final expression of a system which is soulless, whose philosophy is accumulation, whose logic is frustration and whose ultimate reality is futility.

How has this system brought society to such a pass? Why has the promise of the nineteenth century failed to mature? What is there in capitalist civilisation which is so destructive of human values and Christian culture? How is it that the great advances of industrial technique and scientific invention have worked to such ignoble purposes, when so much altruistic endeavour has gone to build up our present society?

It is necessary to consider these questions, and to form some general political and economic understanding of the situation in which we find ourselves. This war, and the historical epoch which has produced it, cannot be wholly explained in either political or economic terms. Realisation of this simple truth stresses the need for personal responsibility and personal thought, for Anarchism as well as for Socialism. If mankind is to be served, the death struggle of modern capitalism must give us, not a Communist Dictatorship for a Fascist Dictatorship—in essence they are the same combination of irresponsible despotism and bureaucracy—but a living democracy, a Free Society, a world of Anarchism and common fellowship of living.

PAUL D. ABBOTT

For the third time, Paul Douglas Abbott, chartered accountant student, Defoe Avenue, Kew, was sent to prison on Thursday, October 14, 1943, by the Mayor (Councillor J. L. Hawkins), Councillor C. E. Mills and Mrs. Reid, in Richmond police court.

Abbott has been convicted twice at Kingston for failing to attend for medical inspection and now for failing to comply with a direction of the Ministry of Labour to go to employment as an agricultural worker in Buckinghamshire at Friarage Camp, Aylesbury.

Abbott pleaded guilty.

Mr. C. E. Shelly, wso prosecuted, said Abbott was registered in 1940 and he applied to be regarded as a conscientious objector. His case was considered by the local tribunal in May, 1940, and his application was rejected. He appealed, and in November the Appeal Tribunal upheld the decision. Various attempts were made to get him to attend for medical examination prior to service with the armed forces. In May, 1942, he appeared at Kingston and was fined £5, or a month's imprisonment, for non-attendance. The fine was not paid and he was detained for medical examination. In June, 1942, he again appeared at Kingston for failing to attend and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Abbott again appeared before the tribunal and his plea was rejected. He could have been conscripted into the armed forces but the Ministry of Labour thought better to employ his services in another capacity.

On August 21st Abbott was directed to report to Buckingham War Agricultural Committee. He failed to comply, and on August 25th wrote and clearly invited prosecution.

On September 4th he was interviewed by a representative of the Ministry, and he repeated that he objected to being conscripted into any service for the war effort; he would be satisfied with nothing else than unconditional exemption.

"This young man," added Mr. Shelley, "is actively associated with the Richmond Conscientious Objectors' Advisory Bureau."

Abbott's Statement.

Abbott told the court that he thought the best contribution an individual could make towards the attainment of a peaceful society was to refuse utterly to submit to any conscription for war. He still had 65 days to serve under his supplemented articles, and when he had completed them he would see if there was any work more constructive and useful than accountancy he could take up. There might not be. He did not object to hard work, manual or otherwise, but the Ministry of Labour policy of trying to force him to do land work made it appear to him very doubtful whether he could honestly take that up, even voluntarily.

Abbott concluded:—

"The Ministry appears to me to have more interest in enforcing universal conscription than a genuine concern to effect food production. As a logical outcome of my rejection of conscription I shall refuse to work in goal and also as a protest against the demoralising prison system."

The Mayor, after the Bench had consulted in private, said the justices sentenced Abbott to prison for three months with hard labour.

Paul D. Abbott was born on June 7, 1914, at Sydney, New South Wales. He came to England in 1915. His father was, at one time, Inspector-General for the Far East of L'Union Assurance Company of Paris. He is the grandson of the late Henry Abbott, J.P., of Detentham, Suffolk. Also nephew of the late Frank Morley Youngman, J.P., of Ashfield, Suffolk. Paul Abbott was largely brought up by Frank Youngman, who was a well-known pacifist.

Mr. Youngman was chairman of the Framlingham Farmers' Co-operative Society; President of the Eye and Woodbridge Division Liberal Association; a member of the Lord Chancellor's Committee for the selection of magistrates; and a pacifist member of the conscientious objector Tribunals during the first great war.

Paul Abbott was educated at Felsted Junior School and at Framlingham College. He is a linguist and keen internationalist. He has cycled all over France, Holland, Belguim, Germany and Denmark. He left the Boy Scout movement, in which he was scoutmaster, when the Chief Scout declared that all scouts must do organised national service in war emergency.

Abbott is a member of the P.P.U.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM

IVY MILL LANE,
GODSTONE,
SURREY.

Dear Comrade,

SURREY AND SOUTH LONDON CONFERENCE.

At 23 Wellesley Road, Croydon, on Sunday, 12th December, 1943, at 2.30 p.m.

Following on the successful conferences held at Wimbledon and in other part of London last winter for the purpose of combating "Vansittartism" in the Labour Movement, an "ad hoc" Committee of rank and file members of the Party and its affiliated organisations has been set up to carry on this activity and to conduct propaganda aimed at re-establishing a more vogorous Socialist drive in the Movement under the slogan of "VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM."

It is felt by the undersigned that all Socialists in Surrey should participate in this campaign, and we have accordingly arranged a conference similar to that held on 13th December last year at Wimbledon.

The Conference will be held at time and place stated above; Councillor W. C. Elliott will preside. Fred Messer, M.P., and Reg. Groves, Prospective Labour Candidate for Aylesbury will speak, after which the conference will be open to any delegate for invited to speak.

We will be grateful if "The Word" will make the Conference known as widely as possible among its many readers and supporters in the Labour Party and affiliated organisations.

Yours fraternally,

H.A. HASKELL (Alderman, Godalming Borough Council).
E. R. SIMMONS (Member of Surrey County Council).
W. H. BROTHERS (Chairman of Education Committee, South Suburban Co-operative Society)
W. ELLIOTT (Member of Reigate Borough Council).
H. J. DAVIES (Member of Education Committee, South Suburban Co-operative Society).
JOHN R. BATTLEY (L.C.C., Prospective Labour Candidate for Clapham).
C. A. EARL (Member of Godalming Borough Council).
ERIC MESSER (Secretary, East Surrey Divisional Labour Party), Conference Secretary.

RHYS DAVIES, M.P., TO VISIT SOUTH WALES, JANUARY 1944.

Our Comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., will address the following meetings in South Wales during January:—

In English

Sunday afternoon, January 9th, 1944.—Carmarthen Fellowship.

Monday evening, January 10th.—Ystradgynlais.

In Welsh.

Tuesday evening.—Cwmgiedd, Swansea Valley.

Wednesday evenng,.—Ynyshir, Rhondda.

Thursday evening.—Llanharran, Glamorgan.

Questions and Discussion invited at all meetings as time permits.

We hope that our readers in the towns and districts mentioned will make these meetings known widely. All who can do so should make a point of attending themselves.

"COMMUNISTS" AND THE WAR

In March, 1943, the Labour Party issued an unanswerable factual indictment of the Communist Party's record of hypocrisy and treachery to the workers of Europe, in relation to the war. Prior to the signing of the Soviet-German Pact at Moscow, on August 21, 1939, the Communist Party denounced appeasement and demanded a War Government, with Churchill and Eden in leading positions. Two days later, the *Daily Worker* declared that the "Axis" papers attached too much importance to the negotiations and recalled Stalin's lengthy statement to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March, 1939, pledging support to nations which had fallen prey to aggression and were fighting for their independence.

The Communist Party continued in this frame of mind down to September 20, 1939, even though Russian troops had entered Poland three days earlier. During this period, Willie Gallacher, in the House of Commons, Harry Pollitt in his pamphlets, and the Central Executive Committee of the Party had declared their strong opposition to Fascism.

The *Daily Worker* for September 2, 1939, published a statement by the Central Committee of the Party, declaring :—

The Communist Party has never hidden and never will hide its opinions regarding the fundamental cause of the war, namely, the capitalist system.

It has never hidden and never will hide its detestation of Fascism and its readiness to take part in any struggle, political or military, to secure the defeat of Fascism.

On the same day, Willie Gallacher declared in the House of Commons: *"I will stick at no sacrifice to ensure the defeat of Nazi Aggression."*

On September 14, 1939, the Communist Party issued a pamphlet, entitled "How to Win the War" by Harry Pollitt, then Secretary of the Party. This pamphlet, full of stern war commands to the British Government, was withdrawn later. Pollitt wrote :—

The Communist Party supports the War, believing it to be a just War which should be supported by the whole working class and all friends of democracy in Britain.

On September 28, 1939, the occupation and partition of Poland on a dual basis was formally agreed upon in a German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship fixing "the frontier of their interests in the former territory of Poland." Article I of the Treaty).

Two days later, the Editorial Board of the *Daily Worker* published a statement in the paper beginning :

Arising from the decision taken in Moscow and the peace declaration which has followed, an entirely new situation confronts the people of this country and of Europe.

This statement was a lie, as later events proved. The "Communists," whether for War or Peace, were merely Moscow hirelings. They were never genuine. Merely cynics, opportunists, and sycophants.

On October 7, 1939, the Communist Party published a Manifesto in the *Daily Worker* in which it declared :—

This war is not a war for democracy against Fascism . . .

The responsibility for the present Imperialist war lies equally on all the warring powers.

This war is a fight between the Imperialist powers over profits, colonies, and world domination.

The Soviet Union is leading the world fight for peace.

This Manifesto demanded an *immediate* Peace Conference.

On October 12 the Communist Party announced through the *Daily Worker*, that its Manifesto of October 7, denouncing the war as an Imperialist war, corrected its declaration of September 2, declaring its intention of fighting Fascism. It should be noted that, whether for the war or against it, the Communist Party denounced in terms of violence and contempt those who anticipated its future attitude or stood by its previous attitude.

On October 11, 1939, Harry Pollitt was dismissed from the Secretaryship of the Communist Party. On November 23 both he and J. R. Campbell published in the *Daily Worker* abject recantations of their support of the war. Pollitt described his war attitude as *"an impermissible infraction of our Party's discipline."* Campbell described his pre-war attitude as *"resisting what has been proved to be the correct line."*

What hypocrisy!

From now on, until June 22, 1941, when Hitler launched his sudden attack upon the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party was not satisfied to conduct an ordinary peace or anti-war agitation, such as Socialists and men of principle have conducted in times of war, to the peril of their own lives and liberties. The Communist Party conducted a campaign of slander, bogus grievances, mean opportunism, and sabotage.

On November 1, 1939, it issued a pamphlet, *Why This War?* in which it lumped together Chamberlain, Churchill, Greenwood, Dalton, Bevin, Citrine, and declared that *"without the support of organised labour"* no *"war government could continue in office a day."*

In January, 1940, the London District Conference of the Communist Party resolved to contest every By-election *on a programme of resolute opposition to the war* and defence of the Soviet Union.

On February 22, 1940, Harry Pollit contested the Silvertown By-election in opposition to the Labour Party Candidate, who upheld the war. Pollitt's slogan was: *"The Communist Party fights to end this war."*

The Communist Party now circulated widely, shamelessly in view of their previous pamphlets —a pamphlet by G. Dimitroff, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published on November 18, 1939, entitled "Communism and the War." Dimitroff accused the leaders of the Social Democratic and radical parties of *"now openly supporting the imperialist war."* He added :—

The Social Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" flunkeys of the bourgeoisie, are brazenly distorting the anti-Fascist slogans of the Popular Front, and are using them to deceive the masses of the people and to cover up the imperialist character of the war. Under the Flag of "national unity" they have, in fact, established a common front with the capitalists, a front stretching from the Conservatives to the Labour leaders in England, and from the Cagouloards to the Socialists in France. The foremost leaders of the Social Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions shamelessly took up front rank posts in the camp of the imperialists, from the very first day of the war.

Dimitroff concluded :—

It clearly follows from the above that the Communists can have no united front whatsoever with those in a common front with the imperialists and who support the criminal anti-people's war. The working class and all working people can have no dealings with the Social Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" politicians who are betraying the vital interests of the popular masses. Between the masses of the people and these lackeys of imperialism lies the abyss of war.

On April 10, 1940, the "Communists" accused the British Labour and Trade Union leaders of responsibility for the Nazi invasion of Norway and Denmark and for extending the war. The statement in the *Daily Worker* reads :—

They (the Labour and Trade Union Leaders) demanded it. They have justified it, and now Norway and Denmark are in the inferno.

On April 27, 1940, the *Daily Worker* published the "Communists" May Day Call, in which it was stated :—

Once again the bankrupt rulers of capitalism can find no solution save a new human holocaust. Once again the millions of workers are dragged from production into uniforms to kill one another. Once again the false leaders of Labour hound on the slaughter and seek to deceive the people on the character of the war. . . .

In vain the old threadbare, lying slogans of the war for "freedom" and the "rights of small nations" are rattled anew to cover up the reality of the bestial conflict of the giant capitalist empires for world domination.

In vain the corrupt Labour leaders seek to furbish up anew these slogans with new deceptions about "the war against Fascism," as if Chamberlain and Churchill, the worst enemies of the working class, were the champions of democracy and the rights of the people. . . .

End the political truce—the shameful alliance of Labour leaders with the leaders of Capitalism, which is preparing the way for a Coalition War Government to hold the workers in chains.

The Communist International Manifesto, according to the *Daily Worker* of May 1, 1940, said :

In answer to the gross violation by England and France of the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries, Germany led its troops into Denmark and occupied strategic positions in Norway. England and France, in their turn, landed troops. The territory of Norway became a theatre of war. . . .

The strife between the imperialists in the Pacific threatens to develop into new wars. A dispute has already begun between Japan, England and the U.S.A. over the Dutch East Indies.

The bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. are, as a beginning, stretching out their hands to Iceland, Greenland, and the possessions of Britain and France in the Caribbean Sea.

The Capitalist miscreants are dragging the peoples into a new world imperialist carnage. . . .

The British and French warmongers and their social democratic lick-spittles are furious at the fact that the Soviet Union occupies a position of neutrality towards their imperialist war. . . .

The *Daily Worker* kept up the attack. On May 10, 1940, on the morning of the German invasion of Holland and Belgium, an editorial stated :

Even a blind man can see what is happening. The Labour Party is going to enter the Government. Let's make a bargain, they say. Throw out Chamberlain and we will save Churchill for you. Then we can go to the Bournemouth Conference, claim a great victory over Chamberlain, and thus get a vote authorising us to enter a reconstructed government.

And so, what is the net result?

A new war government emerges, inclusive of the Labour leaders. If the Carlton Club wants the use of these gentlemen they are, of course, welcome to try their hand, although they will hardly find that Morrison and Bevin are much of an improvement on Chamberlain or Hoare.

When the Churchill Government was being formed, the Communist Party in a statement published in the *Daily Worker* on May 11, 1940, stated :

To their eternal shame the Labour Party leaders have offered to enter a new "National Government" in combination with the most ruthless jingo representatives of capitalism. These same leaders, who had helped to maintain Chamberlain in power through all these years, now accept the leadership of Churchill and come to the rescue of the Diehard imperialists in the intensification of the war. . . .

Fight against Labour participation in Churchill's new War Government.

The class which rules, the capitalist class, determines also the aims and purpose of the war. For them the war is no anti-Fascist war, as the Labour leaders falsely proclaim, but an imperialist war, a war against the German people to inflict a new super-Versailles, for the maintenance and extension of the British Empire, for the domination of reaction in Europe, and for war on the working class in all countries and against the Socialist Soviet Union. . . .

Again, on September 14, 1940.

The ruling class, who have betrayed the people and brought this war upon them, have nothing to offer except "Blood, toil, tears and sweat." The Labour leaders have gone over body and soul to the ruling class. From them there can be no leadership for the people of Britain. . . .

Only the Communist Party fights the Labour leaders, who have been given positions in the Tory Government in order to attack the workers and to carry through the war policy of the capitalists. . . ."

Hostility to the war, denunciation of the Churchill Government and of Labour Ministers, and criticism of the Labour Party continued to be a main theme of Communist propaganda.

(To be concluded)

"WORD" DEFICIT FUND. Received from a group of workers in Albion Motor Works, Glasgow, the sum of £1 10s.

Printed and Published in Great Britain by THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

"The Word" Special Investigation Report on 18B.

IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU!

Investigation of Regulation 18B; its origin; relation to the constitution; operation; with first-hand accounts of what suffering has been involved for those who have been arrested and interned under it. An enquiry conducted by J. Wynn, as a result of his own experience. Finally edited and arranged, without prejudice or malice, by Guy A. Aldred. Printed and Published by him at the Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

One Complete Book. DECEMBER, 1943 Price: 1s. 0d.

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD AND APOLOGY.

This is a factual work and I wish to make my introduction as brief as possible. I have no sympathy with Fascism. I have no sympathy with the ideals, programmes, or policies of those who call themselves Fascist, or others with kindred views who call themselves by other names. That fact is well-known. It is evidenced by my record of Socialist and Freethought struggle since I joined the Freethought movement sometime in 1904 and the Socialist movement a year later. I have not recanted any of my Anarchist, Socialist or Freethought views.

Those who helped me to produce this enquiry are Anarchists and Socialists also as their consistent record of Anarchist and Anti-Fascist activity proves.

As an Anarchist I was appalled when I read of the treatment meted out to Anarchists in the United States in 1886-87; of the Anarchist persecution in Europe during the far from gay nineties; and of the treatment of Sacco and Vanzetti. I was opposed to all persecution and anti-constitutional conduct when the victims were Anarchists or life-long Socialists. I am opposed to it when the victims are avowed or alleged reactionaries. Our forefathers suffered in vain if rights of accusation and trial, of public indictment and public hearing, are to be swept aside by fear and prejudice.

The question of 18B internments is one of principle touching the fundamental rights of the citizen to liberty unless convicted after a proper trial by a lawfully constituted tribunal acting according to law. The principle is clear, notwithstanding the fact that some of the people concerned would mete out similar treatment to Socialists if they had the upper hand. This attitude of some of the victims renders the position difficult. It causes one to be watchful about any statements they may make. But this watchfulness becomes knavery and cowardice if one continues to accept the position of internment of people without charge or trial as a matter of course.

I do not know if all the statements made by the victims are true. I say that, without question, every statement ought to be investigated. Of the fundamental wrong I have no doubt. But I am prepared to raise my voice alone if necessary, as I would do were the victims Anarchists or Socialists. The Right of the Citizen is a social right that has no relation to the bias of opinion. It is inherent in human association and cannot be denied without harm to all mankind and without invasion of the sound civil principle of individual liberty.

I have illustrated this enquiry with two charts—for the illustration of the trial of the King of France is more a chart than a picture—published in London in 1797.

Study carefully the trial chart. Then study carefully the proscription chart. Note the fate of the men who condemned the King of France to death. Note in the proscription chart how, in time, the party that proscribed became the party that was proscribed. Study this development of lawlessness that had its origin in violence and crises. Then consider the historical analogy and let that analogy point the lesson of the fundamental wrong of government by proscription.

With the individuals now interned, as individuals, I have practically no political sympathies. Were they free I would be their opponent. But they are imprisoned without charge or trial. They are not tried because no charge can be brought against them. Many of them have been soldiers and suffered in the first Great War, which I opposed, as did some members of His Majesty's Government. Under these circumstances, I dare to come forward, not as an apologist of their opinions, but as the defender of their civil rights. If they are traitors, indict them. If they are not traitors, release them. If they cannot be indicted, they ought to be restored to human liberty. In the name of John Hampden, Thomas Paine, Richard Carlile, and the host of my radical forbears, I demand their freedom.

By what right are our liberties denied and government by proscription accepted as the law of Britain?

GUY A. ALDRED.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD.

I do not claim to be the author of this small literary effort and therefore should explain to the reader that it consists of a series of notes made by various persons interned (or detained) during the year 1942 which I made it my business to collect.

After cutting out extraneous matter and collating these notes I made it my personal business so far as is in my power to verify to the final detail all the points raised and cases disclosed.

Some twenty or more subscribers have helped me in this work many of whom are still interned under 18B, whilst others are free, in the army or elsewhere; but for fear of intimidation and retaliation have made me promise not to reveal their names until it is safe for it to be done.

I leave it, however, to the reader to ask himself if "the facts ring true" and if so will he allow the cry of those so unjustly treated by this regulation 18B to go unheard and unanswered.

"Vengeance or damages" is not asked for, but only "Justice" with what recompense rightly due.

As the notes were all made during the year 1942 some change in numbers and other circumstances may have taken place by the time this appears in print. Some of the Chapters also revert into the "present tense" but it seemed a pity to destroy the verbatim wording of the individual writer by transposing to the past.

J. WYNN.

Coleshill, Birmingham,
May, 1943.

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION AND 18B.

(A Short Paper by a Distinguished University Professor, Philosopher and B.A. (Oxon)—himself still in detention.)

Dionysius the Areopagite wrote that—"He has set the bounds of nations according to His Angels." It is these Angels, each one the genius of some race about to be unfolded, that are the founders of Constitutions.

Translated into terms of positive Sociology, this means that a "Constitution" is something inherent in the character of the People or Nation—something anterior to the foundation of the State itself—most emphatically not a matter of musty parchments, or of beggarly concessions wrested from reluctant tyrants and eventually codified by the theorists and politicians.

A "Constitution" therefore, is ratified or reduced to writing only when attempts have been made to subvert it; it is not created by any legal instrument; and it can be changed only when the National Character degenerates and suffers alteration. "A man's Character is his fate" thus said Heraclitus of Ephesus. And this holds good also of a nation. So long as its character is maintained inviolate, it is beyond the power of Prelate, Prince or Parliament, to destroy or to change its fundamental constitution. Of those ancient personal liberties irrevocably guaranteed by our British Constitution, which the King at his Coronation pledged himself to protect and to guard, it may therefore truly be asserted that they were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

As John Grenleaf Whittier, the American Quaker poet, has shown:

"The rights and liberties affirmed by Magna Charta were deemed of such importance, in the XIIIth Century, that the Bishops, twice a year, with tapers burning, and in their pontifical robes, pronounced in the presence of the King and the representatives of the Estates of England, the Greater Excommunication against the infringers of that instrument. The imposing ceremony took place in the Great Hall of Westminster. A copy of the curse (anathema) as pronounced in 1253, declares that:

"'By the authority of Almighty God and the Blessed Apostles and Martyrs and all the saints in Heaven, all those who violate the English liberties, and secretly or openly, by deeds, word, or counsel, do make statutes, or observe them, being made against the liberties aforesaid, are accursed and sequestered from the Company of Heaven and the Sacraments of Holy Church'."

Such is the doctrine of Constitutions traditional to this realm and people. And assuredly this is no mere matter of academic or historical interest; for it provides the basis of current Conservative and Socialist theory (alike rooted in the organic and corporate conceptions of Human Society) and it accords rigorously with the science of positive sociology. But with lettre de cachet contrivances, such as Regulation 18B, it accords not at all.

Sir Henry Summer Maine, in his classic and authoritative work on Ancient Law, has pointed out that "the unit of an ancient society was the Family, of a modern society the individual." The Revolution of 1689 radically disrupted the age-long Policy of

this Realm; abolished the Royal Prerogative to issue and control the Nation's Exchequer; created the National Debt; put the people at the mercy of usurers and moneylenders; and set in motion that familiar political process which begins with Oligarchy and ends in Ochlocracy, or mob rule. Not at once, however, did the National Character manifest any profound deterioration—despite the trans-valuation of National values permanently achieved by Puritanism, finding triumphant expression in the despotic regime of Oliver Cromwell, an upstart dictator, who represented middle and trading class interests.

In the heyday of Whiggish Plutocracy, the political liberties of the people were reasserted and reinforced by Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights. Constant were the efforts made, under various ingenious pretexts, to circumvent and to frustrate these instruments; but such efforts were defeated—not indeed by counter-revolution, but by the rude Radicalism of artisans and labourers.

It was the elementary truths restated in the foregoing thesis that prompted much conscientious opposition to the introduction of large sections of Emergency Regulations. Some legislators found it hard to accept the belief that Parliament had authority to attack the fundamentals of the National Constitution at the supposed demand of a passing moment in the life of the Nation, and a few more were sorely distressed by the wrong that might be wrought against innocent people by trespass against ancient Rights. In the great clamour of the time the voice of conscience was stilled or stifled; panic overcame reason and the Regulations passed into Law.

Now it was that the dissentients found balm for their minds in seeking ways to mitigate the evils that had been effected. They pressed for safeguards against improper treatment of those who would be victimised by 18B. Much new support was also forthcoming for this new "conscience" move, an indication of some feeling in the House of Commons being given by Mr. D. M. Foot, when he said:

"We are imprisoning a man under this regulation, not because he has been tried and found guilty of any offence under the Law . . . . but simply because the Minister considers it desirable that he should be detained. I suppose that is what is meant by the posters which tell us so frequently that our freedom is imperilled.—Hansard, October 1st, 1939).

THE LEGAL ASPECT OF REGULATION 18B.

The foundation-stone of British liberty was laid over seven hundred years ago when the momentous clauses safeguarding the freedom and property of every freeman in the country were set forth in the Great Charter. "No freeman," says Clause 7, "shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed of his tenement or be outlawed or exiled or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we go upon him nor send upon him unless by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." Equally unequivocal is the following clause 8—To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay right or justice.

If the Home Secretary had, after careful consideration, determined to smash Clause 7 into as many fragments as possible under the sledge hammer of 18B, he could not have succeeded more completely. The detainee was in fact "taken" (frequently in handcuffs); was in fact "imprisoned" (in most cases more rigorously than the average convicted felon); was in fact "dispossessed of his tenement" (by the simple expedient of being denied earning-power wherewith to maintain it); was in fact "exiled" (in the Isle of Man, at least one case, in Canada); and was "outlawed" (insofar as from first to last no legal aid was allowed him at his appearance before the Advisory Committee); and finally his reputation, frequently his domestic happiness, his financial stability and his hope for a prosperous future was utterly "destroyed."

Equally shattering is the Home Secretary's destruction of Clause 8. In hundreds of cases men have begged to be tried by the law of the land, even in secret, before a legally constituted court, with the "right" of facing their accusers, answering a specific charge, cross-examining witnesses, and knowing the evidence they were called upon to refute. All this was "denied" them. They were imprisoned weeks and months before receiving their reasons for detention, and before appearing in front of an Advisory Committee. Then, only after further long delay, were they informed of the result of this hearing. From day to day, for months, and, in some cases, for years, men were kept in suspense to await justice.

Upon the foundation of the Great Charter, and in some respects even earlier was, throughout the years, built up the formidable edifice of English Common law, designed to safeguard the personal liberty of even the meanest of the King's subjects. In a confirmatory charter Edward I. directed that the fundamental clauses of the Great Charter be allowed as the common law and "all judgments contrary to it were declared void."

Charles I. after attempting to assert his prerogative of taxing without the consent of Parliament, and imprisoning without trial, was forced to consent to the Petition of Right, and, in the reign of his son, the Great Charter, elaborated by the Petition of Right, was perfected by the Habeas Corpus Act. At the revolution of 1688, and again in the Act of Settlement, all these rights and liberties were declared by the statute to be—"the birthright of the people of England according to the ancient doctrine of a common law."

Blackstone, our great jurist, writing 168 years ago, took particular pains to show how the fundamental articles of Magna Charta which could not be abrogated like ordinary statutes, had been perfected by the writ of Habeas Corpus, and by the Habeas Corpus Act of Charles II., the whole purpose of which, was in Blackstone's words—

". . . . to ensure that no subject of England could be detained without cause or reason."

He continues with this pregnant observation:—

"Of great importance to the public is the preservation of this personal liberty; for if once it were left in the power of any magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper (as in France it is daily practised by the Crown) there would soon be an end to all other rights and immunities."

Elsewhere Blackstone exposes the fallacious argument put forward by some authorities that it is less dangerous to the commonweal to take away a man's life or property without accusation or trial than to imprison or intern him, maintaining that such gross and open acts of despotism must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the kingdom. "But", says Blackstone, in words which to-day seem strangely prophetic—

"confinement of the person by secretly hurrying him to gaol where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government."

It must not be supposed that this formidable fortress designed to protect and safeguard the liberty of all citizens is a structure of rapid and haphazard growth. Throughout the centuries the foundation of Magna Charta has been built up brick by brick by generations of sound and conscientious lawyers. And the cement that binds together the stones of this seven hundred years old bulwark against arbitrary oppression of the subject, established out of blood, tears, toil, and sweat of men who put justice before all else, is the simple principle that "no subject shall be imprisoned who has not been proved guilty of an offence."

By one stroke of panic legislation all this has been demolished: the foundation-stone of Magna Charta has been removed and the corner stones of the Bill of Rights and Habeas Corpus have crashed with it. All that now stands between any citizen and his secret and hurried incarceration in a gaol or prison camp is the incalculable whim of whoever may chance to be in the office of Home Secretary.

THE DEFENCE REGULATION 18B IN PRINCIPLE.

THE ORIGINAL REGULATION 18B.

The original Defence Regulation 18B (Statutory Rules and Orders, 1939, No. 978) was made by Order in Council on 1st September, 1939. It provided that certain restrictive orders, including a detention order, might be made against **"any particular person"** by the Secretary of State, **"if satisfied"** (for the defence of the realm, etc.) **"that it is necessary so to do."**

It also provided that a detained person might make objections to an advisory committee, appointed by the Secretary of State himself, the advice of which the Secretary of State was not bound to accept, thus making him judge in his own cause.

Public apprehension having been aroused as to the arbitrary and far-reaching powers which this Regulation gave to the Secretary of State (and, in practice, to unidentifiable officials), there was, on 31st October, 1939, a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that the Order in Council be annulled. In the debate which followed, the Regulation was severely criticised from all quarters of the House. It was defended by only one Member besides Sir John Anderson, then Home Secretary.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, the present Home Secretary, in his attack upon the Regulations, said (Parl. Debates, Vol. 352, col. 1844):

"I am not going to use the argument usually put forward as a matter of courtesy that we do not believe the present Minister would be wicked but that we are afraid his successors might be. I think that any Minister is capable of being wicked when he has a body of regulations like this to administer."

Mr. Morrison ended his speech by saying that he was "exceedingly apprehensive." That was the view of the Present Home Secretary.

At the conclusion of the debate, Sir Samuel Hoare, then Lord Privy Seal, gave an assurance that amended Regulations would be introduced within two or three weeks, after general agreement had been reached with the Members who had been critical. The House accepted this assurance, and the motion for the annulment of the Order in Council was accordingly withdrawn. This appeared to be a triumph of parliamentary rule over despotism.

THE AMENDED REGULATION 18B.

The amended Regulation 18B was part of an Order made on 23rd November, 1939 (S.R. & O. 1939, No. 1681).

Paragraph (1) of this amended Regulation is now as follows:—

"If the Secretary of State has **reasonable cause to believe** any person to be **of hostile origin or associations** or to have been recently **concerned in acts** prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the realm or in the **preparation or instigation of such acts** and that **by reason thereof** it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order against that person directing that he be detained."

An additional paragraph (1A), which was added by Order in Council on 22nd May, 1940 (S.R. & O., 1940, No. 770), authorises detention orders by the Secretary of State if he has **reasonable cause to believe** any person to be a member of, or to have furthered the objects of, any organisation "as respects which the Secretary of State **is satisfied** that" it comes into a category of dangerous organisations as specified in some detail in this paragraph of the Regulation.

Paragraphs (3), (4), (5) and (6) elaborate but do not materially alter the provisions for the appointment, by the Secretary of State himself, of an **advisory** committee, or committees, to which persons detained may make representations, also for monthly reports to Parliament as to the number of persons dealt with under the Regulation and the action taken.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REGULATIONS.

It is noticeable that the revised Regulation 18B unlike the original Regulation, **does not** authorise detention orders **"against any particular person"** by the Secretary of State **"if satisfied"** that **"it is necessary"** for certain reasons. The revised Regulation lays down that the Secretary of State must have **"reasonable cause to believe"** certain **specified facts** concerning such person or that he has done certain **specified things.**

WHY DID PARLIAMENT AGREE?

It might appear to some that there is, legally, a considerable difference between being "satisfied" as to some particular thing and having "reasonable cause to believe" some particular thing. No one can argue whether another person is, or is not, "satisfied" as to certain facts or necessities. The other person can maintain that he is satisfied, and that is the end of the matter. But it may seem to some that it is possible to argue whether another person has, or has not, "reasonable cause" to believe certain allegations, even if it is quite clear that the other person honestly believes himself to be reasonable.

It is evident that Parliament took the view that the two expressions meant something different. There was no motion that the revised Regulation 18B be annulled, although, apart from the alterations in the wording referred to, there was no important difference between the old and the new Regulations.

Actually the new Regulations were accepted without question, because, in the meantime, the war had gone badly for "the democracies," and the feeling of panic in the House and in the Country had increased. The House of Commons was prepared to accept the Government's word that the alterations made in the wording were satisfactory. It was assumed that any person genuinely aggrieved by a detention order would be able to obtain ultimate redress by applying to the High Court for a writ of habeas corpus, which would lead to an investigation into the facts by an impartial and independent Court of Justice.

HABEAS CORPUS.

In August, 1940, an application was made to a Divisional Court of the King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus in respect of a British-born subject who has been detained under Defence Regulation 18B. In his affidavit, supporting this application, the individual detained denied the allegation which had been given as the reason for his detention. The affidavit of the Home Secretary, who opposed the issue of the writ, was to the effect that he "had reasonable cause to believe" the allegations because they had been reported to him by officials whom he deemed reliable. It was also urged by Counsel for the Home Secretary that these officials must remain unidentifiable. The Court dismissed the application without hearing evidence as to the facts in dispute, although the individual detained had been released by order of the Home Secretary shortly after the appeal had been entered.

After a sharp cleavage of opinion among the Law Lords engaged in the now famous, or infamous, Liversedge case it was unequivocally established that this whim of the Home Secretary cannot be questioned by any authority, and that he is answerable to no man for the reasonableness of his cause to believe that a detainee is an object of suspicion and therefore worthy of detention. Mr. Liversedge had issued a writ against Sir John Anderson, a former Home Secretary and Mr. Herbert Morrison, present Home Secretary, claiming a declaration that his detention was unlawful and asking for damages for false imprisonment. His application for particulars of the grounds on which the Home Secretary believed him to be a person of hostile associations was refused, the court holding that "the onus does not lie on the Home Secretary to prove the facts which were considered to justify the order for detention."

It was against this refusal that Mr. Liversedge appealed to the Law Lords in September of 1941.

Lord Maugham, in conjunction with Lord MacMillan, Lord Wright and Lord Romer upheld the ruling of the Court of Appeal. In giving judgment he said:—

> "To my mind this is so clearly a matter for Executive discretion and nothing else that I cannot believe that those responsible for the Order in Council could have contemplated for a moment the possibility of the action of the Secretary of State's being subject to the discussion, criticism and control of a judge in a court of law."

The result of this dictum was that the Home Secretary was given a completely free hand to imprison whomsoever he wished "provided only" Lord Maugham adds, "that he acted in good faith."

A moment's reflection will convince anybody that since no-one, least of all the unfortunate detainee, the victim, has the power or right to question the Home Secretary's reason or grounds for arrest and detention, it is beyond anyone's power to show whether the Home Secretary is acting in good faith or not.

The vigorous dissenting judgment of Lord Atkin in this case was only the forerunner of a spate of protests from thoughtful and farseeing members of the general public. He said:—

> "I view with apprehension the attitude of judges who on the mere question of construction, when face to face with claims involving the liberty of the subject, show themselves more Executive minded than the Executive. In this country amidst the clash of arms the laws are not silent. They may be changed but they speak the same language in war as in peace. It has always been one of the pillars of freedom, one of the principles of liberty for which on recent authority we are now fighting, that the judges are no respectors of persons, and stand between the subject and any attempted encroachment on his liberty by the Executive, alert to see that any coercive action is justified in law. In this case I have listened to arguments which might have been addressed acceptably to the Court of the King's Bench in the time of Charles I. I protest, even if I do it alone, against the strained construction put upon words with the effect of giving an uncontrolled power of imprisonment to the Minister."

Later in his judgment Lord Atkin again refers to the "strained construction" put upon words, scathingly saying that he knows of only one authority which might justify the suggested method of construction. He proceeded with the following quotation from "Alice in Wonderland":

> "'When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less.'
> "'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean different things.'
> "'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master . . . . that's all' . . . . "

Lord Atkin concluded his judgment with the words:—

> "I am profoundly convinced that the Home Secretary had not been given an unconditional authority to detain; and in my opinion the appeal ought to be allowed."

On the following day, and for many days afterwards, at first slowly and later in increasing numbers, confirmatory opinions from men of eminence and standing in the legal and political world began to make themselves heard. One may select at random from a great mass of writings and speeches to find typical opinions, weighty with misgivings and alarm at this generally unperceived filching away from the people of their ancient safeguards against oppression.

Mr. Gerald Gardiner, in a letter in the "Times" (6/11/41) says:—

> "The original regulation 18B conferred on the Home Secretary an absolute discretion to detain persons if he was "satisfied" of certain things. On October 31st, 1939, upon a motion in the House of Commons to assail the regulations, grave dissatisfaction was expressed in the House on the ground that the regulation left the liberty of the subject to the sole discretion of the Home Secretary. The Government thereupon withdrew the regulations and agreed to amend them to meet this and other objections, and on November 23rd, 1939, the amended regulations were made, the new Regulation 18B providing that the Home Secretary could only detain if he "has reasonable cause to believe" those things of which previously he had only to be "satisfied." What is one to think of an Executive whose law officers now argue that the amended regulations mean, and must have intended to mean, precisely the same as the regulation which was withdrawn?
>
> "It may be presumptious for an ordinary lawyer to express a view upon the decision of the House of Lords, but as so distinguished a lawyer as Lord Maugham has thought your columns an appropriate place in which to comment upon part of the speech of another member of the tribunal, it may be permissible for a humble member of the Bar to follow his example and to say that in places where lawyers meet, the view being yesterday expressed by lawyers of all shades of opinion was one of admiration for, and gratitude to, Lord Atkin for his dissenting speech, the contents of which appear to some ordinary lawyers to be unanswerable."

Another well-known lawyer, Mr. F. H. Hamilton, subscribed as follows:—

> "It is well to remember that we are fighting not only Hitler but the spirit of Hitlerism and that those who have noted during the last twenty years the increasing power of the Executive and its growing independence both of the Legislature and the Judicature, and the gradual deterioration of public opinion which has rendered possible these developments, may well ask themselves which in the long run is likely to prove the more pervasive enemy." ("Times," 15/11/41.)

And as a last example of the comment aroused by the Liversedge judgment here is part of a letter from Mr. P. E. Roberts, a high authority on Law and History, of Worcester College, Oxford:—

> ". . . . Parliament surely will not let the matter rest here. The Liberty of each one of us, it appears, lies at the mercy of a single minister, and his bare unsupported statement that he believes himself justified, puts an end at once to all that elaborate machinery—once our national pride—created by the wisdom of ages to protect the rights of the individual. It may perhaps at least be permissible to observe that one can hardly conceive a more amazing paradox than that this should be the law in a country that is never weary of assuring the world that she is fighting for the liberty of the private man and for freedom of opinion. Lord Maugham resents comparison with the reign of Charles I. but that monarch never claimed wider powers than those exercised by Mr. Morrison, however different may have been his motive for their use, and, at any rate, the power of arbitrary imprisonment was only claimed for the King and his Council, not for a single official." ("Times," 12/11/41.)

But Mr. Robert's hope, and that of hundreds of bewildered victims of 18B, that "Parliament will not let the matter rest," was doomed to inevitable disappointment, for the simple reason that the threat of the uncontrolled power of the Home Secretary to imprison hung over Members of Parliament equally with the rest of the public, as Mr. P. C. Loftus, Member for Lowestoft, pointed out in this letter to the "Times" on November 15, 1941. He wrote:—

> "You conclude your leading article in to-day's issue with the words—'the present Parliament has conceded powers in some respects exceeding what any Stuart claimed; but the safeguards against encroachment are secure in its own hands.'—Are they really secure under all conceivable future contingencies? Is it not a case of 'quie custodiet ipsos custodes'? The only check now left upon the power of the Executive to imprison indefinitely without trial any citizen, resides in the power of the unofficial rank and file members of all parties to criticise and control the actions of the Home Secretary. They alone are his judges, but he is now given absolute power to imprison any of these judges and critics. He may intern any Member of either House upon vague allegations without the House itself or any independent committee thereof being allowed any information whatsoever as to whether or not there may be a prima face case for such detention. . . . "

Another Member of Parliament, Mr. E. Bennet, in a letter published in the same issue of the "Times" stresses Mr. Loftus' protest as follows:—

> "Many thoughtful men and women both inside and outside the House of Commons find it difficult to share Mr. Casswell's conviction that 'no order is made under regulation 18B except after very careful consideration of the reports submitted.'" The official statistics not only prove, as Sir Irving Albery points out, that over 100 persons (the actual number was 128 up to the date of this letter) have been detained in prisons by the Minister against the decision of his own Advisory Committee, but reveal another disturbing fact. Up to July 31st, 1941, the cases of 1,566 detainees have been reviewed of whom no fewer than 811—more than 50 per cent. have been set at liberty. Apart from the legal aspect of 18B, and its working, what is the ordinary layman to

think of the character and quality of the evidence on which the Home Secretary feels justified in imprisoning 811 men and women who, after varying periods of detention are declared to be innocent.

"Could not the investigation which secures the release of British Citizens, imprisoned without charge or trial, be made before they are consigned for months to the cells of Brixton Gaol?

These misgivings in the Press from numerous Members of Parliament were echoed inside the House on the several occasions when 18B came up for debate, but all Members, whatever their private opinions, gave vent to them in very guarded terms. This reluctance to present misgivings to an issue is probably due to the fact that one of the first victims to be seized and incarcerated by the Home Secretary was one of their own colleagues, Captain A. M. Ramsay, Member for Peebles.

Captain Ramsay's case is an awkward one to defend. His marked opposition to the Freethought movement, his somewhat notorious Anti-Semitism, and his belief in suppressing democratic opinions deprive him of radical sympathy. The fact remains that he has been treated disgracefully. There are offences known to Common Law as comforting or adhering to the enemy. If Captain Ramsay's views and conduct left him open to these grave charges he ought to have been indicted.

The New York Times Company went so far as to put some of this venom into print and was sued for libel. Although Captain Ramsay technically won his case the hearing was made the occasion for one of the most vicious personal attacks ever made in a Court of Law. Among other things he was described as a "traitor and an associate of felons."

The case produced a notable outburst against 18B from Mr. St. John Field who, speaking as a lawyer referred to:—

"This most immoral, unjust and detestable regulation destroying every right Englishmen have won in the course of centuries. "The right to a fair trial is one of the undeniable rights of every Englishman and I deny that war justifies injustice. This man was arrested without being told why; he was put in a common prison, and for three months subjected to the torture of solitary confinement of 20½ hours out of 24 hours a day—a punishment never inflicted on the worst criminals. It is because Captain Ramsay was in the position of being detained under 18B that he must not leave this Court without sufficient damages to clear his character from the odious charge made against him."

Despite the justice and eloquence of Mr. St. John Field's submission, and despite the fact that he technically won his case Captain Ramsay was awarded contemptuous damages of a ¼d. He thus left the court with his character still further impugned. He went back to his timeless sentence at Brixton Prison where he remains to this day.

The Ramsay case again aroused grave misgivings in the minds of the more thoughtful section of the public. Even men of violently opposite views joined in urging that if only a half of what had been imputed against him during the libel case be true then Captain Ramsay should be brought to trial. Though this demand arose as much from the desire to extract a "pound of flesh" from a guilty man, as from a desire to extend justice to an innocent, it was yet eminently reasonable. Here is a typical comment after the case, written by Stuart Campbell and published in the "Sunday Pictorial" on July 27, 1941:—

"To lock up a man for his thoughts is a gross violation of British justice. For, carried to its logical conclusion, it means that no-one who disagrees with the Government's methods is safe from the threat of prison. 'To be sure, we may accept Mr. Morrison's assurances that the Emergency Powers in the Defence Act conferred upon him are being used with the utmost discretion. But Mr. Morrison may not always hold the whip. We have had Cabinet Ministers in the past who have **violently disagreed with the Prime Minister. Two years ago one of them might have made an excellent case for clapping Mr. Churchill into gaol. Simply because he clamoured for a real War Effort.'** Let us watch the suspects by all means but let us give them a chance to prove later their innocence by working for the common cause. This country is not so well stocked with food that we can afford to feed it to several hundred freaks who are kept in idleness because somebody doesn't like the colour of their ties. **'It should be part of Mr. Morrison's job to stop the waste by sorting out the traitors. Then the others can be made to earn their keep like the rest of us. If a couple of them let us down we shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing that we practised freedom while we're fighting for it."**

To sum up, it is no exaggeration to say that no man who differs from his fellows in his opinion of the Government's policy and dares to voice that opinion is safe from sudden and secret arrest. When that arrest comes for him he will be hurriedly consigned to a common prison where he may stay for an indefinite period. His condition may or may not be, according to the disposition of his gaolers, better or worse than those for the habitual malefactor. At his Advisory Committee, perhaps three, perhaps six months afterwards he will be in that position once described by a learned judge as that of "a blind man searching in a dark room for a black cat that isn't there." He will be condemned or released on evidence he will not be allowed to hear, given by persons he will not be allowed to see or know, concerning a charge which will not be laid against him. All he will be able to do will be go on making a guess at the point of issue between himself and his interrogators, answer the tricky and searching questions put to him by some of the finest legal brains in the country with as much adequacy as his commonsense and education may permit, and advance any reasons which may occur to him as to why he should not be kept in prison for the remainder of his life. If his answers or affirmations satisfy his inquisitors, and if the Home Secretary in his sublime omnipotence does not counter the Advisory Committee's recommendation, he may be set at liberty. After a month or more of suspense, waiting for a decision one way or the other, he is just as likely to be kept in durance as to be released, and he will thereupon continue his prison existence, probably in exile. Meanwhile his dependents outside may suffer indescribably by the loss of having a member of their family held as a potential danger to the State. In the fullness of time he may emerge, still not vindicated, ruined in reputation, possibly penniless, to sink or swim in a hostile and suspicious world torn asunder in its fight for freedom.

No wretched malefactor on ticket-of-leave with a prison record was ever in a worse case.

THE PRESENT POSITION

(1) As matters now stand there is no judicial safeguard for the liberty of the subject against arbitrary acts of the executive. This may be a matter of small concern to those who have confidence in the present executive and its unidentifiable officials. But such people should remember that we are at war and approaching an economic crisis of the first magnitude. These conditions may produce considerable changes in the executive and its unidentifiable officials and lead to a situation in which arbitrary powers may be used against persons quite different from those who have been detained hitherto.

(2) The judgment of the Court of Appeal implies that the principle of habeas corpus has been abrogated, as it was in 1914, without a specific enactment to that effect. It has been abrogated covertly, without the full knowledge and understanding of Parliament.

(3) It has now been shown that Regulation 18B extends the revolutionary change in the British Constitution attempted by the Defence Regulations in the first world war, and held valid at that time in the Court of King's Bench and the House of Lords. The Regulation has provided a more definite and more clearly recognised and avowed loophole whereby the executive can evade the principle that ordinary citizens and members of the executive are absolutely equal before the King's Courts of Justice. This equality before the law has always been regarded as a fundamental right of British subjects and a bulwark of their freedom.

IN PRACTICE

The foregoing notes should give a general idea of the seriousness of Defence Regulation 18B in its effect upon the traditional rights of British subjects. The notes below, which might be added to considerably, should indicate the degree of injustice suffered.

(1) When the Government was successfully challenged over the Defence Regulations in Parliament on 31st October, 1939, there were only thirty-five persons detained under Defence Regulation 18B. Eleven months later, on 30th September, 1940, the latest date for which figures are available, 1,628 persons had been arbitrarily detained and 247 persons as arbitrarily released. Of those who have thus been detained some are naturalised British subjects, some are aliens other than enemy aliens, but 853 are British-born subjects.

(2) It is not disputed that the period between a detention being made and the person detained being given access to the advisory committee has been generally about three months but in some cases nearly four months. During this period the person detained has not known the grounds on which the detention order has been made against him, or her.

(3) On 28th November, 1940, speaking in the House of Commons (Parl. Debates, Vol. 367, col. 324-5) Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, stated that a detained person is not necessarily given full information as to the reasons for his detention. He said that "the committee is perfectly free to exercise its discretion in giving full information . . ."

(4) It is admitted that detained persons have not been granted legal representation before the committee (as is always given, for example, to persons charged with murder): At the meetings of this committee the prisoner is examined, but no evidence is given, so that there is no cross-examination, and the proceedings in no way resemble a judicial trial. (Parl. Debates, Vol. 363, col. 611.)

(5) It is admitted that, in some cases, detained persons have had difficulty in communicating with and interviewing their solicitors; and it is also alleged that, by order of the Home Secretary, detained persons have not been permitted to communicate with their Members of Parliament (H.C. Paper, 164, 9th October, 1940, page 18).

(6) It is alleged that the conditions of imprisonment of detained persons are unusually severe, seeing that they are neither charged with, nor convicted of, offences against the law; and it is also alleged that they are refused access to members of the boards of prison visitors, as is authorised for remand and convict prisons (Section 2 of the Prison Act, 1898, and similar statutes).

(7) Defence Regulation 18B has been invoked for the purpose of detaining a Member of Parliament without charge or trial while Parliament is in session, thereby preventing him from discharging his duty to the electors and depriving his constituents of Parliamentary representation. The executive has sought to use the Regulation as a means of evading the principle of Parliamentary privilege. The continuance of Parliamentary government, and of our constitutional monarchy, demands a searching and impartial investigation of all the details of this particular detention order.

CONCLUSION

It may be argued in support of Defence Regulation 18B in its present form that it is, unfortunately, inevitable because we are at war. All are agreed that, in time of war, the authorities must be empowered to act promptly in apprehending suspected enemy agents, but any special powers given to the executive for this purpose make it **more important than ever —not less important—that there should be adequate safeguards against injustice**

Citizens who are detained must be given effective opportunity of access to **impartial and independent tribunals, where justice is administered under the recognised**

rules. Any argument of the executive that such trials "would involve too many difficulties" must be an admission of timidity, or of insincerity or else of incompetence in the civil and military departments concerned. There is no difficulty about trying spies and persons accused of sabotage by ordinary courts in wartime.

The state of affairs brought about by Regulation 18B is totally at variance with the principles of justice which we are fighting to uphold. For the credit of our cause it must be terminated forthwith. **This can be done simply and quickly by abolishing 18B.**

FIFTH COLUMN FEVER

When the flames of war spread across Europe; first over Poland, then Norway, and then in May, 1940, over the Low Countries and France; fleeing civilians brought with them terrible tales of traitors and spies operating against their own countrymen and helping, in various ways, the advance of the German armies. There were stories of German inspired telephone calls, purporting to be official, giving regional commanding officers instruction, the carrying out of which led to disastrous consequences; there were stories of wilful and deliberate neglect of necessary precautions, such as destruction of bridges in the path of the enemy advance; and stories of secret messages and information to aid the German troops, written under poster advertisements. A spate of these stories found their way into the British Press and with Hitler's armies just across the channel and invasion of these Islands seemingly imminent a disturbing fear was widely manifest that these things might happen here. "Fifth Column Fever" was born.

On the morning of 9th April, 1940, when the resistance to the German invasion of Norway became futile, Major Quisling offered to form a Government. His offer was accepted by the Wilhelmstrasse. Immediately a new word was added to the English language. "Quisling" became a synonym for "Traitor."

On May 10th, 1940, came the German invasion of the Low Countries. That there were thousands of German Agents in Holland is probably true.

At 7.30 a.m. on May 28th, 1940, M. Paul Reynaud, the French Premier, delivered a broadcast speech informing the world that King Leopold III of the Belgians had surrendered to the Germans without previously informing the British and French High Commands of his intention to do so. By this action, said Reynaud, Leopold had left the Allied left flank completely exposed.

Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that we should reserve judgment on King Leopold. Subsequently, in an action for libel against the "Daily Mirror," Admiral Sir Roger Keys, M.P., proved that Leopold had given the Allies ample warning of his intentions and that the French had duly received his message. Later still the Free Belgian Government in London completely exonerated His Majesty from all charges of traitorous activity.

For many months General Gamelin, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in France had been lauded by the press as the Twentieth Century Napoleon. After the break-through at Sedan, he was dismissed and replaced by General Weygand. Without the slightest indication of embarrassment the press performed a complete volte face and presented Gamelin to the world as a useless and incompetent soldier.

The Napoleon of April 1 became the Fifth Columnist of May.

So it was with Marshal Petain, the hero of Verdun, the Grand Old Man of France. When the Germans had taken Paris and were advancing towards the Loire, it was he who, at the age of 84, rallied a Government and sued for peace.

This was the chapter of events which led up to a fifth column panic in Great Britain. How that panic was encouraged and exploited is now common knowledge. It swept the country like a fever, assuming such proportions that the Government found themselves, by public demand, expressed in newspaper agitations, charged with the task of guarding against the particular dangers envisaged. The effect of this clamour was the rushing through Parliament of an amendment to the now notorious Regulation 18B and a general round-up under this and the previously existing Emergency Law. This new measure broadened the scope of the existing Regulations, under which relatively few detentions had been made. The precise terms of the amendment are as follows:—

"(1a) If the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe any person to have been or to be a member of, or to have been or to be active in the furtherance of the objects of, any such organisation as is hereinafter mentioned, and that it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order against that person directing that he be detained.

The organisations herebefore referred to are any organisation as respects which the Secretary of State is satisfied that either—

(a) The organisation is subject to foreign influence or control—of

(b) the persons in control of the organisation have or have had associations with persons concerned in the government of, or sympathise with the system of government of, any power with which His Majesty is now at War, and in either case that there is danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty may be engaged, or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Thus it will be seen that the Home Secretary upon whom all powers under the Statute devolved, could issue orders for detention under three heads. The first class is persons

"Of hostile origin or associations."

The second class is persons acting in furtherance of the objects of an organisation which has been defined in the Regulation, and which is regarded, and was regarded, as a danger to the State. The third class is persons

"recently concerned in acts prejudicial . . . . or in the preparation or instigation of such acts."

By far the largest number of persons detained at the outset, fall into the second class.

ROUND-UP

Being an Account of the Manner of Arrest of Detainees held under Regulation 18B

Section 18B (1a) of the Defence Regulations was acted upon on May 23rd, 1940. Immediately it became law police swooped on British Union's Headquarters in Great Smith Street, S.W.1, and all persons entering the building were closely examined, even though they be only occupiers of, or callers at, other offices in the same building. All those having business with British Union, even to the lad collecting soiled towels for laundry service, were detained for questioning. Casual purchasers of books, newspapers or cigarettes at the British Union shop were treated in a like manner and herded together in a small reception room to await interrogation.

British Union supporters make much of this raiding. This has happened often to Anarchists and Socialists in the past without comment or protest from Conservatives and Fascists.

During a hectic morning, while C.I.D. officers ransacked offices and examined credentials of individuals not in their list of "wanted" men and women (a list which included persons disassociated from British Union for some years) several persons on the staff of the organisation were removed in police cars, men to Brixton Prison and women to Holloway Prison.

On the windows of the Ministry of Pensions office next door, Ministry of Information posters warned and exhorted—"Your Freedom is in Peril—Defend it with all your might." One young Fascist seems to have observed this stricture—evening newspapers pictured him resisting the attentions of the policemen.

Those same evening newspapers reported that police activity had not been confined to British Union's National Headquarters; Sir Oswald Mosley had been arrested at his house, John Beckett, Captain Ramsay, M.P., and several others had been apprehended at their homes or place of business.

The Police moved into British Union's offices for a complete investigation of all files and correspondence. On enquiry at Scotland Yard and the Home Office the answer was given that the organisation was free to continue its normal existence and that no restrictions were placed upon its newspaper "Action" and that the office would be available once more when the police had finished their "audit."

On May 27, 1940, Sir John Anderson, in a circular to the Ministry of Health, said that **"no man will be penalised for the mere holding of opinions, however unpopular they may be."** On that very day, Sir John Anderson ordered the round-up of several hundred British Union members for their opinions.

At this time, British Union was not proscribed and the official attitude was that its political activities were legitimate.

Then on the week-end of June 3rd, 1940, came the big police swoop. On and around that date homes were violated and ruthlessly torn apart by searchers who did not hesitate to wreak damage on private property. Letters and diaries, often of an intimate personal nature were hungrily scanned and even impounded. Books were seized as evidence, and a Member of Parliament has told the House of a case in which the works of John Stuart Mill were seized by the police (Hansard debate). It is perhaps only natural that the works of a great libertarian like Mill should be held in suspect by the Agents of Regulation 18B.

These happenings were incidentals in the round-up of hundreds of men and women.

Where the central C.I.D. were responsible for the apprehension of Detainees there are few complaints as to the manner in which they executed their task. Where local detectives and police handled affairs there is irrefutable evidence to the effect that many abuses occurred. Many cases can be proven of persons detained being treated with callous severity as harsh as could be meted out in dealing with the most depraved of criminals.

The following data are taken from signed statements of present and past detained:—

Mr. A. B., a 33-year-old bank clerk of London, was visited by detectives on July 3rd, 1940. After a questioning and a search of his property, and that of all other residents of the house in which he was living, he was escorted to Brixton Police Station. Both he and his mother were assured that he was not under arrest, but that the Divisional Superintendent of the C.I.D. wishes to interrogate him.

"At about five p.m.," writes Mr. B., "I was locked up in a police cell which was improperly ventilated because sand bags were stacked against the window. . . . There was only a dim glimmer of artificial light, the lavatory flush was unworkable, the emergency bell was out of order. I was given one blanket, a dirty one used by the police as a ground sheet during target practice. . . . I was allowed only two ten-minute exercise periods in 24 hours."

Mr. B. suffered these conditions for 14 days during which time no charge was preferred against him and no reasons for his detention supplied. On two occasions the police apparently forgot his existence and failed to supply him with food.

He was transferred from the police station to Brixton Prison, still without any reasons given for his arrest, and it was not until the 22nd of November, 1940, that a formal statement of the reasons for his detention was received by him at Ascot Camp.

Here is the statement of Mr. G. B. who, at the time of his arrest, was serving in the Royal Air Force. He had been a member of British Union in Shrewsbury, Salop.

"My wife and I were arrested on Saturday, June 22nd, 1940. I told the police that my wife was

expecting her first baby. We were taken to Shrewsbury Central Police Station. My wife complained bitterly about the cold as she had only been supplied with two blankets. We were refused the right to see my sister to obtain a change of underwear. On the following Friday my wife complained that owing to a discharge she had been compelled to leave off her underwear. Her nerves were then in a very bad state. I asked to see the Chief Constable but the request was not granted. My wife was not attended by a doctor. On Saturday, June 29th, she was ringing the bell in her cell, and when I called to her she told me she had a haemorrhage. She continued ringing. I could not ring my bell as it had been disconnected when I demanded to see the Chief Constable. The Police eventually sent for an ambulance and my wife was removed to Shropshire County Council Hospital at Berrington."

"On Monday, July 1st, I was informed that I was to be taken to Liverpool Prison, and that my wife was to have an operation the next day for the removal of her baby. I requested permission to stay at Shrewsbury Prison until after the operation. This request was refused. I was allowed to see her for fifteen minutes in the presence of two detectives before I was taken to Liverpool Prison. On Tuesday, July 2nd, my wife had her operation, and, though she was still weak, she was removed by the police to Holloway Prison on Saturday, July 6th, 1940. Her health has been bad ever since.

It is impossible for persons in G.B.'s position to appreciate the fact that this is the general way in which all persons arrested in Britain are treated by the police authorities. The reason is that the poor are supposed to be dirty in their habits of life, and this belief is reflected in the condition of police cells, prisons, workhouses, and asylums.

Mr. H. S. E. of Canterbury, was arrested on June 4th, 1940. He spent one night in Canterbury Police Station and was then taken to Maidstone prison where he was given a cell in a convict wing. The Prison Governor gave him to understand that he was remanded for seven days pending enquiries. For three days he was without books or papers and spent only one hour per day outside his cell. On the sixth day he was told that he would be taken to Court the next day. The following morning a prison officer told him that the Canterbury Police "had nothing against him" and that he would be released. He was released at 8 a.m., and returned to his home at Canterbury. He called at the Police Station where property impounded at the time of his arrest was restored to him. Later a message was delivered to his home asking that he should call at the Police Station at 9 a.m. the next morning. He duly reported as requested and was thereupon re-arrested under Defence Regulation 18B.

The next is taken from a statement by Mr. D. J. I. of Bath, detained at Manchester:

"I was arrested at my place of work on Friday, June 21st, 1940, and taken to Mill Street Police Station. I was refused permission to visit my lodgings only five minutes' walk away, in order to settle accounts with my landlady, obtain toilet necessities and change from working clothes. After several hours waiting in various offices I was locked up in a small, unclean cell where I remained for three days without change of clothing, adequate bedding, exercise, newspapers or contact with the outside world. I was allowed to leave the cell only three times in those three days, once each morning for a wash. The toilet stank and was flushed only from the outside; there was no toilet paper. My cell had no natural light, as the small window near the roof was covered on the outside by sand bags and it was necessary to have artificial light all the time. I was not allowed to have meals supplied from outside or to have any exercise.

"On the first afternoon of my detention in this cell a police officer, accompanied by three constables, in their shirt sleeves and a warden took me into the corridor where they subjected me to a form of third degree. I was insulted and threatened with physical violence in addition to being told that I was to be put up against a wall and shot. The officer also threatened to kick me. As I re-entered my cell he struck me on the head and used obscene language."

The appropriate comment on this statement is that the general state of cells in police stations in England is filthy and always has been so.

The statement of Mr. C. W. W. of Slough is the more interesting in that it refers to another case. He was arrested on June 4th, 1940, and writes:

"I was taken to Aylesbury and put into a cell. A few hours later I was informed that I was to be taken to Walton Gaol, Liverpool. There were four of us to go including an elderly man of my acquaintance. This man, Mr. P.-T. was in a very low state of health. When handcuffs were produced and placed on his wrists I at once objected to this treatment of a sick man, besides objecting on my own behalf. I was told to shut my mouth. We were taken to Bletchley Station in a very small van, together with six police constables. When Mr. P.-T. complained about fumes he was told that "it could be made worse for him." While waiting for the train he asked for water which was only obtained after much argument. By this time my wrists were very swollen from the tightness of the handcuffs. When we arrived at Liverpool Mr. P.-T. was in such a weak state that he had to be assisted from the train.

"At Walton Gaol we had to wait in the Reception Office for between two and three hours, and it was not until I demanded to see someone in authority that Mr. P.-T. was taken into the Prison Hospital. This was the very last I saw of him. Three weeks later I was informed that he had died."

Such treatment is much too common, and arises from the conditions of absolutism and secrecy. Reading, Gillingham and Liverpool cases are typical experiences.

It is unlawful to handcuff persons against whom no charges have been made or are intended to be made.

Mr. R. R. of Tottenham, testifies that he was interrogated by plain clothes officers in a small room in Tottenham Police Station. He says:

"One of them, Inspector Bishop, smacked me across the face and tried to inveigle me into giving pro-German answers to his questions. Eventually they told me they had no more questions and I could go. When I was half way along the corridor they called me back and said they had decided to detain me. I was taken through a yard, where police were practicing rifle shooting, and an officer told me 'If I had my way I would let these men put you against the wall and shoot you.'"

"I was refused permission to send a telegram. I remained in the police cell nine days.

In many cases early treatment of detainees was precisely the same as that given to arrested criminals.

Mr. S. L. I., of Birmingham, writes:

"I had my finger prints and photograph taken at Birmingham Police Station. I was handcuffed and taken in a Black Maria to New Street Railway Station, where I was handcuffed to a plain clothes detective in full public view. I remained handcuffed throughout the seven hour train journey to Liverpool for delivery to Walton Gaol."

Photographs and fingerprints were also taken in the case of Mr. D. W. M., 19 year old laboratory assistant, detained at Cardiff on June 16th, 1940, and lodged for seven days at Cardiff Police Station where he was not allowed to obtain cigarettes or newspapers or to communicate with his parents.

The complaint against being handcuffed is repeated in many statements. A party of men from Sussex Towns were handcuffed in pairs at Horsham Police Station and marched through the streets of the town to the railway station for their journey to Liverpool. Parties of men transferred from Brixton Prison to Walton Prison were handcuffed to one another.

Mr. R. F. W. of Wimbledon, says:

"I was transferred from Brixton Prison to Walton Gaol handcuffed to another prisoner. When using the toilet on the train we had to do so together."

In a journey from Gloucester to Walton Gaol, Mr. R. L. G. was warned: "If you try any funny business you will be shot."

Mr. R. A. H. who was taken to Maidstone Prison was placed in Harcourt House Wing among convicted prisoners, although there was accommodation available among the remand prisoners. He says:

"I was in solitary confinement for 23 hours out of 24. This affected my nerves but the medical officer merely told me that I should have to put up with it. I was occasionally allowed out of my cell for longer periods on condition that I cleaned out closets after the convicts. After three weeks in Maidstone I was told that I was to be discharged, but outside the gates I was met by a policeman, detained under Regulation 18B and taken to Brixton Prison."

Mr. H. is one of several people against whom this mean and cruel deception of a release leading to further arrest has been practised.

Mr. A. C. G., of Wolverhampton, arrived at Walton Gaol, after a journey in handcuffs; he was put into a punishment cell with insufficient ventilation. His statement declares that he was almost suffocated during the night, and continues:

"The emergency bell in the cell was not in working order and I was unable to summon assistance. I was compelled to break some of the panes in the window to obtain air and more were broken by the warder the following morning, when the effects of the air upon me were obvious. It was admitted that I should never have been put into that cell."

Cases where both husband and wife were arrested, separated, and lodged in different prisons without any communication over a period of weeks have their own poignant anxieties and distress, all too obvious to need amplification here. Where there have been children dependent upon them their sufferings have been greatly aggravated.

Mrs. C., of Liverpool, a householder, had already seen her eldest son, William, taken to Walton Gaol before the police came to arrest her. Her youngest son, aged 10 years, was at home at the time of her arrest, and she was given no opportunity of any kind to make provision for his safe keeping. She was assured by the police that the child would be returned to her when she reached her destination. This little lad, ten years of age, was actually subjected to a police interrogation, after which, instead of being returned to Mrs. C., who was then in Holloway Prison, he was sent to an institution.

The only reason ever given for the arrest of the C's., was their sympathy with the Cause of British Union, a sympathy which they have shared at different times, and in less obtrusive fashion, with such men as the late Lord Rothermere, G. Ward Price, Wyndham Lewis, Beverly Nichols, Major General J. F. C. Fuller, Mr. Ezra Pound, Henry Williamson, Hugh Ross Williamson, and among others of the present House of Commons, Mr. Randolph Churchill, M.P.

Such callous treatment as that here recorded does, no doubt, seem incredible to all those who sincerely believe that Command Paper 6162 provided effective safeguards for the welfare of detainees. Either the police deliberately ignored this Paper, or, as appears more likely in the light of detainees' experience, they were totally unaware of its existence. Whichever explanation is correct there is shocking evidence of a culpable fault lying to someone's blame.

The opposition displayed by all liberal-minded Members of Parliament towards such repugnant emergency legislation as Regulation 18B, was to some extent dissipated by the belief that Command Paper 6162 would eliminate unnecessary harshness from its application.

If confidence in the efficacy of this safeguard is not shaken by reference to the cases already recorded, let your mind dwell on the plight of the detainees arrested at Sheffield.

The account given hereafter is from a deposition given by Mr. R. B., 25 year old married man, whose "offence" was that he had been a member of British Union and had contested a municipal election under the banner of the Mosley organisation. His statements regarding treatment are fully supported by other detainees who shared his unhappy experiences. He writes:

"Officers escorted me to the Sheffield Central Police Station where all personal property, including my spectacles, on which I have to rely, and excepting only the clothes I wore, were taken from me: I was permitted neither cigarettes nor my pipe. When I asked for these they were refused. I was put into a cell in which there were already three other British Union frinds of mine. Messrs. H. (a certificated school master who had been arrested and searched in front of his class of pupils), W. and C.

"The cell, about 13 feet by six feet, was exceptionally stuffy, and its only window was boarded up; such ventilation as existed was by a small hatch in the cell door. Along the wall of one side of the cell was a broad wooden bench about three feet wide. In one corner of the cell was a water closet.

"During the police interrogation I asked for my

spectacles to be restored to me, but they were not returned until immediately prior to my leaving the Police Station.

"During the evening we applied for permission to contact a certain local Solicitor. Permission was refused by the Station Sergeant and our request to see the Superintendent on the matter met with further refusal. We were told that we could have neither access to solicitor nor to the cigarettes or other property.

"Later in the evening two more British Union acquaintances, Messrs. S. and D., were put into our Cell. We were then six human beings in the close confine of that stuffy, little cage.

"We were each given two blankets and expected to settle down for the night. Five of us managed to huddle across one another on the wooden bench, but the sixth had to sleep on the floor with his head against the water closet. Despite our request for the glaring electric light to be dimmed, it remained on all night. This, with the oppressive atmosphere and the shouting of a 'Drunk' in an adjoining cell, made sleep impossible. Early next morning we received breakfast—this being a repetition of the previous evening's meal, two slices of bread and margarine and a mug of tea.

"Shortly after eight o'clock the cell door was again opened and presently **we each had an iron cuff placed round one wrist. Through this cuff was threaded a heavy steel chain and we were fastened in threes together.** No reason was offered for this needless indignity and our protests were ignored. We were allowed to exercise along the corridor whilst chained in this fashion and so passed the morning.

"At about twelve o'clock our impounded personal articles were restored to us and we were taken downstairs and put into a police van with two policemen as warders. We then proceeded by road to Walton Gaol, Liverpool, where, at about two p.m., we were handed over to the Prison Authorities, and then, after nearly six hours the chains and shackles were removed."

This treatment was unlawful under Regulations.

So happened some of the arrests under Regulation 18B and though it be repeated that in many cases understanding of the Detainees' position was demonstrated in considerate conduct by arresting officers, there are yet at least a dozen cases for every one cited here that reveal inhuman treatment of a kind popularly accredited to the Nazi Gestapo.

No measure which strips a citizen of his rights, tears him from his family and casts him into timeless imprisonment can be interpreted without the imposition of gross harshness. By their very nature such measures must be punitive. But can any reason of State demand that a man charged with no offence, and at no time offering physical resistance against molestation, be paraded in manacles through the streets of his home town? Can any conscience on earth be other than revolted that pregnant women should be flung into cold damp cells and denied access to articles of personal hygiene?

You have seen photographs of chained slaves in the Southern States of America—photographs which caused world wide resentment. Have you not drawn some satisfaction from the fact that these things were remote from England? Have you not been comforted, perhaps self-righteously, because you feel that in our intelligent civilised country such things could not occur?

One of the questions often posed by the Home Office Advisory Committee before any release of detainees is recommended is: Has your detention made you feel any bitterness?

This is a most improper question and merely invites a false reply. Only the sense of power and hypocritical rejoicing in authority could prompt such a question.

WHO GOES THERE?

It is appropriate in a document of this nature that some attempt should be made to show who are the men held prisoner by Mr. Herbert Morrison.

What manner of men are they? What types do they represent? From what sphere of life do they come?

With a few notable exceptions the public does not know the victims of 18B. It is popular to think of them as toughs and hooligans, creatures without any normal traits, mercenary thugs lying in wait for the time when they may stab their country in the back. It is enough to say that they are Fascists and the average newspaper reader will visualise for himself a mob of low-browed sub-human gorillas.

The nastier, and more popular, newspapers have fostered this particular illusion. The Home Secretary, for his part, has described many of the men and women as "nit-wits." Taken all-in-all the public is given to understand that here are creatures different from the rest of their kind; therefore to be subjected to all kinds of gross indignity, degradation and misery without anyone's conscience crying out in horror.

Very few people realise that Regulation 18B has drawn into its net a representative cross-section of the British public. Very few seem to understand that detainees are much the same as other citizens motivated by the same human faiths, hopes, fears and aspirations. There would be a very different attitude to 18B if this matter was viewed in its true light—if each person considering the facts set down in this document pondered to himself: "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

When Mr. Morrison picks out a group of citizens for detention, or when he decides that a man or woman must remain in captivity, he may be behaving with perfect sincerity to his own lights in saying—"These people are a potential danger to the State." True, the wording of the Regulation requires that he must have "reasonable cause to believe" that his suspicions are well founded; but what may seem reasonable cause to Mr. Morrison may not seem so to—say—Lord Atkin. It is purely a matter of personal viewpoint in relation to certain known facts.

Mr. Morrison subscribes that he has reasonable cause to question the patriotism of people with certain ideas and political convictions. He does not publicly declare that political convictions have anything to do with the matter. Indeed, it would not look well if he did so because the bulk of the 18B detainees are people with political convictions diametrically opposed to his own. Nevertheless he does quite rightly point out that it is his duty to take that very factor into consideration.

It is quite logical that he should see such people as a menace to the State—at least, to the State as he wishes to see it constituted. It would be humanly impossible for him to free his outlook from his own deep-rooted convictions, and he must, therefore, approach the subject influenced by personal bias. A man who has spent his life in politics cannot divorce himself from them.

Now if Mr. Morrison, as a Labour Leader, regards himself as a potential saviour of the State, as his political supporters obviously suppose him to be, and if Mr. Jones, Brown or Smith obstruct Mr. Morrison's progress to power—perhaps with Fascist heckling—then Mr. Morrison is justified in looking on Mr. Jones, Brown or Smith as opponents of State interests. "Misguided" perhaps; "nit-wits" perhaps, but opponents of State interests just the same.

It is a singular comment on the aptness of this line of reasoning that there are several detainees whose political experience has largely consisted of obstructing the Party to which Mr. Morrison belongs.

Well, Mr. Morrison is Home Secretary. His "reasonable cause to believe" has been the ticket to gaol for many citizens who count themselves loyal. Moreover, the highest Court in the land has decided that Mr. Morrison is omnipotent. He is accountable for his actions and beliefs to no man.

A Home Secretary's personal opinions must inevitably bias his outlook on these and all other matters.

Suppose Mr. Willie Gallagher was Home Secretary; he might quite honestly credit himself with reasonable cause to believe that all "die-hard" Conservatives are a potential danger to the State, and accordingly he might clap them all into detention. Mr. Shinwell might put Mr. Churchill under restraint. Earl Winterton might lock up Mr. Morrison himself. Quite seriously, nobody can count themselves fully protected against the operation of such an enactment as Regulation 18B.

Turn now to an examination of Mr. Morrison's "bag."

It is already known that one member of Parliament is included; and it is also known that one Baronet and his wife are still in prison. Less known are the Admirals, Colonels, Majors and other officers and many rankers, ex-servicemen of this and the last war, who have fallen to the Regulation. These men comprise about one-third of the purely British men in detention. There is one man who was formerly a central pivot of the Naval Intelligence Service; there are some of the earliest of the original R.F.C. pilots; there are men who went through the ordeal of Dunkirk.

Two men who used a private vessel in a non-stop ferry service throughout the Dunkirk evacuation, and whose selfless, voluntary efforts restored hundreds of soldiers to our shores, only returned from their exertions to be collected under 18B and passed into Walton Gaol.

Then there are a large number of men from Company Directors and Factory Owners to technicians, skilled and unskilled, who could, if at liberty, be rendering valuable service to the nation's war effort. Capt. Marendez, the famous aeronautical expert, himself once in detention, subscribed in a newspaper interview after his release that:

> **"In his camp quite forty per cent. of those detained were perfectly safe to be released, and also that he knew of a hundred capable aircraft workers detained."**—"Sunday Express," 17th November, 1940.

Capt. Marendez' case is by no means the only instance of the expert with valuable, and even unique knowledge, being forced to waste his time in detention under 18B.

Doctors, solicitors, chemists, school and college tutors, manufacturers, journalists, geologists, steel workers, soldiers, pathologists, sailors, airmen, civil defence workers, laboratory technicians, farmers, labourers and pharmaceutists are all among the ingredients of the Anderson-Morrison 18B pie. These are men whom Morrison has described as "nit-wits," and the press has labelled "dupes," "scum," "rats," "corner boys" and "traitors." They represent a high average of British citizenship.

These are the men, be it well remembered, who, as is told in later pages, were hounded, chained, imprisoned in vile conditions, ill-fed, housed in the cages of beasts, held up to public opprobrium, brow-beaten, bludgeoned with questionings, denied normal recourse to justice, subjected to all manner of indignity and humiliation, insulted, impoverished, and transported. These are the victims of Regulation 18B about whom, for whom, and by whom, this document is written.

Consider the opinion of 18B given by Mr. Herbert Morrison, then just M.P., in the House of Commons on October, 1939. He said:

> "I am not going to use the argument usually put forward as a matter of courtesy that we do not believe the present Minister would be wicked but that we are afraid that his successor might be. I think that any Minister is capable of being wicked when he has a body of regulations like these to administer." (Hansard, Vol. 352. Col. 1846.)

Mr. Morrison was right. Subsequent events, including those over which he has had sole control, have amply proved his words.

The men who speak through this document are the victims of Sir John Anderson's and Mr. Morrison's administration of the regulation. Bear in mind that in slightly different circumstances, perhaps with another Home Secretary, **the victim might be you.**

ON EX-SERVICE DETAINEES

"A great many of the men under Reg. 18B served this country loyally and faithfully in the last war and many of them are decorated. Is anybody, any of those who, I believe, are primarily connected with this regulation, the Attorney General, the Lord President of the Council, or the Rt. Hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary justified without the most definite evidence in suspecting men who served this country in the last war and have been decorated for their valour in the field, and women too, merely because they happen to have had some association with principles which perhaps are not approved?"—Sir I. Albery (Hansard 367, No. 7, Col. 792).

In High Court decisions arising out of the application of Regulation 18B it has been clearly defined that the onus of proof, in establishing innocence of any offence or offensive intent, rests on the detainee himself. Eminent Counsel have argued that this sets an impossible task.

In point of fact the only evidence the detainee can produce is evidence of Credit. He can say, and in most cases he does say, "examine my personal record; the blamelessness of my past is my only evidence of good intent in the future."

Nobody knows better than himself that this is a very incomplete defence, but lawyers endeavouring to represent detainee's interests would like to know what other defence he can offer.

Where the inferred charge is one of disloyalty it is surely reasonable to suppose that the Ex-Serviceman, particularly he who has volunteered for service, given years of devoted campaigning to his country and manifestly demonstrated his willingness to forfeit his own life in the national interest, should be least subject to suspicion. The Ex-Serviceman, more than anybody else, is in a position to say —my record shows my complete unswerving loyalty.

Unfortunately the Home Secretary, whose own record during 1914-1918 was that of an opponent of war, fails to recognise the validity of this plea. He seems to believe that a man can abandon his loyalty with the same facility as a politician repudiates his principles. Thus we find among detainees—Admirals, Commanders, Colonels, Majors, Captains, Squadron Leaders and so many other Officers and ex-rankers that, at one time, the Ex-Service element in Ascot Camp made up more than one third of the pure British population. (They were approximately 100 in 280). Since then, after a long drawn out programme of releases, the percentage remaining in detention is not noticeably different.

It is a matter of unpleasant record that certain of the camp military guards and personnel, usually reluctant conscripts or bumptious Non Commissioned Officers, made a habitual practice of insulting Officer detainees. This behaviour was most obnoxiously evident in dealings between a Provost Sergeant and Detainee Lt.-Col. C., 63 years old Great War veteran. On one occasion this Sergeant shouted: "You can forget that Colonel business now—here you're just C. to me." Such calculated rudeness was an almost daily occurrence; and there is strong reason to believe that it was deliberately fostered by responsible Officers of the Camp Guards at Ascot, Huyton and Peel.

After leaving prisons for the relative freedom of prison camps Ex-Service Detainees met together regularly for discussion and organised themselves as a body for the purpose of making collective representations. In the course of discussion it was found that many men had been arrested while faithfully serving their units; some had been right through events culminating in the Dunkirk withdrawal. These men, arrested while in uniform, were forced to endure the added humiliation of wearing prison garb when lodged at the various gaols used for detainees. Uniforms were impounded and only restored immediately prior to transfer from prison.

In this connection there must be recorded a disgraceful incident during the removal from Walton Gaol to Ascot in July, 1940. When a party of 300 detainees were waiting at Lime Street Station, Liverpool, members of the military escort noticed that some of the men were wearing uniforms. With the approval of officers of the guard, and in full public view, these uniformed men were singled out and stripped of badges and buttons. In this shameful way were treated men who had volunteered to fight for King and Country. Remember that they had been charged with no offence, neither had they been discharged from the Services. Their treatment was quite unlawful and actionable. Yet, who would have listened to their complaints?

At the Camps it seemed that the Military Officials felt some discomfort in dealing with Service and Ex-Service men, some of whom were of senior ranks to themselves. Detainee H. was appointed a kind of liaison representative between the military and prisoners. His task was to voice the many legitimate grievances in the early days at Ascot Camp. So thoroughly did he perform this duty that he was expeditiously removed to Brixton Prison; a treatment generally accorded to those regarded as an "unruly influence in the camp." Captain G. P.-R. was similarly removed despite his strong protest. He was dragged along the ground to the gate, while the rest of the camp was kept back at the point of the bayonet.

Captain P.-R. was then a sick man. Much later he was released into hospital.

It is interesting to recall some of the observations of those very few Members of Parliament who discussed the plight of detained Ex-Servicemen, or who have mentioned individual cases.

On Tuesday, December 10th, 1940, Mr. Stokes (Ipswich) said:

"One hundred and fifty gallant Ex-Servicemen of the last war signed a petition to be tried by a proper Court as they had done nothing to be ashamed of . . . There are members of a military intelligence department, one of whom seems to be held because he knew too much about irregular dealings in oil in a particular part of Europe . . . There are instances of serving soldiers being held and kept waiting for months before knowing the reason for their detention.—Hansard, Vol. 367, No. 8, Col. 835/6.

During the debate on Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (Continuance), on July 23rd, 1941, Mr. Pickthorn (Cambridge University) referred to

". . . an Officer who held His Majesty's Commission. He was arrested; he was kept in detention a year. He got no pay for the whole of that time. He came out. He had not a registration card or a ration book. He could not seek civilian employment because he held His Majesty's Commission. He was not immediately re-employed by the War Office. Weeks passed; I believe he is still not posted. Fourteen or fifteen months must have passed since he was arrested and during the whole time it was impossible to earn a penny and it is not possible now. He is not allowed to fight for his country, nor to enter the civilian labour market. He is so to speak civilly dead."

In the same debate Mr. Stokes said:

"With regard to serving officers or men it has always been a matter of considerable surprise to me that they could be taken from their units and detained without being tried or sent before a Court Martial. I have the case of a young officer who was detained for six months, the only reason given for his detention being that he was a member of British Union. He never was a member of British Union so the Home Secretary cannot have satisfied himself that it was necessary to exercise control. He cannot have done anything of the sort for the only reason given was that this officer was a member of British Union when he was not, so presumably the Home Secretary did nothing. This man was let out after six months; he has not been re-engaged by the Army, he is left alone, what is he to do?"

At Peel Camp, Isle of Man, the Ex-Service section was at first headed by J. W. and E. C. D., both Officers and Pilots of the Great War.

Here the first task was to take the strongest possible exception to Manx papers' comments greeting the arrival of 18B detainees on the section of the document devoted to "The Island. These are dealt with separately in the Press"; they included such terms as "traitors," "rats" and "skunks."

From a representative group of 40 detainees at Peel, 18 men, between them, have given 114 years of military service; nearly seven years per head. These are the men whom the Manx press, and sections of the National press, dare to stigmatise as traitors.

Members of Parliament as a whole appear to have shown themselves singularly unsympathetic to the plight of ex-servicemen caught up in the net of the 18B regulations and probably 95 per cent. of letters to M.P.s have been completely ignored or barely acknowledged with a standard form of printed card. But just as every rule is proved by an exception a certain number of Members out of whom R. R. Stokes, Commander Bower, and Sir A. Albery appear most prominent, have realised the deplorable situation and have done their best to illustrate the position to the House.

Unfortunately many of their words of wisdom appear to have fallen on deaf ears. The percentage of ex-servicemen to the total interned has nearly always remained much the same—namely about one third of the all British section.

A primary protestation of ex-servicemen is against the fitness of Mr. Herbert Morrison as a person to judge their loyalty. When these men were fighting in bloody battles during 1914-1918, Mr. Morrison was an avowed Conscientious Objector. It is a bitter pill that he should be the man to now assess their loyalty. With all due respect to the Home Secretary these men believe, and are justified in their belief, that their loyalty has been proved in the face of more rigorous tests than are met in the House of Commons, in the Home Office, in the London County Council, or in the Labour Party Conference.

If military rewards count for anything, many of these internees earned high awards for bravery on the field of battle. Now they are caged, reviled, and spat upon by their countrymen, because their patriotism is questioned by an ex-Conscientious Objector.

"The onus of proving his innocence rests on the detainee." What greater proof could there be?

THE ANGLO-ITALIANS

Those who know Soho, in London, or have dwelt in any of the great ports, or in almost any Scottish town, will have some knowledge of the little Italian communities there. Clinging together, for religious reasons chiefly, they form a close-knit, generally unobtrusive and extremely hard-working circle, easy to get on with and troublesome to nobody. Through long residence here—often over several generations—accents have been lost entirely, or slurred over by the local accent, Cockney, Broad Lancashire, Welsh, Scotch, or what you will; and their sons and daughters, born here, show temperaments mellowed by some of our northern coldness. Good mixers (how dull our concerts in internment would have been without them!) they have assimilated better, perhaps, than any of our recent immigrants.

Many served in our forces during the last war and carry their medal ribbons with pride! And their sons followed suit in the present conflict, not reluctantly, but as naturally as does any Briton. Their outlook was perhaps best displayed when a party was sent from prison in Scotland to the York camp, and a military officer there asked for their nationality. They replied "British." He wrote down on his papers, "English," whereupon these alleged foreigners protested vigorously, claiming, as their accents proclaimed, that they were Scots!

Few of them knew anything about politics. If they followed the events of the last decade in Italy with interest, it was as, say, Mr. Smith of Ohio, whose family went over to the

States a century ago, might feel his pulse stir sometimes when he heard news of the old town, somewhere in England, from which they sprang and which, in the boom years of the '20's he found time to visit. And when, in May, 1940, they heard of a round-up of British Fascists, they simply thought, along with the rest of the public, that it must be all right, that there couldn't be smoke without fire; they had come to respect British justice, to be proud of it.

Upon these people, also, the cold hand of 18B descended, around about June 10, 1940, bustling them into jails all over the country and later to internment.

The circumstances of arrest varied. Sometimes it came quietly and in a manner calculated to leave as little offence as possible; sometimes very much otherwise.

Many were taken from the Forces and, deprived of their uniforms, had to wear prison clothing. At Aberdeen the Prison Governor had no idea what they were to wear, and for 24 hours they remained naked in their cells—the experience of A. G. and others.

Mr. G. of Liverpool was visited at his home. His wife was away tending a sick relative, and his two children were expected home from school in a few hours' time. He was asked apologetically for permission to search his house, and then taken to the police station where, after much prevarication, he was informed that he must stay in custody overnight. Permission to telegraph his wife, or to arrange for anybody to look after his children was refused. Not until 10 days later was he told that he was being detained under Regulation 18B.

Two old men over 80, many years naturalised, and both with sons in the British Army, remained in detention for 8 months. Two other men, invalids, were only released in time to die out of internment.

In Edinburgh a boy of 15 was locked up in jail, eight others were only a year older; twenty in all below the age of 18. All were released a few months later when the Authorities had recovered some of their mental balance and a little of their decency. In the same city, a professor of Italian at the University was arrested; a quiet man of reserved disposition who had no fingers on either hand, and only with the utmost difficulty could handle the earthenware pot in which his prison food was served . . . it was a week before his plight was noticed, and some assistance allowed and two months before he was freed.

Yes, you may say, but there must have been some reason for arresting these people. But let us see.

A Liverpool man, whose family had been carrying on business here for 150 years and who was engaged in vital Government work which suffered badly during his internment, remained locked up for several months. His crime? He had married an Italian lady. The Tribunal which eventually examined him asked, in all seriousness, "Why did you marry an Italian woman?"

A little school in Soho was raided and the books seized, and many old pupils rounded up, presumably for having learned the Italian language. One youngster told in Brixton how, at the age of 12, his name was entered at this school, but he left it after a month's trial, and couldn't speak five words of the language, nor had he retained any contact with the Italian community.

Some had dual nationality, which means that they were born here of Italian parents and had not declared themselves at the appropriate age as having opted for full Italian nationality; they regarded themselves, as a matter of course, as British, willing to accept all the duties of a British subject. Others, through long residence here, had become naturalised, and had many relatives in the British Forces—one man for instance, had three brothers serving, and was awaiting his own calling-up papers. Yet others were Italian only by name, having long lost touch with their connections abroad.

Others were regarded more seriously, and received short shrift from the Advisory Committee when after a delay of some four-months its sittings began.

A number of these had retained cultural interests with Italy, or had visited it for short holidays. So with another Edinburgh man, an active Boy Scout Officer of many years' standing, a senior officer in St. Mary's Cathedral, and an A.R.P. Volunteer since September, 1938. His sole offence was that on one isolated occasion, he agreed, without payment, to escort a party of boys from a poor Scottish quarter to a Summer Camp in Italy. For that he is to be detained until the end of the war, a decision reached after a cursory examination lasting only 10 minutes. Five first-class testimonials were not even read. Nine other men heard on the same day were before the Tribunal for periods ranging from 3 to 5 minutes.

Other victims, whilst in this country, had belonged to "Fascio" Clubs. It must be explained that Italian clubs of a social nature have existed here for many years, and with the advent of Mussolini simply changed their name to "Fascios." Their interests are limited to sport, and social gatherings, members sometimes being given special facilities to visit Italian camps for brief holidays. The clubs enter football teams in local leagues just as any works or parish church may do, and have always been tolerated and often even assisted by the Authorities here.

These men, of so many different types, were rounded up, flung into jails and put at the mercy of hostile warders, whose attitude became human only after long contact had shown their charges to be just ordinary decent human folk, and finally lodged in internment camps; and all that time when British subjects were being allowed to walk about freely in Italy, subject only to restriction of travel.

Many remain interned. Although the Home Secretary may some day make capital out of it, it is little wonder that after 18 months of internment, a large number of them decided that the advantage of British nationality, after all, was not worth the candle, and voluntarily petitioned to be removed to an Aliens camp where, at any rate, they would be looked after by the International Red Cross.

THE ANGLO-GERMANS

Naturally there were a number of Anglo-Germans arrested at the outbreak of war, some even a day or two before, and these, along with those detained during the ensuing few weeks underwent all the hardships of early prisoners, as outlined elsewhere, at Wandsworth and other prisons; a further round-up, notably in Lancashire and London, took place following the fall of the Low Countries, later detainees going to Brixton or Walton, and women to Holloway and then to Port Erin.

It is known that nine men detained under Regulation 18B were sent overseas, seven (one of whom lost his life), being on the ill-fated Arandora Star. True some of these may have only nominally been of British nationality, but all the same there seems to be a conflict here with Mr. Morrison's remark, at the time the Isle of Man Bill was under discussion, that prior to that date no British subjects had been sent abroad—in this connection there is also one Anglo-Italian at Peel Camp, definitely of British Nationality, who was sent to an Italian Camp in the Isle of Man before the Bill referred to was submitted to Parliament.

Against these Anglo-Germans, charges mostly came under three headings: hostile origin; having lived in or been educated in Germany; or having retained connections with relatives or friends in Germany. The last charge always seems to us to be somewhat naive, since obviously anybody wishing to establish here with the object of turning traitor in war-time would make it a first task completely to dissociate himself from quarters likely to become suspect at times of crises; but it is not for us to teach Intelligence Departments their job. . . .

Altogether, a little over 100 were detained; some naturalised here, or the children of naturalised parents; others with one or both parents German, but born here and therefore having dual nationality. Mostly it might be said that at the time of arrest they had no strong political convictions one way or the other; their bread and butter was in England and that governed their sympathies. If to-day, after two years or more of internment, their opinions have crystallised into something very much against us, it is something not difficult to understand.

There were hard cases. One man who spent months in prison or camps before release, was over 70. Another in the 60's, had just had an eye operation before arrest, leaving him, for the time being, in constant pain and nearly blind, so that as soon as the light became dull he had to be led around; men felt savage when they saw him endure agonies at Walton, because ointment to relieve his pain was not made available; he too, was let free after some months of internment.

Inevitably, too, there were queer cases, or should we say, queer charges. Against one young man it is charged that his sister is also detained; his sister's indictment bore the allegation that her brother is also locked up! With such a deadlock there would seem to be no hope for either of them! Stranger still is the instance of a naturalised German being charged that he "Has always been closely associated with his Father (until death). Mother and Sisters, who are German citizens." A condition of affairs only remarkable and reprehensible, we should think, to the blimpest of blimps. His mother was arrested at the same time on the charge that her son was also under detention, but was let free after three weeks; the sisters were also released after an interval of 8 months; but the son, the only British subject amongst them remained behind barbed wire, although as recently as March 1939 the Home Office was so satisfied with him that it granted him naturalisation papers.

Another young man is detained as being of hostile origin, whilst his brother has been called up for the army and expects to be jailed for refusing service.

A few are ex-servicemen of the last war, and several were arrested out of the army.

Before the Advisory Committee, hearings have generally been short, inclined to deal with matters quite extraneous to matters of loyalty. What was the object of pressing a man for reasons why he had been living with a woman without having married her? This was a completely irrelevant question and never ought to have been put.

BRITISH UNION CASE

"Mr. Watkins (Hackney Central): 'They are all guilty in varying degrees, and it rests with the Home Secretary to decide whether they are sufficiently guilty to be detained.'

"Mr. Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton): 'Of what are they guilty? They are guilty, and so am I, and so is the hon. gentleman of . . . .'

"Mr. Pickthorn: . . . . 'Is it in order to say that they are guilty?'

Mr. Maxton: 'I agree that they are all guilty—but the hon. member is guilty, and I am guilty, and the Home Secretary is guilty—of having political views.'" (Hansard, 21st July, 1942: Col. 1458/9.)

Of the original 1,769 people detained under Regulation 18B, the majority were persons of hostile origin, of Italian or German antecedents; a few, including suspected I.R.A. members, were held because believed likely to commit acts prejudicial to the safety of the Realm, or for hostile associations; and the rest were members or ex-members of organisations believed to be covered by the provisions of 18B (1a). Into this latter class and forming the bulk of the pure British detainees, fell some 753 men and women held because of

their connection with Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union. These persons were arrested subsequent to May 22nd, 1940, and were variously detained in Brixton, Walton, Stafford and Holloway Prisons during the following months. From time to time, men were released from this number, and the unfortunate remainder went through detention camps at Ascot, York and Huyton; with the exception of certain leading figures who have spent the whole time in Brixton Prison. At the time of writing, there are still 141 British Union cases in detention, at Brixton, Holloway, Peel and Port Erin.

As so large a proportion of 18B arrests fall into the British Union category, it is right and proper that some examination be made as to why this should be so. First then, observe the official grounds for action against this body.

Regulation 18B (1a) is worded as follows:

"(1a) If the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe any person to have been a member of, or to have been or to be active in the furtherance of, any organisation as is hereinafter mentioned and that it is necessary to exercise control over him, he make an order against that person directing that he be detained.

The organisations hereinbefore referred to are any organisations with respects which the Secretary of State is satisfied that either:—

(a) the organisation is subject to foreign influence or control;

(b) the persons in control of the organisation have or have had associations with persons concerned in the government of, or sympathies with the system of government of, any power with which His Majesty is at war

and in either case there is danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty may be engaged, or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the Community"

That was the amendment to Defence Regulations which gave the Home Secretary power to act. It will be seen that in its broad essence it could have had very wide application. The Communist Party certainly could have been rounded up under these terms, and the Conservative Party has had leaders who "have had association with the government of" Germany and Italy. Even the Labour Party could be condemned for possessing, prior to the war, a disarmament policy in a world fast arming to the teeth. This argument is not advanced lightly, or because of any belief that members of the parties named should have been detained. It merely demonstrates that to be victimised under 18B (1a) an organisation had to be no more culpable than any of the generally respected parties of the State.

But it has since become quite clear, and Mr. Morrison has admitted the fact, that the new legislation was primarily designed to justify the detention of members of the British Union.

On certain of the forms issued in June and July, 1940, there is featured the following preamble:

"2. The organisation known as British Union is subject to foreign influence.

3. That Oswald Ernald Mosley as one of the persons in control of the organisation, has or has had associations with persons concerned with the Government of Germany, a power with which His Majesty is at war.

4. That the said Oswald Ernald Mosley, as one of the persons in control of British Union, and other persons in such control, have sympathies with the system of government in Germany, a power with which His Majesty is at war.

5. There is danger of the utilisation of the organisation known as British Union for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of the war in which His Majesty is engaged or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

[Certain detailed particulars of the above charges have been omitted at the request of Sir Oswald Mosley, it being intimated that he wishes to deal with them in his own way at his own time.—Ed.]

This was the formidable indictment against British Union. It fitted the terms of 18B (1a) like a glove, and quite rightly so since it was "made to measure." It is a measure of justification of the Home Secretary's action which should surely have been given widest publicity, if only to allay the widespread anxiety against application of the regulation. Yet not only was this extraordinary list of allegations kept in shamefaced obscurity, but **it was completely dropped from later forms of reasons for detention.**

Now why was this weighty evidence cast aside and neglected? Why did this preamble fall out of use?

The main count in this indictment is the charge (2d):

"There is reasonable cause to believe that between the years 1932 and 1937 the organisation has been in receipt of monies from Italy."

It is possible to answer the charge by quoting an independent source.

Mr. R. R. Stokes, speaking in the House on the 10th December, 1940, said:

". . . . In connection with British Union, I must say a word about the chief protagonist of that organisation, Sir Oswald Mosley. I think it should be said, although I am not a sympathiser in any way with their point of view or their activities, he appeared before the Advisory Committee and the Committee invited his solicitors to help them in discovering whether or not any foreign money was coming into the organisation of British Union. After a most exhaustive search, in which all the banks joined, the Committee and solicitors had to admit that no foreign money of any kind was coming into that organisation." (Hansard, Vol. 367, No. 8, Col. 534.)

Most of the other charges relate to the person or personal activities of Sir Oswald Mosley himself.

For the present it is enough to refer again to Mr. Stokes' speech of December 10th, 1940. He then told the House:

"After sixteen hours cross-examination, Mr. Norman Birkett indulged in this conversation with Sir Oswald Mosley, which I think ought to be quoted and put on record whatever one's feelings. Sir Oswald said to Mr. Norman Birkett: 'There appear to be two grounds for detaining us . . . . (1) a suggestion that we are traitors and would take up arms and fight with the Germans if they landed and (2) that our propaganda undermines civilian morale.' Mr. Norman Birkett replied: 'Speaking for myself, you can entirely dismiss the first suggestion.'"

Mr. Stokes continued with the observation:

"It ought also to be remembered that many leading politicians, and many more good members of the democratic parties, had visited Germany before the war. Some of these visitors were officially welcomed by the German Government and had spoken with Hitler . . . . a number even openly praised the German system of Government on their return to this country."

It might be pointed out that other politicians and even reputed statemen visited Italy and praised Mussolini and Fascism. This reply applies especially to Mr. Winston Churchill.

As illustrating the war patriotism and loyalty of the internees, Mr. P. C. Loftus told the House of Commons of one man who was arrested for British Union connections. His story is as follows:

"He happened to own a motor-boat and was on the Thames at the time of Dunkirk when the wireless appeal came over. He volunteered to go, and rescued about 450 men, his motor-boat being fairly well plastered with machine-gun bullets. On his return to England he was arrested." (Hansard, Vol. 373, No. 88, Col. 983.)

Men and women of this type ought not to be segregated from their fellows, thrown into gaols and prison camps and treated as worse than felons.

Although over one third of the detained fell under this B.U. category let it not be assumed for one moment that this work is written with a bias towards any political party or section of those detained. It is merely written to query the administration of English Justice to British citizens irrespective of the political or economic views, or their walk of life.

At first sight it was the wish of the Editor to answer in this chapter more fully the numerous charges bandied about concerning British Union, but it was finally decided to keep this document entirely non-political and thus purely factual.

Bearing this in mind it is hoped that the reader will regard anything herein referred to in connection with British Union as entirely sub-judice until such time as complete freedom of speech is restored.

REASONS FOR DETENTION

When the blow fell and the police appeared on hundreds of doorsteps, they were naturally asked the time-honoured question "By what authority . . .?" In answer, there was produced a paper headed "Detention Order," in most cases purporting to be signed by the Home Secretary. Detainees-to-be were usually handed a carbon copy for retention. Since the "Reasons for Detention," which form the main subject of this chapter, normally closely follow the wording of the Detention Orders, the latter may be dismissed with the following remarks.

At least one of these alleged copies contains no date beyond the year 1940, and no indication whatever of any signature—simply a blank space followed by the formula "One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State."

In granting, in May, 1941, in a King's Bench Divisional Court, a writ of habeas corpus to Captain Bentinck Budd, R.E., Mr. Justice Humphreys stated that:

"In the order under which Capt. Budd was detained there was nothing whatever about the necessity of exercising control over him. Further, when Capt. Budd was detained by the police, a document was presented to him as representing the authority for the detention. But that document was nothing like the original order. It wrongly alleged that Capt. Budd was said to be a person of hostile association, which never was alleged. . . . It appears that Capt. Budd has been detained for eleven months on a document purporting to emanate from the Home Secretary which never emanated from him at all . . . . and was a worthless piece of paper."

Mr. Justice Singleton, in concurring, said that that was not the first case that had come before the Court of late where there had been mistakes by the Home Office:

"When I see the complete mistake that has occurred here, and there is no explanation, I am lost in amazement." ("Manchester Guardian," 28/5/41.)

It is bad enough for an Englishman's fortune and good name to fall victims to political chicanery; what shall be said then at their being placed at the callous mercies of careless officialdom?

Then, in the House of Commons, on the 10th June, 1941, in reply to Miss Ward (Wallsend, U.), the Home Secretary (Mr. Herbert Morrison) said:

". . . . in the case of Capt. C. H. Bentick Budd and certain others who were interned at the same time, there was an accidental irregularity in the documents served upon them at the time of their arrest. This irregularity occurred after the decision had been taken by my predecessor that the internment of these persons was necessary. . . . A bad clerical mistake was made in that the document served upon the individuals whom the Home Secretary had decided to intern did not correspond with the order made by him. . . . In view of the High Court decision, he ordered the immediate release of twelve other persons whose position was the same as that of Capt. Budd." (Hansard, 10/6/41.)

Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, both Captain Budd and eleven of the twelve other men were shortly afterwards detained again. ("Times," 11/6/41).

One of the several forms of Detention Order customarily used opens with the words:

"WHEREAS I have reasonable cause to believe . . . . (full name) . . . . to have been recently concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the Realm."

Imagine the feelings of a maybe talkative but quite patriotic citizen when greeted by the police with the words "We must ask you to come along with us," and confronted with a document of this kind.

"Recently engaged in acts" . . . the words conjure up suggestions of the blowing up of bridges or signalling to the enemy; they inspire thoughts of the gallows or the firing squad.

A different form of order expresses reasonable cause to believe the suspect

"to have been recently concerned in the preparation or instigation of acts prejudicial," etc.

if anything, an even more terrifying formula; for it opens the way to the most unscrupulous and sinister distortion of the most innocent expressions; and words are plainly harder to disprove than deeds. In one case, the Regional Commissioner's Detention Order (dated 20th September, 1940) was couched in the form:

". . . . to have been recently concerned in the preparation of acts. . . ."

while that signed by the Home Secretary on the 24th October, 1940, adds the words "and instigation."

A Detention Order, dated 22nd May, 1940, which must be one of the earliest of the 1940 batch, is worded as follows:

"Regulation 18B of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939, having been amended by the insertion after paragraph (1) of the following paragraph:

(1A) If the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe any person to have been or to be a member of, or to have been or to be active in the furtherance of, any organisation as is hereinafter mentioned and that it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order against that person directing that he be detained.

The organisations hereinbefore referred to are any organisation as respects which the Secretary of State is satisfied that either:

(a) the organisation is subject to foreign influence or control; .

(b) the persons in control of the organisation have or have had associations with persons concerned in the government of, or sympathies with the system of government of, any power with which His Majesty is at war, and in either case that there is danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the Realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of any war in which His Majesty may be engaged, or the maintenance of supplies or services essential to the life of the community:

The Secretary of State in pursuance of the powers conferred on him by the above-mentioned Regulation has made an order directing that YOU . . . . of . . . . . be detained.

You will have an opportunity of making any representations you wish to the Secretary of State; and you have a right, whether or not you make such representations, to make your objections to an Advisory Committee appointed by the Secretary of State.

Under Secretary of State of the Home Dept., Home Office, Whitehall. 22nd May, 1940."

Two Bristol men received Detention Orders signed by the Regional Commissioner (No. 7 District, S.W.). The first of these men received the Home Secretary's Order about sixty days later—in November, 1940—on his transfer to Ascot Camp; and the second about twenty-four days later, in May, 1941.

In prison or in concentration camp, many weeks passed before most detainees were granted what were described as "Reasons for Detention." Out of fifteen cases among others examined the average time lag between arrest and delivery of "reasons" was nineteen weeks; the shortest of these was twelve weeks; twenty weeks was common, and the longest was twenty-eight weeks. These all fall in the autumn of 1940 or the first two months of 1941. Between May and July, 1940, we find one case with seven weeks; in September and October, 1939, four weeks; and in 1941 eight weeks, six weeks and nineteen days. In view of these intervals of time, it is interesting to recall what the then Home Secretary, Sir John Anderson, stated in the House of Commons in a written answer on the 26th October, 1939. Sir John Anderson said:

"Now that the first batch of cases has been dealt with, it is anticipated that any persons who may in future be detained under this Regulation and may make objections will have their cases examined by the Advisory Committee within a few days from the receipt of the objections." (Hansard, Vol. 352, No. 188, 26th October, 1939.)

The "Reasons for Detention" normally includes and recapitulates in the third person the allegations of the Detention Order and then goes on to add more specific allegations, though in some of these "more specific" is a good deal less than "specific"! With occasional slight variations, the documents fall into five main types as follows:

(1) That the detainee "is or has been a member of the organisation known as British Union or active in the furtherance of its objects."

(2) That the detainee is suspected of "having been recently engaged in the preparation or instigation of acts prejudicial to the public safety," etc.

(3) That the detainee is of hostile origin:

(4) hostile association; or

(5) That the detainee had both hostile origin and associations.

Here are specimens of each type of "Reasons for Detention" forms:

Reasons for the Order made under Defence Regulation 18B was made against you . . . . . for the following reasons:

1. The Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe that you have been a member of the organisation now known as British Union or have been active in the furtherance of its objects; and that it is necessary to exercise control over you.

Particulars.

You . . . . . were at the time of your detention a member of British Union and active in the furtherance of the objects of the said organisation in your capacity as District Treasurer; by supporting public meetings and by distributing propaganda.

2. At the time of your detention, the Secretary of State had reasonable cause to believe that you had been or were a member of the British Union, which was an organisation of the kind referred to in Regulation 18B (1A); and by order dated 10th July, 1940, the Secretary of State directed that Regulation 18AA should apply to the organisation known as British Union and declared himself satisfied that the persons in control of the organisation have had sympathies with the system of government of a power with which His Majesty is at war, and that there is a danger of the utilisation of the organisation for purposes prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war.

Type No. 2.—ACTS PREJUDICIAL.

Reasons for the Order made under Defence Regulation 18B in the case of . . . . . .

The Order was made against . . . . . because the Secretary of State had reasonable cause to believe that the said . . . . . had been concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the Realm, and that it was necessary to exercise control over him.

(NOTE.—Some of these "Reasons for Detention" documents have the form "reasonable cause to believe . . . . . to have been recently concerned." Some include the words ". . . . concerned in the preparation or instigation of acts." Some are couched in the second person and some fall within two or all three of these categories.)

Particulars.

1. The said . . . . . on or about the 20th June, 1940, while employed by Messrs. . . . . & . . . . . , expressed doubts to a fellow workman on the justice of the British cause and the certainty of our ultimate victory.

2. On or about October 10th, 1940, stated to another workman that, in his opinion, the British Empire was in as great danger from the United States of America as from Germany.

3. Has persistently engaged in the preparation and dissemination of false and misleading rumours.

4. Is sympathetic to Germany and the Nazi regime.

5. Is of doubtful loyalty to this country.

Type No. 3—HOSTILE ORIGIN.

Reasons for Order made under Defence Regulation 18B in the case of . . . . . .

The Order for the detention of the above-named was made because the Secretary of State had reasonable cause to believe him to be of Hostile Origin, and that it was necessary to exercise control over him.

Particulars.

1. The said . . . . . was born in . . . . . in this country of German parents who are at present living in Germany.

2. Lived in Germany from 1906 till 1936, when he returned to this country.

3. Has a brother serving in the German army.

4. Has stated his sympathies are with Germany.

Type No. 4—HOSTILE ASSOCIATION.

Reasons for the Order made under Defence Regulation 18B in the case of . . . . . .

1. The Order for the detention of the above-named was made because the Secretary of State had reasonable cause to believe him to have recently had hostile associations, and that it was necessary to exercise control over him.

Particulars.

1. The said . . . . . has visited Germany and Italy on various occasions, notably between 1930 and 1939.

2. Had lived in Florence from 1924 to 1928.

3. Is on familiar terms with prominent members of the Fascist and Nazi Parties.

4. Has taught Italian in the . . . . . School of Modern Languages.

Type No. 5—HOSTILE ORIGIN AND ASSOCIATION.

(Simply a combination of 3 and 4.)

One "Reasons for Detention" form combines Types 1 and 2 and was issued in August, 1941; and another issued in June of the same year shows the Advisory Committee enclosing the "Reasons" with a civilly-worded covering letter wherein occur the words:

". . . . furnishes you with such particulars as are, in the opinion of the Chairman, sufficient to enable you to present your case to the Committee."

In June and July, 1940, there were attached to all or most Type 1 "Reasons for Detention" the preamble and particulars relating to Sir Oswald Mosley and the British Union. This preamble has been given in full.

In fairness to all detainees, and especially to those who belong to British Union, the reader should be referred to Hansard, Vol. 367, No. 8, 10th December, 1940, Col. 834, where he will see that a searching examination of the books of British Union failed to reveal the least sign of any receipt of foreign monies from abroad. He will also see that **Sir Norman Birkett repudiated a suggestion that members of the British Union were traitors who would take up arms and fight with the Germans if they invaded.**

After receiving his "Reasons for Detention," the detained man goes, sooner or later, before an Advisory Committee. "Later" may be eight or nine weeks: sooner, two days (January, 1941) or even (October, 1939) only one day. In general, there has been an interval of several days in which to think over one's "Reasons for Detention." What light does the interview with the Committee throw upon the "Reasons for Detention"?

Take the case of G. E. T. This man was first detained on September 1st, 1939, two days before the outbreak of war and flung into Wandsworth Prison, on a "hostile association" order. The Advisory Committee, however, before whom he appeared at the beginning of October, showed as much interest in his British Union activities of which there had been no word on his Detention Order or on his "Reasons for Detention," as in the subject that did appear on these forms. In November, 1939, T. was released; but in May, 1940, as soon as sub-section 18B (1A) had been inserted in the Defence Regulation he was detained again, this time on a purely British Union Order.

When, in the following December, T. appeared a second time before the Committee, they seemed—he says—to do little more than bring up again all the material of his former interview including his alleged hostile associations.

It becomes plain to most detainees when they meet the Committee that what these gentlemen on the other side of the table have before them is a great deal more, and very often different material from that which appeared on "Reasons for Detention" forms. To borrow a phrase from philosophy, one might say that the "Reasons for Detention" represent merely the exoteric doctrine, while what the Committee have before them is an often vast body of esoteric lore, but little of which is revealed to the one man or woman whom it mostly affects.

SUMMARY

Objections to the forms of "Reason for Detention" may be classified under four heads: false statement or implication, malice, stupidity and carelessness. To take the latter first, a striking example of clerical errors has

already been given in the case of Captain Bentinck Budd and twelve other men, and another is referred to hereafter. Meanwhile, there are plenty more. When a lady is charged with "pro-British and anti-German sympathies" or a man with having been "born in 1904" and having "married a German woman in 1906," or when a man aged 56 is stated to have been a member of the Ballila, the Italian Youth Movement founded at some time after 1922, then there can be no confidence in the care bestowed on work that may mean all the difference between internment and freedom. Of stupidity—or shall it be said, of that morbid, suspicious, perverted ingenuity that seems to be characteristic of M.I.5 and Scotland Yard and perhaps all sniffers out?—the story of Mr. Shelmerdine's Italian queen is a fine example. (It will be remembered that in the case referred to, sinister meaning was imputed to a note in which occurred the following passage: "... destroy British queen, replace with Italian ..." The simple explanation being that Mr. Shelmerdine had been making notes on his hobby of bee-keeping). Further example being found in charging naturalised subjects with "hostile associations" because they associated with their own parents.

From all this it may be seen how little value these "Reasons for Detention" possess. Any stick will do to beat a dog; and, whatever may appear on "Reasons for Detention," if the Home Secretary wishes to keep men in prison or behind barbed wire, as is shown by the experience of G. E. Thomas and Capt Bentinck Budd and his twelve companions, if he cannot do it in one way, then he may do it in another—without any consideration for essential rights and justice.

THE RIGHT TO PETITION

Denied access to all normal channels for seeking Justice, it was the natural impulse among detainees, suddenly imprisoned without any reasonable explanation, to desire at once to write or petition the Home Secretary or Members of Parliament to bring about their release.

With very few exceptions each person on entering prison, was informed that he had the right, and would be given ample opportunity, to make objections to his detention and to apply in writing to appear before a Home Office Advisory Committee. This committee, he was told, would investigate his case and make necessary recommendations to the Home Secretary. When arresting people known to them, Police intimated that, in their opinion, release would follow in a matter of a few days.

What happened in point of fact was as follows:

1. A time limit of ten days after arrest was set in which such application must be made.
2. On entering prison all writing materials, pens, pencils, and paper of any sort, were removed from prisoners and only limited writing facilities were made available.
3. No clear reason for detention was given and no specific charges were laid against them to which objection could be made.
4. No legal assistance or advice was usually procurable within the ten days. (In many cases applications to communicate with solicitors were flatly refused). There was no guidance as to what form "Objections" should take.

In practice it was about the eighth day after arrest, and usually only after repeated applications, that the detainee was handed a single sheet of foolscap paper and, as a special concession, was lent a decrepit pen intended to serve an entire prison Wing of some two hundred cells, and a bottle containing more sediment than ink.

No paper was provided for making a rough draft or for keeping a copy of the application, a document of great importance to the detainee. Such copies as were retained had to be kept on a few sheets of tissue toilet paper.

Members of Parliament frequently found cause, in the individual cases brought to their notice to complain about the extraordinary time-lag between arrest of a person and the appearance before a Committee. Three months was a moderate time of waiting; six months a commoner period. Thus detainees served a severe prison sentence before being given any real opportunity for personal expression.

In this period of waiting, when it seemed likely that requests to go before the Advisory Committee were only a waste of time, there was a natural inclination to petition other quarters for attention. Prison regulations entitle detainees to petition the Home Secretary on any subject, but with the proviso that a second petition could not be submitted while the first was awaiting answer. As it was frequently found that as long as six months elapsed before a reply was forthcoming, the right to petition the Home Secretary was thus restricted to twice in a year. Moreover in very many cases petitions received no reply at all and it is doubtful whether they ever reached the Home Office. A petition was submitted by a detainee E. W. at Ascot in August, 1940, which his solicitor later ascertained had never reached the Home Secretary.

As private writing materials gradually became available more and more detainees sought permission to petition their elected Parliamentary Representatives. It should be stressed that pens and ink were only permitted after much prevarication and unnecessary delay. **It was then found that letters to Members of Parliament were not allowed.**

As the result of agitation in the House of Commons this ban on letters to M.P.s was removed, but until December, 1940, the Home Secretary would not admit that the ban had existed. Answers to questions on the matter had produced shamefully evasive replies, the Government's attitude being typified by that of Mr. Peake (Under-Secretary to the Home Office), on December 10th, when he said:

"there has never been a rule prohibiting persons detained in prisons from writing to Members of Parliament . . . . the rules relating to correspondence have recently been relaxed . . . . and it is now open to all persons detained in prisons by Administrative order to communicate with Members of Parliament." (Hansard Vol. 367, No. 8, Col. 786.)

Reading this statement literally and with knowledge of what had occurred it can only mean that the detainee was permitted to write to M.P.s from the time of his arrest. At the same time he was not permitted writing materials, nor was he permitted to dispatch any letters he succeeded in writing. That this is playing carelessly with essential privileges of already-wronged men and women is surely fully obvious.

When petitions to M.P.s became possible a new obstacle arose. The letters, issued as "special" letters and extra to the regulation two per week, were subjected to appalling postal delays, and were often so much mutilated by censors that their meaning and effectiveness were totally destroyed.

It was as if a deliberate conspiracy existed to prevent truth of the circumstances and conditions of 18B detention from reaching the outside world.

Mr. R. R. Stokes said in the House on December 10th, 1940:

"I understand that until recently these people were prevented or certainly are not aware that they were permitted to do so—from writing to Members of Parliament. Whatever the Rt. Hon. Gentleman may say, I feel that must be so, for otherwise why should there suddenly have been this appalling spate of letters from internment camps, which I am sure most Hon. Members are receiving? Certainly the letters were stopped from various camps, the names of which I shall give the Rt. Hon. Gentleman."

This comment followed the handing in at Ascot of a letter addressed to Mr. Stokes by detainee J. Wynn. The letter, handed in on September 28th, had not arrived on October 11th. In a letter of that date Mr. Stokes intimated to Mr. Wynn that he was taking the matter up with the Home Secretary. He asked for a copy of the original letter. The copy was duly handed to Major Veitch, Camp Commandant, on October 14, when Mr. Stokes' letter was produced, but in spite of this the copy letter did not reach Mr. Stokes until October 29th .

It was anticipated that after Mr. Peake's statement of December 10th, 1940, letters of appeal from detainees to M.P.s would be safe from interference. This was not so, the military authorities still refused to accept letters if they contained information which they regarded as unpalatable.

1. A letter dated June 7th, 1941, addressed to Mr. Stokes, was stopped at M Camp, Isle of Man, because it contained the following sentence:

   "It is unsatisfactory that a proper accounts statement is never circulated posted, or issued relative to the Camp benefit funds. It is disappointing that Canteen profits or a fixed proportion of same are not given to a Camp welfare fund, instead of irregular donations which may be only an extremely small percentage of the profits."

   Capt. Green of Military Intelligence initialled and red-pencilled this paragraph as containing "unsatisfactory insinuations." Yet the Canteen Sergeant was the subject of a Military Inquiry only a week or so later because of irregularities during his administration.
2. Letter dated January 1st, 1941, from detainee A. E. Ilett to Mr. Stokes, was stopped at York Camp by Capt. Craster, Military Intelligence, because it contained views non-scurrilous but critical of the Government
3. Letter dated December 29th, 1940, from detainee E. Keller to Capt. S. S. Hammersley, was stopped at Ascot Camp by Capt. Collins, Military Intelligence, because it contained the following sentence:

   "... with what is known as an indictment as though it were an advertising leaflet."

The original letters, with the initials and markings of respective officers, are still retained.

Many more letters were refused on similarly trivial grounds and the great number of letters left unanswered produced an impression that there were a convenient amount of "loss" in transit.

After the disturbance at Peel Camp in September, 1941, it was desired that Mr. Stokes should be put in possession of the full facts, but owing to the probability that the letter would be stopped by Military Intelligence authorities at the Camp, the details were compressed into an ordinary regulation 24 line letter that would not normally be examined in the Camp but passed direct to the Censors at Liverpool. Even then the Censor deleted the words:

"The immediate cause being the refusal of officers in charge to allow food to be taken to re-captured escapees after stating that they had been starved for two days."

In answer to a further question in the House of Commons on October 23rd, 1941, Mr. Morrison said:

"Letters addressed by persons detained under Defence Regulation 18B to Members of Parliament are not subject to deletion by the Censor."

That, it might be imagined, settled the matter and gave the detainees complete freedom in their approaches to Members of the House. Yet it is found that on December 16th, 1941, Mr. Peake wrote to Mr. Stokes:

"... the question whether additional letters to M.P.s may be allowed is one within the discretion of the prison Governor."

So that letters can still be banned at the discretion of the authorities, unless the detainee is willing to use one of his bi-weekly letters at the expense of business or domestic correspondence.

So much for the facilities for petitioning

Members of Parliament, a facility once deemed highly valuable in the absence of any alternative medium for representation of detainee interests Now it must be shown in the words of a Member of the House that even this privilege is ineffective.

Flt. Lieut. Boothby, speaking in the House on November 26th, 1941, is reported as saying:

"The Prime Minister said the other day that this House had some rights in the matter, and that Members could raise particular cases. Hon. Members know well that there is one particular case which I tried to raise, not only as a private Member but as a Minister and I say it is a complete fallacy to suggest that any real power is exercised by Members of this House over the Executive. I was not informed as a Minister, I was not informed as a Member of the reasons for the detention of the person in whom I was interested and no Hon. Member is informed by the Secretary of State, as is well known, of the reasons for detention. How, therefore, can they reach a decision? They hear the case of the man who is interned, but they do not hear the other side from the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, and so they cannot come to an unbiassed conclusion. They have therefore no real power in the matter at all. One can talk about particular cases for 20 minutes at the end of a Sitting and as one Hon. Member says, it is probably not reported in the Press. And that is the end of the matter." (Hansard Vol. 376, No. 7, Cols. 837/8.)

In the Commons on July 21st, 1942, Mr. Morrison gave, perhaps, his final word on the subject:

"This House is not a specific court of appeal . . . What the House must do is to keep a watch on the Home Secretary, to have a debate, to look out for cases where in their judgment he has gone wrong, **if they can get evidence that he has.** I know the limitations of this House. I agree it is not altogether cricket, but I cannot help it. . . ."

Not cricket! No, cricket is too English a game to be compared with cynical side-stepping like that.

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

Most people detained under Regulation 18B or any of its sub-sections have appeared, in the normal course of events, before an Advisory Committee avowedly so that they may have an opportunity of answering the charges laid against them, officially termed the "reason for detention," and that the Committee may recommend to the Home Secretary either release or further detention.

It is stressed that the Committee only recommends, and it has therefore, power to counsel but not to influence the Home Secretary.

The person appearing before the Committee is given, some days previously, a statement setting out the "reasons for detention." Representation by a solicitor or legal adviser is refused, even when the detainee is willing to pay the cost. The proceedings are in camera.

Apart from this there are no apparent regulations as to the procedure of the Committee, which appears to be a matter for the direction of the Chairman alone. In practice it generally occurs that the detainee makes a declaration in answer to the statement of reasons for detention and is then questioned by the members of the committee; or in some cases the questioning takes place first and the detainee is then asked if he wishes to make a statement. No witnesses are produced in support of the evidence on which the "reasons for detention" are based, nor is the source of such evidence disclosed. **In many cases it has been received anonymously by the Home Office or the Police, or is the product of investigators whose reward is possibly according to the quantity rather than the quality of their information.** THE EVIDENCE IS NOT GIVEN ON OATH. In every case the onus is on the detainee to disprove, and not on his interrogators to prove, the allegations of possibly nefarious intent.

The composition of the Committee (this does not refer to those Committees operating for consideration of "Alien Origin," etc.) is, with few exceptions, made up of legal and political personalities. The Chairman of the main Committee is Sir Norman Birkett, recently promoted to Judgeship, Messrs. Morris, Mallon, Cockburn, K.C., Stuart-Bunning; Mrs. Low and others act, or have acted, either upon the main or the subsidiary Committees. Appointment to an Advisory Committee is by the Home Secretary, who has, presumably, also the power to terminate the appointment.

Mr. Morrison himself has some interesting things to say on the choice of personnel for the Committee. In the House of Commons on the 26th November, 1941, he quoted Lord Finlay as saying:

"It seems obvious that no tribunal for investigating the questions whether circumstances of suspicion exist warranting some restraint can be imagined which would be less appropriate than a court of Law."

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence went further:

"I do not believe that a Court of Law, well constituted as it is to discuss questions of fact, is in the very least a suitable one to discuss questions of suspicion. When I was in India some ten years ago there were detainees who had been put in prison on suspicion by the Government and the Government wished members of the legal profession to go through the evidence and say whether it was evidence that entitled them to keep them in detention. The legal profession definitely refused to do so. They said that it was not part of their business, that it was entirely away from their proper duty and that they would not be parties to any procedure of that kind."

Both the Home Secretary and the Member for Edinburgh East were trying to explain why there should be no recourse to normal Courts of Justice for 18B detainees. The point made is that persons arrested on suspicion only cannot be tried by a Court controlled by rules of evidence as the Court always would have to order release. This would defeat the purpose of internment. Morally, the point is bad and must lead to official lawlessness. It is no use to misunderstand the argument, as some of the Home Secretary's critics have done. Government by expediency decree, and suspicion is an end of civil rights.

That Advisory Committees are composed of legal minded persons, who by habit of thought and speech, face the detainee with a language he does not understand, is in itself a condemnation of them.

Imagine the position of a man of no more than average general education, with no legal training, before the Advisory Committee. He has certainly spent several weeks in a prison cell under conditions which make the retention of decent personal appearance and self confidence a question of the utmost difficulty. He may have been several months under such conditions. He is then taken into the immaculate and formidable presence of some of the leading lawyers of the country, in a setting of awe-inspiring, self-righteous and accusing authority. In such surroundings he is immediately and supremely ill at ease. He has come, no doubt, charged with a powerful case against his accusers, but to argue before such wits as have debated for hours the hair-line differences and subtleties of words, is a task demanding unusual confidence. The average man must feel and speak, like an ignoramus before an encyclopaedist. It often happened that one of the first things said to the appellant was: "Do you want this country to win the war?" Can any more stupid question be imagined? Would anybody, having gone to the trouble of asking for a hearing before the Committee answer in the negative?

The Home Secretary justifies his refusal to allow legal representation on the ground that some of the evidence cannot be made public for reasons of national security. Yet we have his assurance that it is placed before the Advisory Committee, which is composed of members of the legal profession? If it can be entrusted to some, why not to others? Trials in camera are not infrequent occurrences in war time, and legal representation is allowed at these. To suggest that solicitors could not be trusted to keep secret the business of the Advisory Committee is an insult to the profession as well as an absurdity.

Until and unless legal representatives are allowed to argue a detainee's case for him, he is under a disadvantage which amounts to an injustice and makes his appearance before the Committee a matter of luck and a farce. Succinctly, the position is this: detained persons appear before a court composed of legal experts —those courts have none of the customary regulations concerning witnesses, admissibility of evidence and proceedings, which the experiences of centuries has shown to be necessary to provision of true justice; there is no appeal to a higher court; there is no legal representation of the person appearing; and even if the detainee satisfies the court that he should be at liberty he has not necessarily secured his freedom.

It was stressed in the first place that the Committee could advise but not influence. Some interesting figures have been published recently in illustration of this point. In the House of Commons on the 26th November, 1941, Mr. Morrison admitted that in 89 cases he had gone against the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. On this subject Mr. Ernest Evans (Member for the University of Wales) said:

"It was the Home Secretary himself who appointed this Committee. It would be insulting to him to suggest that he appointed a Committee in which he did not have confidence; he must have had confidence in the Committee that he appointed. It is very important that he should have confidence in that Committee; and, if I may say so, with respect, it is equally important that the Committee should have confidence in him. In view of what is happening I don't think that the second of those things applies. The second fault is that many members of the Committee—I think most of them, certainly the chairman—have had more experience of judging the value of evidence than the Home Secretary can claim. The third fact is that the Advisory Committee devote a great deal of time to the examination of every case coming before it. Sometimes they devote days to the consideration of a particular case. I believe that to every case they devote hours. They certainly devote to every case much more time than the Home Secretary, with all his other preoccupations, can hope to give."

Mr. Ernest Evans does not think that the Committee can have confidence in the Home Secretary. Perhaps if he were not bound by Parliamentary chivalry he would have drawn the more obvious conclusion that it is the Home Secretary who has no confidence in the Committee.

There are in fact only two possible explanations of the Home Secretary's disagreements with the Committee. It is conceivable that he sincerely holds the view that the few minutes of personal attention he is able to give each individual case is more likely to be productive of the correct decision than the hours of consideration given by the Committee in a spirit of judicial prodigality. **But it is more likely that he is advised, or compelled, by some other body which possesses evidence or suspicion of which the Advisory Committee is kept in ignorance.** This belief is supported by the experience of detainees that the decision that one would expect from the nature of the proceedings at the Committee has been opposite to that made by the Home Secretary. Mr. Ernest Evans says:

"I can think of only two possible explanations. One is that the Home Secretary considers himself to be of such high mental calibre that he can turn down recommendations by people with much more experience than he has in dealing with this sort of thing. I do not think for a moment that that is the compelling thought in he mind of the Home Secretary. The second possible explanation is that he is being guided by somebody, a person or organisation, or some department, whose views are not those of the Advisory Committee."

Certainly no one will accuse Mr. Morrison of such presumptuous insolence as to consider himself infallible where the highest legal brains can unite in being wrong. We can only believe what commonsense makes obvious, that the opinions of such bodies as the War Office, Department M.I.15, Scotland Yard, local police chiefs and such furtive and sinister bodies as the Swinton Committee ply the Home Secretary with advice and insistence, without reference to the Advisory Committee.

Many detainees who have cause to feel that they have satisfied the Advisory Committee that they are fit and proper persons to be at liberty—are quite certain that not all the supposed evidence affecting their detention has been produced to them. This circumstance has led Members of Parliament to seek and obtain assurance on the point.

In the course of the debate on Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (Continuance) in the House of Commons on 23rd July, 1941, the following questions and answers were exchanged:

Mr. Stokes: "Will the Hon. Gentleman assure the House that the persons detained are themselves given full reasons for their detention?"

Mr. Peake: "That assurance, of course, has been given from this Box by my Rt. Hon. Friend and myself on many occasions, and it is invariably the practice of the Advisory Committee to put before these persons as explicitly as they can, all the facts which are known against them."

Earl Winterton: "Is the reason why they are being arrested made clear to them, or do they have to wait until they go before an Advisory Committee,"

Mr. Peake: "When he gets to the Advisory Committee every fact which can possibly be put to him is put to him by the chairman of the Committee at the hearing." (Hansard Vol. 373, Cols. 947/8.)

The Under-Secretary of State there gives categorical assurances which at least fifty per cent. of the persons who have been before the Committees would strenuously deny. Members of Parliament were wilfully misled and a belated confession to this effect is supplied by Mr. Morrison himself. Speaking on a proposed amendment to the Address on 26th November, 1941, he said:

"Of course, there is this to be said, that, although the Advisory Committee have the facts before them—it is not true, as he has been assured, that the Committee is without the facts that I have before me—it is also true that I have the wider knowledge acquired at the Home Office. I see the police reports and a good many of the security reports and I sit at the War Cabinet frequently and I see the Foreign Office telegrams."

If this statement means anything it surely means that the Advisory Committee do not see police and security reports. On his own admission these reports influence the Home Secretary in setting aside recommendations for release of detainees; they are therefore vital evidence. This is an admission that Mr. Peake was quite positively misleading the House with his previous assurances. Both he and Mr. Morrison deceived Members of Parliament by adroit use of the word "facts" instead of "evidence." There may be very sound reasons for making distinction between police reports and fact, but the truth emerges that certain vital evidence is withheld from Advisory Committees and consequently withheld from detainees themselves. Thus they have no opportunity at all for making explanations on most important features of their cases.

Some detainees, convinced that they have not been accorded justice by the Advisory Committee system, and having the necessary wealth to engage in litigation, have challenged the legality of their detention in other Courts. Captain Bentinck-Budd secured a writ of Habeas Corpus against the Governor of Brixton Prison by proving to the Court that the allegations against him were patently absurd. In his case the Detention Order, signed by the Home Secretary, alleged that he was detained for "Hostile Origin or Associations." At the Committee hearing he was accused only of being a member of British Union and, as such, could only be held under Section 1a of Defence Regulation 18B. Shortly after his release he was detained on a new order.

By a Lords' majority ruling in the case of "Liversedge v. Home Secretary & Another," it has been decided that there is no appeal beyond the Committee and the Home Secretary. Either, or both of them, can come to a decision which a High Court might think contrary to justice, but, by its own admission, the High Court cannot intervene. One is left wondering at the lack of elementary vigilance of the House of Commons in passing an enactment which is now being applied by the Executive in the opposite manner to that intended, and at the supineness of the House in its inability to rectify a mistake. The significance of the wording of the Regulation was, at the time, taken for granted, without confirmation from the Government, by such members as were interested at all in the matter: and the Government appears to be open to an accusation of bad faith in having circumvented the will of the House by using words which were misleading.

And so, rebuffed by the law of the land, the detainee must turn back once again to face the Advisory Committee. A general rule appears now to be developing that individual cases shall be reviewed something like a year or eighteen months after the first hearing. In most cases the review includes a re-appearance before the Advisory Committee, although sometimes the Home Secretary sees fit to dispense with their recommendation, either releasing or further detaining without reference to them.

The first notification to the detainee that his case is to be re-considered is in the form of a letter, either from the Advisory Committee or from the Home Secretary. He is invited to make a statement in writing, giving not only any new facts which he thinks may have a bearing on his case, but also any new views of old facts which the passage of time may have brought about.

The wording of the letter suggests, immediately, either supreme foolishness or deeply hidden subtlety. Anyone can pretend to a change of opinion, in order to appear to the Committee as a person it would be safe to release. There is absolutely no way of deciding whether the professed change is genuine or not. It is doubtful whether the most indirect questioning by the Committee is of any use in such a situation. Moreover, if a person's opinion has changed once, then it may very well do so a second time, perhaps after his release.

It is clear that the Committee must have something else to work on besides the views expressed in the detainee's statement, unless those views are of themselves enough to cause further detention. In every place where detainees are kept information is collected, from any who are willing to give it, concerning others. These informers known among detainees as "snoops" or "narks," provide a large part of the evidence which is brought against those whose cases are being re-viewed. It appears that anyone who is sufficiently debased to concoct or collect "hear-say" either first, second, or third hand, can exchange such worthless information for an equally worthless promise of release from the Military Intelligence Officer or his equivalent. Thus are the characters of detainees sold in a sort of black market in falsehood, either for spite or for the selfish ends of the vendor. The number of detainees who are willing to sell their comrades is, fortunately, small, but nevertheless large enough to have caused momentous injustices. That the Advisory Committee listens to such "evidence" and throws it in the face of the subject is a monstrous happening—yet there are few cases reviewed in which use is not made of information collected in this way. Accuracy and motives of such informers must come under the gravest suspicion.

Information is also supplied to the Committee by the censors of letters. It is a common practice for sentences or phrases, taken out of their original context in such a way as to suggest a meaning the writer did not intend, to be produced during a case review with a request for explanation. This, sometimes months after the letters were written and forgotten.

The inaccuracy of the information in the hands of the Committee cannot be overstressed. As in the case of the first hearing, no witnesses are produced and the source of evidence is not disclosed; no one is prepared to give it on oath. The detainee has no opportunity of calling witnesses to disprove anything alleged against him. He can protest at the falsehoods in the evidence, but they may still influence the decision of the Committee or the Home Secretary.

The evidence in the possession of the Committee which first considers a case is collected largely from malicious rumour-mongers and anonymous informers. The evidence before Committees reviewing cases is often of a no more reputable nature and from no more trustworthy sources. It is not contended that such material is all that the authorities have to go on. No doubt in some cases much more substantial reasons exist for deciding whether or not a man should be released from detention. Nevertheless, the fact that such information is used at all, that it is accepted in the first place and purveyed by goodness knows how many hands to the Advisory Committee, is enough to cast doubts upon the whole system. If Mr. Morrison has recourse to these tactics, it is no wonder that he refuses to allow the evidence to be heard in a Court of Law, or to disclose it to Members of Parliament. The only surprising thing is that members of the legal profession can be found who are willing to prostitute themselves to such purposes.

There seems only one possible explanation. It is that, in many cases, the decision whether or not a person is to be released is made by the Home Secretary independently, without reference to the Committee, and therefore without reference to the detainee. In this decision the Home Secretary is possibly influenced by other factors, such as the demands of the diverse departments and organisations concerned in the safety of the country and of themselves. In any case the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the activities of the Advisory Committee provide, in the final analysis, only a front or screen for the Home Secretary's decision.

The existence of the Committee gives the general public a comfortable sense of assurance that some effort is being made to comply with a high standard of justice in administering this emergency legislation. The effectiveness of the Committee makes it a sorry bluff. There were several detainees who have refused from the outset to recognise the legality of their detention and to appear before a Committee. There are many more who have declined to go through the pantomime a second time, when their cases were due for revision.

Perhaps the clearest light was thrown on the whole of the Advisory Committee system by the detainee who wrote to the Home Secretary that he did not wish to play the role of dormouse at another Mad-Hatters Tea Party.

JUSTICE—NEW STYLE

"The Advisory Committee is in no sense a court of appeal or a judicial tribunal. It is the creature of the Home Secretary." (Commander Bower, M.P., 21/7/42.)

What happened to a man called to meet an Advisory Committee? Originally, it meant a car journey from his prison in London to Burlington House, a mile or two away. After removal to internment, a 20 mile car ride to Burlington House, or, after the premises were damaged in an air raid, a short run to an Ascot Hotel, to which the Hearings were transferred. Later on, men would go from Huyton by rail, in batches, to Brixton Prison, and thence once more, to Burlington House, whilst to-day, detainees going for their second or later hearings must travel from Peel to London, a boat and train journey of over 300 miles. Justice is getting further away than ever.

Finally he gets before the Committee, finding before him, seated behind a large table (reminding one, inexplicably, of the Aunt Sallies at a fairground), two or three persons, sometimes including a woman; they are the Committee, the arbiters of his fate. Also present are a woman secretary, and a shorthand writer.

So comes the questioning. Let us take, first

of all, the original Hearings and, as the cases are simpler, consider first the cases of Anglo-Germans (Anglo-Italians had separate Committees as a general rule).

The life history is run through, to check details and explain possible blanks, and also to check relationships with foreign firms or persons, in Britain or abroad. All foreign visits must be accounted for and their purpose explained.

It need not be emphasised that persons of dual nationality, or with one foreign parent, are in an invidious position. Instinctively, being born and brought up here, they look upon Britain as their homeland; and yet at the back of their minds is a regard for that other country which bore one or both of their parents, which they have perhaps visited and come also to love, whose language they speak as fluently as they do English. It must be with repugnance that they would look upon the idea of taking up arms against that other country, in a quarrel not personal to themselves. We know that there are many now in Britain who, having fled here for one reason or another, now show themselves willing and anxious to wage war on their land of birth; but we cannot understand them, any more than we feel inclined to insult and call "Quisling" men abroad who hold back when called upon by a foreign Power to fight against their own fellow-countrymen.

It is not impossible that the Advisory Committee, too, has felt the weight of this argument, for it is not often that they have seen fit to ask such men point blank: "Will you join the army if you are released?" (Many let out have been asked to join the Pioneers, but that is a non-combatant service). Generally the question has been: "What will you do if you are released?" The reply did not seem to matter much. One man who said he would probably give private music lessons, was told that the Police probably wouldn't like that at all; but no explanation was given.

It might be asked: "How do you regard the German atrocities in Poland?" What answer was wanted was never fathomed. An attempt to please the Committee by saying how awful they were might be looked upon as bluff. If a man stood up for himself and said he wasn't at all convinced about the stories, and wanted more proof, it was a black mark against him. If he lost his temper that told still more to his disadvantage.

As recorded elsewhere, an internee was asked: "Why did you marry a German woman?" We can cap that, however, with another case where one of these "Anglos" was asked: "Why did you marry an English woman?" There may be some deep laid scheme behind such questions, but we cannot guess what it is. In his place, we would have been tempted to ask the Chairman: "Why did you marry **your** wife?"

This delving into quite irrelevant domestic matters was carried further than that, however, to an extent which can only be termed as offensive. What was the purport of cross-examining a man at length upon his having lived with a woman to whom he was not married; or pressing another for reasons why he should be "carrying on" with two women at the same time? If the purpose of the Committees was to examine public morality, that should have been made clear when they were appointed. If on the other hand it is believed by the Home Secretary that deviations from the moral code go hand in hand with spying and treachery, then he can never have realised that the ideal spy or "agent" is the man who keeps clear of all entanglements, rather than the one depicted, say, in the pages of Mr. Bruce-Lockhart.

So much for the Anglo-Germans. Now let us turn to the British political detainees.

Here, as regards political views, there was a clearer case. The detainee at some time, or still, subscribed to some particular political beliefs, and something was probably known of his political activities.

Many stuck to their guns, stating their views, and asking where they had offended; a few of these were accepted as genuine, at once, and released if they had held no particular position in their movement. The rest were detained. Some others now denied, honestly or otherwise, that they retained the beliefs and said they were now willing to fall in line with the existing regime. It was then up to the Committee to form their conclusions as to the genuineness of the retraction.

The line generally followed was to depict imaginary circumstances in which the country might find itself, and ask how the individual would face them. So came the question: "What would you do if . . . ?" and so on.

Again, the atrocity stories would be trotted out: "Do you believe . . . ?" "What do you think about . . . ?" Sometimes the most far-fetched propaganda story just to test whether the man would, unconsciously or frankly, express the doubts which all reasonable men have about such stuff.

Letters would be quoted or bits of conversation, dating back months or even years before, which a man had forgotten completely. What did he mean by this statement or that remark? Sometimes, with an effort, he could recall and explain them, name the informant and the circumstances under which they were uttered, throwing an entirely different light on the matter. But it was his word against that of a witness he could not call to face him, and he could not tell if his account would be believed. The feeling of detainees was such that when, at Peel, they were able to play bowls, they preferred to speak of a ball having not "bias" but "Advisory Committee."

Photographs would be produced, seized perhaps at the man's house. One man indignantly remembers these questions:

Chairman: "Whose picture is this?"

Detainee: "Well, if you examine it, you will see a likeness to myself; it is my sister."

Chairman: "Oh yes, I see now. And does she share your political views?"

It is apparently not only abroad that one is expected to betray one's nearest relatives.

Notes, carefully compiled by police enquirers and others, were often so stupid that after one or two half-hearted enquiries the Chairman would strike his pencil through the rest of the matter. It was more difficult, however, to deal with anonymous letters which were often the primary cause of the detention and which the detainee was not able to see.

Letters from foreign friends were, of course, a special prize. Though the Government had been preaching ever since 1918 on the need for foreign understanding, that one should have dared to have acquaintances abroad seemed the final sin.

One man had had correspondence with a German girl whom he knew when she was in service in London; she belonged to the Nazi Party.

Chairman: "Did you not think it dangerous to be on friendly terms with a member of the Nazi Party."

Detainee: "In 1938?"

Chairman: "Yes, even in 1938."

Detainee: "Well, sir, there are many in this country even in high places, Lord Stamp for instance, who have been friendly with very important members of the Nazi Party, and they are not interned!"

The subject dropped suddenly, but it is certain that this simple friendship told against him.

There came second Committees, to those who would accept them (many have refused), usually twelve or eighteen months after the first. Here the attitude has somewhat changed, inasmuch as a man may declare he has still not changed his views and be set free. The chief questions now being: "What prospects have you of getting employment?" "Have you any private means?" (the most intimate details have been asked in some cases about holdings in private family concerns). "Do you intend carrying on further political activities?"

Such are the Committees and their Hearings. A bold few have refused from the outset, to have anything to do with them and remain, forgotten almost, in internment. Yet perhaps they are right, for the whole thing seems like a mockery. We know of none who would not willingly face an open court, where he could face his accusers, question their evidence and examine their motives. That the limelight of such publicity is avoided, that every legal device has been adopted to block all court proceedings in any of these cases is the best indication of the innocence of these victims of 18B who have been forced to waste months and years of their lives in internment, in a country ever crying of its Fight for Freedom.

TREATMENT OF THOSE DETAINED

As the Defence Regulations called upon the Home Secretary to lay down the treatment and detention conditions for those detained and it should be noted that such persons were absolutely uncharged and likewise unconvicted of any offence; we see that about January 1940 Command Paper 6162 is issued.

Many authorities now admit that Walton Gaol was hardly a suitable place to confine such persons in and also that it was impossible to comply with the regulations therein.

On countless occasions it was brought to the notice of the Home Secretary that his regulations were not being carried out.

We leave it to the reader to judge

(a) whether **any** prison is a fit place to house uncharged and untried men for lengthy periods—some have now been in prison for over 3 years.

(b) to what extent the instructions given in Command Paper 6162 were complied with or even attempted to be complied with.

It is not so much the regulations as to treatment that count but the spirit in which they are administered that makes all the difference between their being bearable or otherwise.

We suggest that however difficult the circumstances were, humane treatment could have been meted out; and anyhow it was on the assumption that these conditions of treatment were in point of fact being administered that Parliament consented to the addition of Regulation 18B (1a) that so vastly increased the scope of the Act.

At last the Government moved to quieten criticism by issuing, in January, 1940, some four months after the first arrests, a Command Paper setting out certain instruction with regard to the treatment of 18B prisoners. This paper, known and hereinafter referred to as Command Paper 6162, is here set out in full:

DEFENCE REGULATIONS 18B.

Instructions issued by the Secretary of State with regard to the detention in prison of persons detained in pursuance of Regulation 18B, January, 1940.

EMERGENCY POWERS (DEFENCE) ACT, 1939. Cond.6162.

(1) As persons detained in pursuance of Regulation 18B are so detained for custodial purposes only and not with any punitive purpose, the conditions of their confinement will be as little as possible oppressive, due regard being had to the necessity of ensuring safe custody and maintaining good order and good behaviour.

(2) So far as possible persons detained in prison establishments will be accommodated in a part of Liverpool Prison which has been set apart for men so detained or in a part of Holloway Prison which has been set apart for women so detained. When such persons are detained in any other establishment, they will be kept apart from convicted prisoners.

(3) **Food.**—A detained person who wishes to vary or supplement the meals provided may do so at his own expense or the expense of his friends, subject, however, to

(a) any directions given on medical grounds by the medical officer;

(b) the same limitations upon the supply of alcoholic liquor as apply in the case of persons awaiting trial, viz.: one pint of ale, stout, or cider, or one half bottle of wine in each 24 hours;

(c) such other limitations as may be necessary to prevent luxury or waste;

(d) inspection of all parcels sent into the prison.

(4) **Clothing.**—A detained person will be permitted to wear his own clothing and may arrange through his friends for necessary replacement of articles of attire.

(5) **Visits.**—

(1) Subject to any instructions to the contrary given by the Secretary of State, at least one visit a week from a friend or relative will be permitted, and the Governor may allow additional visits or visitors at his discretion.

(2) Visits by Counsel or solicitors in connection with a detained person's affairs will be allowed at all reasonable times.

(3) Visits will be supervised in such a manner as the Prison Commissioners may determine, either generally, or in a particular case.

(6) **Communications.**

(1) A detained person will be allowed to write or receive letters subject to censorship.

(2) A detained person will be given full opportunities to make representations in writing to the Secretary of State regarding his case or treatment.

(7) **Association.**—Detained persons will be allowed to associate with one another at labour, meals and recreation.

(8) **Exercise, Recreation, Smoking.**

(1) Provision will be made for regular outdoor exercise and for games and for recreation.

(2) Smoking will be allowed at exercise and recreation and in rooms except during the hours of associated labour.

(9) **Labour.**

(1) A detained person may be employed with his own consent on such useful and suitable work as can be provided. In that event he may receive payment in accordance with the scales to be fixed by the Prison Commissioners.

(10) **Medical.**—Medical attention will be provided but a detained person will be allowed, if he so desires, to be visited and treated at his own or his friend's expense, by a registered practitioner or dentist of his own selection.

(11) **Visiting Committee.**—Detained persons may make complaints to and be seen by members of the Prison Visiting Committee and the Visiting Committee will take cognisance of matters affecting the welfare and proper treatment of detained persons in the same way as they take cognisance of matters affecting prisoners.

(12) **General.**

(1) Subject to the foregoing paragraphs of these conditions of detention, the Prison Rules of 1933 will apply to detained persons as if they were prisoners awaiting trial.

(2) The privileges allowed by paragraphs 3, 5 (1), 6 (1), 7, 8, and 9 of the conditions of detention will be regarded as privileges which are liable to forfeiture under Rules 57 and 58 of the aforesaid rules.

(3) (Applies to Scotland only.)

HOME OFFICE, January, 1940.

With the publication of this flimsy document the protagonists of liberal thought heaved a great sigh of relief. Injustice, they told themselves, was sugar coated. Conscience went back to sleep.

PRISON CONDITIONS

Earlier Detainees at Wandsworth and Walton Gaols

Criticisms of conditions at Brixton, Stafford and Walton in mid 1940, might, by some, be explained away by the claim that a state of great emergency existed when, in a short period, some entirely British, some only nominally so, and others of recent or distant alien origin, had to be rounded up and sorted out; it is not disputed that, especially at Brixton and Walton, the staffs were quite inadequate to handle the large influx during the period May-July 1940; that these staffs should have been augmented is a matter of elementary reasoning. But even this excuse has no validity at all in regard to the comparatively few persons involved before the mass arrests, beginning with the arrests made two days before the declaration of war.

Arrests commenced under the original 18B regulations, and continued under the supposedly modified form later brought into effect as a result of widespread Parliamentary disquiet. Those mainly concerned were persons charged with being of hostile origin or having had hostile associations.

As White Paper No. 6162 was not issued until early 1940, Prison Governors were left in complete ignorance as to how those detained men were to be dealt with. This brought results which anybody with the slightest knowledge of our prison system can imagine.

Until 28th February 1940, detainees were kept at Wandsworth Prison, a local prison in which many of the inmates were "old lags" and where even Remand prisoners were unknown. The treatment was more severe than in a remand or "unconvicted prisoners" establishment like Brixton.

During September and October 1939, detainees were housed in basement cells, which were damp and riddled with vermin. Cell windows were totally blocked with sandbags, from which a damp smell permeated everywhere. The cells never saw daylight, the sole lighting coming from a 15-watt electric bulb set high in the ceiling and covered with a black-out hood. Reading, except at the risk of damage to the eyesight (which definitely occurred in several cases) was therefore impossible. Smoking was not permitted, and only the ordinary prison diet was obtainable, permission to have the meals sent in from outside being refused. Under no circumstances was conversation allowed, nor could newspapers be obtained. Detainees were only allowed out of their cells for the purpose of emptying slops at 6.30 a.m. and again in the evening and for half-an-hour during the early winter mornings for exercise, when they walked round a paved yard one behind the other in silence. They were locked up for the rest of the day. No communication of any kind with the outside world was permitted, nor could detainees receive visits or consult their solicitors.

Possibly as a result of pressure from certain quarters, these harsh conditions were somewhat ameliorated in November, 1939, although not in all cases. For instance:

(a) A detainee brought into Wandsworth Prison early in December, 1939, was completely isolated from his fellow detainees: was subjected to continuous third-degree questioning: was refused permission to acquaint his parents of his whereabouts, was not allowed to see his solicitors, and was told the most damnable untruths concerning his parents' attitude towards him: all in an attempt to persuade him to lay false evidence against an organisation to which he belonged.

(b) Seven detainees at Walton Prison, during the three months from December, 1939, to February, 1940, were allowed only 20 minutes' exercise daily, and were otherwise confined continually to their cells.

In Wandsworth, however, detainees were now moved to better cells, similar to those used by ordinary convicts, and could now buy newspapers and, if they had funds, have meals sent in. They were now allowed four hours daily association, when smoking was permitted. Whilst actually not mixing with convicted prisoners, they met numbers of them, in the prison or prison grounds, and on some occasions the most filthy abuse was shouted at them, it being the general impression that they were German spies. This view even seems to have been shared by the warders at first, but the consequent hostile attitude later changed. The warders at Wandsworth did act as if they were in charge of human beings.

In November, 1939, a number of detainees were transferred by motor coach to Walton. This journey merits description. Early in the morning the prisoners were handcuffed in twos and were not released for any purpose whatsoever until arrival at the intermediate stopping place, Stafford Prison. "Lavatory Accommodation" consisted of an open prison pot, which spilt its contents on the floor from time to time; anybody wishing to relieve himself had to do so where he sat, still handcuffed, it being forbidden to leave one's seat in the coach.

At Stafford, the prison authorities said they had no warning of the coming of the new "guests," and that the prison had been out of regular use for many years. The cells provided were unheated and the only light came through a small window in the outer passage; they had not been occupied for years and were indescribably filthy.

The journey was resumed next day, Liverpool being finally reached at 11.30 a.m. when the prisoners were shut up for seven interminable hours in the notorious reception cells described elsewhere.

But the chief memory of Wandsworth concerns—bugs. On one occasion the Governor was shown by a detainee, a haul of over twenty caught in his bed that morning; and the reply was "I know, but we have tried everything and cannot get rid of them." Yet in the House of Commons, in reply to a question, the Home Secretary angrily denied the existence of bugs in this prison; the comments of the warders in this connection were amusing and memorable, but not printable.

Later transfers to Walton were made by train, and here again the prisoners were handcuffed in twos throughout the long journey, being led thus through Euston Station, surrounded by uniformed police and followed by curious crowds.

Finally came general removal to Walton. Now, it was thought, would come some improvement, and the Government Regulations will be carried out, but in fact conditions proved to be even worse. The plea of emergency through numbers, cannot be set up, as only 25 people were involved in all. The attitude of the prison staff, from the Governor downwards, was most hostile, prisoners being subjected to incredible insults from warders and even from principal officers. Some examples of the treatment:—

(a) In the freezing weather of January, 1940, men on exercise were sharply reprimanded for putting their ungloved hands into their overcoat pockets, or for using the prison pillow (made of sackcloth) as a cushion on their chairs whilst sitting in solitary confinement for hours at a time.

(b) Men subjected to unprintable insults were put in punishment cells on bread and water if they "batted an eyelid," the charge being "dumb insolence."

(c) Cells were so dark that one could often only read by placing the chair on the table near the widow, which was situated high in the wall; this was a punishable offence, as also was lying on the bedboard after lunch, or at other times during the day.

There were at least 18 hours of solitary confinement during the day, and such punitive treatment cannot be explained away by shortage of staff, as only one warder was on duty whether the cell doors were unlocked or not.

The Government White Paper No. 6162 was issued early in 1940, but every effort was made to keep copies out of the hands of detainees. Copies sent through the post were confiscated. Finally one man protested to the Governor that the regulations were not being carried out, to which the Governor said that he knew nothing of any such document. The detainee then produced a copy, which had been smuggled in, in a parcel and was assured that the Governor had never before seen such a document, which in any case would be impounded as detainees were not permitted to have it.

In mid-April, on a Sunday afternoon, detainees were told to have everything packed within ten minutes, and were then moved to

another wing, where the cells were found filthy beyond description, many fouled with pigeon excrement. Not until the following day were time and facilities given for cleaning. Here, for three weeks, there was solitary confinement for 23 hours a day, and then, after continued protests, an extra hour's exercise was granted in the evening "if circumstances permitted," meaning in practice, about four times a week. As another great concession, men could, if they wished, sew mail-bags at their cell doorways at certain times of the day, and speak to their neighbours if these also chose to do the same work, as was not always the case.

So much for the earlier detainees. Now let us examine conditions in prisons at the time of the mass detentions.

BRIXTON

Brixton Prison in normal times is mainly used for the reception of Remand Prisoners, to whom special conditions and privileges have always been accorded, and detainees found from the outset that the whole establishment was very efficiently run. On the whole, the warders and officers were very fair in their treatment. Prison rules, however, are strictly laid down, and only gradually was modification secured, to meet the stipulations of White Paper 6162, as all decisions had to be referred to the Governor who was extremely cautious regarding innovations.

When the general 18B round-up began towards the end of May, 1940, the first arrivals were housed in F Wing which appears to have been disused for some considerable time and was found dirty and damp; furthermore, there were a number of cases of bug-infested cells. Efforts were promptly made to eliminate this evil, but with only temporary success.

A matter for criticism was the long-drawn-out process attending "reception." Prisoners arrived throughout the day and, having had names and particulars taken, were locked up for long periods, often running into several hours, in small reception cells, box-like affairs about the size of telephone kiosks. Eventually released from these, there came a search (involving stripping to the skin, often in the sight of convicted prisoners, and a compulsory bath), and then prolonged further waiting for a farcically inadequate medical examination, so that the cell was not reached until 10 p.m. or later. Such an ordeal for men suddenly arrested, without charges—some young, some up to 70 years of age—was most trying, and could surely have been curtailed.

It was at this prison that many were shocked at the wholesale arrests of young Anglo-Italians, many only 16 years of age, some arrested from school. No real discrimination seems to have been exercised; many could not speak a word of Italian, many had fathers or brothers serving in the British Army—one lad had four serving brothers.

After the general removals to Internment camps a certain number of men remained at Brixton on orders from the Home Office, and others were transferred to the prison for personal or other reasons. In connection with these an interesting development took place.

Until April, 1941, the ordinary prison rules and regulations were enforced, in spite of the existence of the Government White Paper No. 6162. This meant that:

(1) No evening association was allowed, all doors being shut at 4 p.m.

(2) Association at meals was not permitted. In practice no association took place other than at outside exercise periods.

(3) Detainees had sometimes been refused permission to see their legal advisers for a considerable period following their arrest.

(4) Generally no steps were taken to render the imprisonment non-punitive.

About April, 1941, however, legal advice was obtained that the White Paper had legal effect, and accordingly, writs were applied for against the Prison Governors and others for breach of Statutory Regulations. Immediately a change of front became evident, many concessions, which had previously been refused on the presumption that it was against prison rules to grant them, suddenly became possible.

The belief, therefore, cannot be avoided, that the Government never had any intention of applying White Paper 6162, until detainees themselves discovered, almost by accident, that its enforcement could be made the subject of public court proceedings.

WALTON GAOL

In design and construction all prisons are much alike, and each cell in each prison is practically a replica of the next. They are not designed to provide home comforts, they are designed to be frankly punitive, and they successfully achieve that end.

Regulation cell furnishings are standard. They are obviously calculated to provide the minimum of necessary comfort and are not intended to obviate hardship, which has never been considered inconsistent with the general punitive purpose of prisons. The list is as follows:—

1 table, 1 chair, 1 wash-hand stand, 1 wash-bowl, 1 water jug, 1 deck swab, 1 salt cellar, 1 bedboard, 1 mattress, 1 pillow, 2 sheets, 2 blankets, 1 dust pan, 1 bedspread, 1 mat, 1 chamber pot with lid, 1 mirror, 1 slate, 1 slate pencil.

Regulations also provide for the issue to each prisoner of the following items:—

1 hair brush, 1 comb, 1 toothbrush, 1 shaving brush, 1 towel, toothpowder, 1 metal plate, 1 mug, 1 tin knife.

The towel is changed each time the prisoner takes a bath.

These are the basic requirements which the State considers necessary, and provides, for its felons during their term of punishment.

Another item which by prison regulations should be in each cell, is a copy of the regulations themselves.

(More than fifty signed statements, from which the following data on Walton is compiled, testify to the facts here set down.)

That part of Walton Gaol used to accommodate 18B detainees, comprising Wings A, B, C, D, E, F and G, with part of H, were mainly the old, and long disused, women's section of the prison. Warders variously assessed the period of disuse at seven, ten and fifteen years. The indications suggested that the longer period was the most likely.

The Under Secretary of State has categorically denied that the cells at Walton were dirty. It is not the purpose of this document to prove him a liar, but the plain facts leave only the alternative that he has been grossly misinformed and has taken no steps to check his information. It may interest Mr. Peake to know that there are prison officers who, at such time as they will serve a useful purpose, are prepared to come forward and swear that no effort was made to clean up the accumulated filth of years prior to the arrival of the detainees. The dirt was absolutely undisturbed save by the roosting pigeons, which had added their own quota of foulness to the stinking corruption of the place, and by the convicts who had slung into the cells the miscellaneous junk to serve as furniture.

"Not true that cells at Walton were dirty," says Mr. Peake to members of the House; yet nearly every one of seven hundred detainees is willing to give solemn oath that he was hustled into a cell that was literally encrusted with grime and excrement. The cumulative evidence is irrefutable; it tells of windows rendered absolutely opaque, some of them welded immovably, with cement-hard congelations of weathered grime; it tells of carpets of a slimy nature under a surface deposit of soot from the restarted primitive ventilation and heating system.

"It is true that some of the cells needed redecoration," says Mr. Peake. His gift for understatement would be amusing had it not been used to mislead.

Under the top coat of dust distemper was flaking off the damp bedewed walls. Still legible were the bawdy scrawlings of hoydens lodged here long before the Great War. Ceilings, once whitewashed, were dark as thunder clouds. Windows of the old gas-light traps were smashed. Alarm bells were broken, and in many cases unworkable, the whole place was a decaying shambles, patently unfit for habitation.

Nor was it possible in the first weeks of occupation to do anything to relieve these conditions. Water flung on the cell floors, produced a thick, foetid mud; impossible to clean it out properly as no brooms or other equipment were made available. Blankets, already unclean at the time of issue, trailed in this oozy mess

Checked against the list of standard cell furnishings it is found that any detainees provided with more than half these basic requirements were exceptionally well equipped.

Mats were non-existent for detainees. Wash-bowls and water jugs as a complementary set, were extremely rare, and even where one or the other item was provided it was usually so chipped, battered and punctured as to be unusable. Few, if any, cells contained both table and wash-stand; one of these items had to serve dual purposes.

Chairs, too, were rarities, and were often substituted for by crude stools; in some cases there was no provision of any seat.

This posed a nice problem.

It being a regulation, sometimes enforced and sometimes not, according to the disposition of the warder on duty, that bedboards must not be used between 7 a.m. and 4 p.m. certain unfortunate detainees had to choose between perching themselves on table or wash-stand and pacing the floors of their cells. The alternative was to defy the rule, put down bedboard and mattress, and risk a spell of punishment.

As to the other items of cell equipment, the slate and slate-pencil were cultural refinements denied to detainees; mirrors were not available for several weeks, and then only for a fortunate few; and the other utensils for cell cleaning, as already mentioned, were not provided.

In circumstances where men are locked into cells at 4 p.m. and their doors not again unlocked until 7 a.m. except under surly protest, the night commode or chamber becomes a very necessary item of furniture. Here at Walton the vessels provided were all of nursery size; hardly any of them had lids and many of them leaked badly. The reluctance to open doors after 4 p.m. thus made conditions even more barbaric and animal-like; indeed one detainee who rang for his door to be opened when suffering a severe attack of diarrhoea, was told curtly "use the floor."

Whether one feels abhorrence or approval towards such conditions is largely dependent on one's personal standards of decency. But it is hard to understand how even Sir John Anderson, Home Secretary of that time, could condone these happenings, unless one recalls this person's record in India.

From the time of arrival at Walton detainees experienced a nightmare existence.

The usual routine of prison reception was conducted so tardily that it spun out into a ceremony of interminable duration, involving each person in a waiting period of from two to seven hours in a box not much larger than a coffin and almost as airless. Built cheek to cheek in a long row these "reception cells" resembled a row of public lavatories. They left no room for movement of any kind and the plank seats forced one to sit bolt up-

right. They contained no reading matter and offered no view outside. Once locked in, after a tiring journey of many hours with only a sandwich to eat and nothing to drink, the detainees faced hours of hunger, thirst and severe mental and physical discomfort.

It was a strain amounting to torture—and with no apparent reason behind it.

This particular spell of vicious maltreatment was ultimately concluded and the further formalities of a slapdash medical inspection followed.

Very few of the detainees transferred from other prisons were given the customary bath on arrival, though some were made to strip and step in and out of an empty bath that it might be represented that the bath procedure had been followed.

By the time the medical inspection was over, all personal belongings had been impounded. Detainees were then given a mug of cocoa and a hunk of dry bread and locked away in the squalor of their cells. Next morning they found themselves without any of the necessary articles for personal hygiene and toilet. No combs, brushes, towels, soap or toilet paper were available.

The matter of personal cleanliness became a more pressing problem as days went by without their elementary needs being satisfied. It was a situation made the more infuriating because most men had toilet equipment in their impounded personal property but were denied access to it.

A week elapsed before even the most fortunate detainees were supplied with soap, and some had to wait considerably longer.

The total lack of proper toilet equipment enforced use of what communal facilities existed. They were not elaborate. On each landing of upwards of twenty cells there was a recess containing one sink and one lavatory. In the few minutes granted each morning for the "slopping-out" of chamber pots, the twenty or more detainees queued at this one sink to rinse themselves and their feeding vessels (drying had to be left to time), and to use the one lavatory. More often than not this one lavatory was defective, and the unfortunate occupant of the cell next to the recess on the floor below suffered increased discomfort because stale urine seeped through ceiling and walls.

The great obstacles to physical cleanliness would have been to some degree mitigated had it been possible to obtain frequent baths. Again prison organisation fell down so badly that it was over a month before many men were permitted their first bath, and consequently over a month before they could obtain clean towels.

For the first several days at Walton Gaol, apart from the period of "slopping out," detainees were allowed out of their cells for only 1¼ hours a day, divided into an exercise in the prison yards morning and afternoon; in inclement weather this privilege was usually suspended.

The remaining twenty-two hours of each day were spent in solitary confinement, without books, newspapers, cigarettes or tobacco, these not being allowed until later.

It is not easy to convey in words the stark horror of such an existence. To sit for hours on end without communion with others, and with absolutely nothing at all to engage mental or physical activity, produces a hiatus of the mind which threatens to overthrow reason. A natural reaction, when Bibles were distributed and avidly resorted to for mental relief, was in some cases a temporary outbreak of religious mania.

The spells of cell confinement were only modified when arrangements were made for detainees to perform convict labour; the sewing of mailbags and hammocks. Men were blackmailed into doing these tasks rather than suffer the alternative solitude. That this "Associated labour" was but a miserable privilege is shown in the fact that prison officers counted conversation an offence at working times, and smoking was prohibited. Nevertheless, so desolate was life at Walton that the opportunity for the reduction of solitary confinement to twenty hours a day was generally accepted.

Repeated applications for association in cells, for card playing or conversation, were firmly refused. The objection given was that such an innovation might be conducive to the practice of sodomy. This impudent and insulting answer to a perfectly reasonable request, obviously consistent with the terms of Command Paper 6162, is rendered the more inexplicable in view of the fact that this form of association is a feature of detainees' life at Brixton Prison and has been indivisible from life at camps.

The inference can only be that the Governor at Brixton is more favourably disposed to unnatural sexuality, or, as is plainly more likely, he is not influenced by an unhealthy and indecent outlook and is a sane and reasonable man.

All other efforts by detainees at Walton to lighten their conditions with eminently practical reforms were rebuffed in the same way.

Arrangements for private purchases from outside sources were extremely haphazard, and only after several weeks had passed. Orders were placed one week and money was taken from detainees' accounts. Goods were delivered the next week, and usually found to be at variance with those ordered, with a discrepancy against the purchaser.

Parcels sent by friends outside were treated outrageously, and flung into an ever mounting heap to await distribution. This distribution was conducted with such incredible inefficiency that there were many instances in which weeks elapsed between a parcel being received at the prison and being passed on to the detainee. In consequence of these maltreatments the contents of the parcels were smashed, and where perishable, rotten, and polluting all other goods in close proximity.

Remember that these parcels were often sent after great personal sacrifice on the part of the donor.

Other parcels sent to no individual, but addressed for members of an organisation, arrived in large numbers. These the Governor caused to be deliberately withheld and their ultimate fate is unknown.

These parcels and the goods purchased from outside sources were vitally necessary because of the disgusting quality and the dirtiness of the food served in this prison.

The foregoing is a general account of the conditions governing detention at Walton Gaol. It is not complete, nor does it include the extra hardships suffered in individual cases. It will be seen that the treatment of detainees was, in many directions, infinitely more harsh and the conditions more severe than those of convicted felons.

One other important point to note is that some slight amelioration of these conditions could be obtained by resort to heavy bribery of certain prison officers. (Names, dates and full circumstances to support this grave assertion are being retained for a future occasion). This expedient was only available to a very select few.

In the main, 18B detainees who passed through Walton suffered conditions which are but mildly described by the word punitive. Those who still remain in captivity have at least the consolation that they have already experienced the utmost vileness to which they can be subjected.

CONDITIONS AT STAFFORD PRISON

From 27th July to 18th November, 1940.

At Stafford 18B prisoners were housed in that part of the prison known as the Crescent, which was built about 1864. The interior is of a peculiar shape, so that, in the centre of the wing, prisoners could shake hands with one another from opposite sides of the upper landings, whilst at the ends the distance apart widens to about twelve yards.

For 120 prisoners there were but six W.C.'s and the same number of cold water taps, from which latter had to be drawn all water for washing, etc. The only hot water available was what could be heated on one small gas-ring on the ground floor, and there, in the evenings, a long queue had to form to make their tea, oxo and so forth. If the queue were too long, only the first comers were successful, the time allowed being too short for all requirements.

Cell lighting was very poor, gas jets outside the cells throwing a feeble light through a very thick reinforced frosted glass square set low in an embrasure, so that reading was most difficult.

It was stated by warders that the wing had been unoccupied since 1918, and the first job on arrival was to scrub out the cells to make them habitable. So too, for reasons of health and comfort, had the scanty prison furniture to be scrubbed.

Of the prison staff, the Governor was in general conduct, typical of the best type of army officer and at first seemed quite reasonable. Unfortunately there were times when his temper caused him to punish men for the slightest offence. The chief officers were of the usual harsh, bullying type. On the other hand, the warders were not unfriendly and would even engage in conversation when they knew they were free from observation.

Punishments for infringements of prison rules designed to apply to convicts, comprised deprivation of all privileges such as smoking, receipt of food from outside, association with other prisoners and confinement to cells for 23 hours in the day.

Up to the end of October the whole time, apart from 30 minutes morning and afternoon, when exercise was taken outside, was spent indoors. Many requests were made for permission to be outside—to have some work to do in the open air—but the excuse came that prison regulations allowed those two brief 30 minute spells and nothing more could be done; nor was anything done until late in October—when the lovely summer of 1940 had sped—and two squads were formed, one to dig and trench some grass land and the other for demolition work within the prison walls. Others worked indoors, some making mail bags, and some on inside prison duties, such as cleaning and keeping tidy the prison landings. These jobs, together with exercise, gave about 5 hours per day out of the cells, and, after many applications, a further two hours were allowed in the evenings for association, cards and other table games; a vast improvement on the treatment during the first weeks' 22½ hours' confinement but only part of the way towards "non-punitive" treatment as later understood and put into effect at Brixton and elsewhere.

During air raid alerts, all were locked in the cells and all lights extinguished. It is neither a pleasant experience nor an intelligent proceeding.

As reports came through that in some cases, following the hearings before the Advisory Committee, further detention had been ordered, the individuals concerned were separated from the main body and moved to the extreme end of the wing and kept entirely apart, it being an offence to speak to them.

At last came news of a removal to an Internment Camp, giving rise to much joy, and much speculation as to which camp it would be, York or Ascot. The few belongings were packed in readiness for the move, which came on November 18th, on which morning, at 6 a.m. all had to move out to march to the station, where a train was waiting. The morning was wet and dark; many were soaked with

rain whilst loading their luggage on to a coach. The way led through a church-yard, and it was so dark that the military escort could not properly see the prisoners, and found themselves falling over graves or coming to a full stop against tombstones; there was a re-count at the station, and the guards seemed relieved to find that none had got lost on the way.

The party arrived at York Camp late in the afternoon, much pleased to meet many old friends they had not seen since the dark days of Walton Prison. Here—strange are the workings of authority—they could also associate freely with those with whom it had been an offence to exchange even a word at Stafford.

Some mention might be made of the Chapel at Stafford Prison. No doubt in years past it had been well cared for, as befitted a House of God, a corner amongst the stone walls, where a prisoner might, for a while be uplifted from the surrounding sordidness. Yet, as these prisoners found it, its condition was disgraceful and shocking. Birds had made of it their roosting place, and the seats allotted to the 18B detainees were encrusted with dirt and had to be carefully wiped before use. Almost as sickening, as in all the jails we have had described, was the atmosphere in which the "devotions" had to be carried on, with warders placed at various points where they could command a good view of their charges.

Not, on the whole, a pleasant experience. Yet, bad as it was, not to be compared with the scandalous conditions and treatment meted out at Walton.

THE BLAME

Now who was at fault in the matter of prison treatment?

It is plain that the blame lies between certain prison warders and official prison governors, the Home Office and the Home Secretary.

The victims of this maltreatment, these indignities—a number of whom are to-day broken men, in body and mind—were not hardened criminals. They were not prisoners of war—International Red Cross would not have tolerated such a state of affairs. They were not proven traitors, or else they would long ago have been brought to trial. They were men from all walks of life, from doctors to doorkeepers; British born and bred, naturalised British citizens, alien civilian and neutral subjects, all untried and uncharged.

It could have been different. With the first arrests in September 1939, a number of warders were sent from Brixton to Wandsworth to show the staff there how remand prisoners should be treated. Their presence was apparently resented and their advice ignored. For that, the whole Wandsworth Administration is to blame.

It could easily have been different. Prison Governors could have been given, and made to carry out, special instructions, in regard to the men. Warders had to be on duty whether cell doors were locked or not, and the torture of prolonged solitary confinement could have been avoided. Instead of parliamentary questions being warded off by disarming mis-statements and evasions, steps could have been taken to minimise or remove the vermin problem. Furthermore during removal from one gaol to another, elementary decencies could have been observed.

It could easily have been different had the Home Office and the Home Secretary had the slightest desire to make it so.

ASCOT CAMP.

Apart from those in Stafford Prison, most of the 18B detainees were in Walton Prison by mid-July. The appalling conditions of that prison had been made sufficiently well-known to outside quarters and the visiting prison commissioner to lead the authorities to hasten the plans they had in mind for transfer to an internment camp. News of a forthcoming move soon circulated around the prison and after some days was confirmed, but no hint as to the destination was given. A natural consequence of this secrecy was the spread of disturbing rumours. Acute distress was caused by a persistent story that detainees were going to Canada. No complete denials could be obtained to rumours of this kind.

On the 30th July, 1940, warning was given of a move early the next day. Relief at leaving Walton was tempered by trepidation as to what lay ahead. After an early breakfast, detainees were marched down to the basement, where property was restored to its owners. They were then piled into char-a banes for the journey to Lime Street station. Armed troops lined the prison approaches and armed soldiers sat in each coach.

At the station were more armed troops, and under the gaze of a crowd of curious spectators the prisoners stood about until two special trains were ready. There was one disgusting episode, referred to elsewhere and symptomatic of the prevailing Fifth Column fever—the stripping of military buttons and insignia from the tunics of men who had been arrested from the army.

Arriving at Ascot, the party was told off into groups of fifty, and after much delay were marched under an escort with fixed bayonets, along the road to the camp.

At the entrance stood a grim-faced "reception party" of camp N.C.O.'s, including a sergeant-major, who greeted many detainees with the remark that he would like to see them all shot. That seemed to be the general attitude on that day and for some little time afterwards.

There was no suggestion of haste and little of efficiency. On that blazing summer afternoon, after weeks of cell confinement, men were marched into a compound behind the camp buildings, there to stand for hours until the last group had arrived, then to be counted and re-counted endlessly until the officers were convinced (as was indeed the case) that one man had escaped during the journey and finally to undergo another farcical "medical examination" the only one that many had during the whole stay at the camp—wherein each group in turn stood stripped naked whilst a medical officer marched past them. Part of this "examination" took place in full view of the main road.

Still the parade continued. Many fell to the ground, fainting from hunger and heat. Eventually volunteer cooks were called for, for no food had been prepared, and after these had gone to the kitchen the rest marched inside for property examination. That over, men found their way to the various rooms which were to be their "homes" for the next six months.

It was late in the evening that a scratch meal was forthcoming, and then, having filled palliasses in a milling throng around the single straw dump, most were glad to try to find sleep.

The camp lay some 1¾ miles south of Ascot, and was originally the winter quarters of a famous circus. The soil in that district is of light surface loam and sand, and the loam quickly wore away, so that dust and sand pervaded everywhere, presenting great difficulties in cleaning the extremely overcrowded huts. Two parallel barbed-wire entanglements surrounded the camp, sentries patrolling between them night and day. On three sides turrets had been erected between the wiring and from these Bren guns pointed towards the camp.

Having all been intended to house animals or circus equipment, the buildings were in no condition to house human beings. Accommodation comprised six main huts with three small annexes leading off. The two largest huts were used solely as dining and recreation rooms. All flooring was of concrete, apart from the recreation room, which had board flooring over a sawdust ring. In addition, there were the cooks' bunkhouse, kitchen and a small wood-built hut situated away from the main building, used during the first month or so as a hospital, until an old store was cleared in the main building and adapted for that purpose.

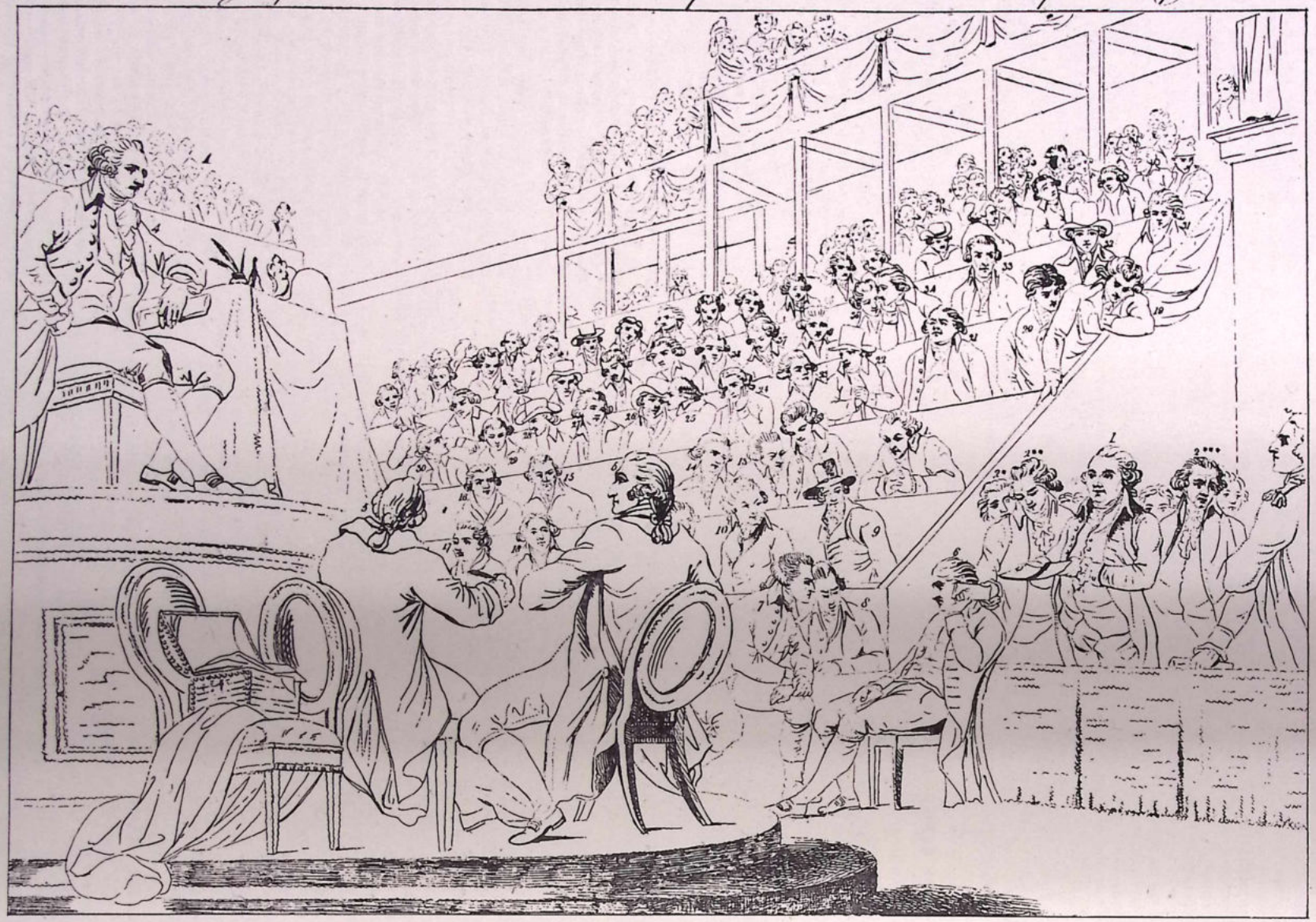
During the summer months, 100 men lived in tents, these later being replaced by six Nissen huts.

Overcrowding was chronic. With the exception of the hospital, all the sleeping accommodation was of dilapidated and dirty three-tiered bunks. In three of the four main huts, approximate dimensions 70 feet by 25 feet, the military enforced a rule that there should be not less than thirty bunks in each. **On first arrival, one of these huts held thirty-four bunks and had to house ninety-seven persons.** The state of the atmosphere on a hot summer's night after the doors had been locked at 9 p.m. needs little imagining, especially as night "lavatories" consisted of one pail and a flat wall with runaway at the end of and forming part of the hut, and only cut off from the sleeping accommodation by a wooden partition in which was an open archway 10 feet by 12 feet. The main hut, only slightly larger in area, was the worst in the camp, housing at peak one hundred and twenty-seven men. Owing to its peculiar construction—it was windowless and the only ventilation was from skylights in the roof, which were, in most cases, fixtures and not able to be opened—this became known as the "Altmark" hut. . . .

In the kitchen, which was about 26 feet by 18 feet, there was inadequate accommodation, and the equipment found was only sufficient for the preparation of food for about three hundred and fifty persons, whilst there were at first six hundred and seventeen to be fed. It was with the greatest difficulty that volunteer cooks could be prevailed to stick to their heart-breaking task of preparing meals with such inadequate equipment, and for the first few weeks only a bare minimum of food could be produced from the rations provided. The food problem was aggravated because after weeks, sometimes months, of prison life on low diet the detainees suddenly found themselves in a position to take plenty of open-air exercise, for which their bodies were craving, and so day after day the one topic became—food! (It is significant that, about a month before the camp was vacated, important alterations were made to the kitchen and much additional equipment added, although the numbers had by then shrunk to about four hundred and fifty, a figure nearer to what the camp could reasonably accommodate).

The reader might sometimes wonder if the story of hardship is not perhaps, being stressed too much; whether, having due regard to the state of emergency existing, allowances should not be made. But two things stand out. Recognising that there was no justifiable ground on which most of these detainees should have been arrested at all, the Home Office had drawn up, to satisfy alarmed opinion in the Houses of Parliament, strict rules to ensure that the detention should be of a non-punitive nature; and many of the internees were middle-aged or elderly, some over 70 years of age, and some were cripples or partly invalids, still suffering from shock of arrest, worry over loss of business or employment, and unable over long periods to get in touch with wives and families, of whom many had been left destitute. These, as well as the healthy young Fascists pictured by the daily press, had undergone all the rigours of prison and now found themselves flung into a prison camp, where no proper arrangements had been made to receive them, and had themselves to set up, by the painful process of trial and error, an organisation to see that there were carried out by voluntary labour the many unpleasant but necessary jobs; cleaning out lavatories, cess-pools, grease-traps and the like, which must be done if such a primitive camp should not become a hot-bed of disease. Their indescribable misery in those

The address of Louis the 16th at the Bar of the Convention on the 26th of Decr. 1792.



Published as the Act directs, March 15, 1797, by Testolini, No. 73, Cornhill.

(1) The King at the Bar of the National Convention
(2) The Kings Counsel, Tronchet, Daeze, Malesherbes
(3) General Santerre
(4) Fermont, the President
(5) The Secretaries
(6) Maille who has receiv'd the Papers from the Secretary, and is delivering them to the King's Counsel
(7) Legendre

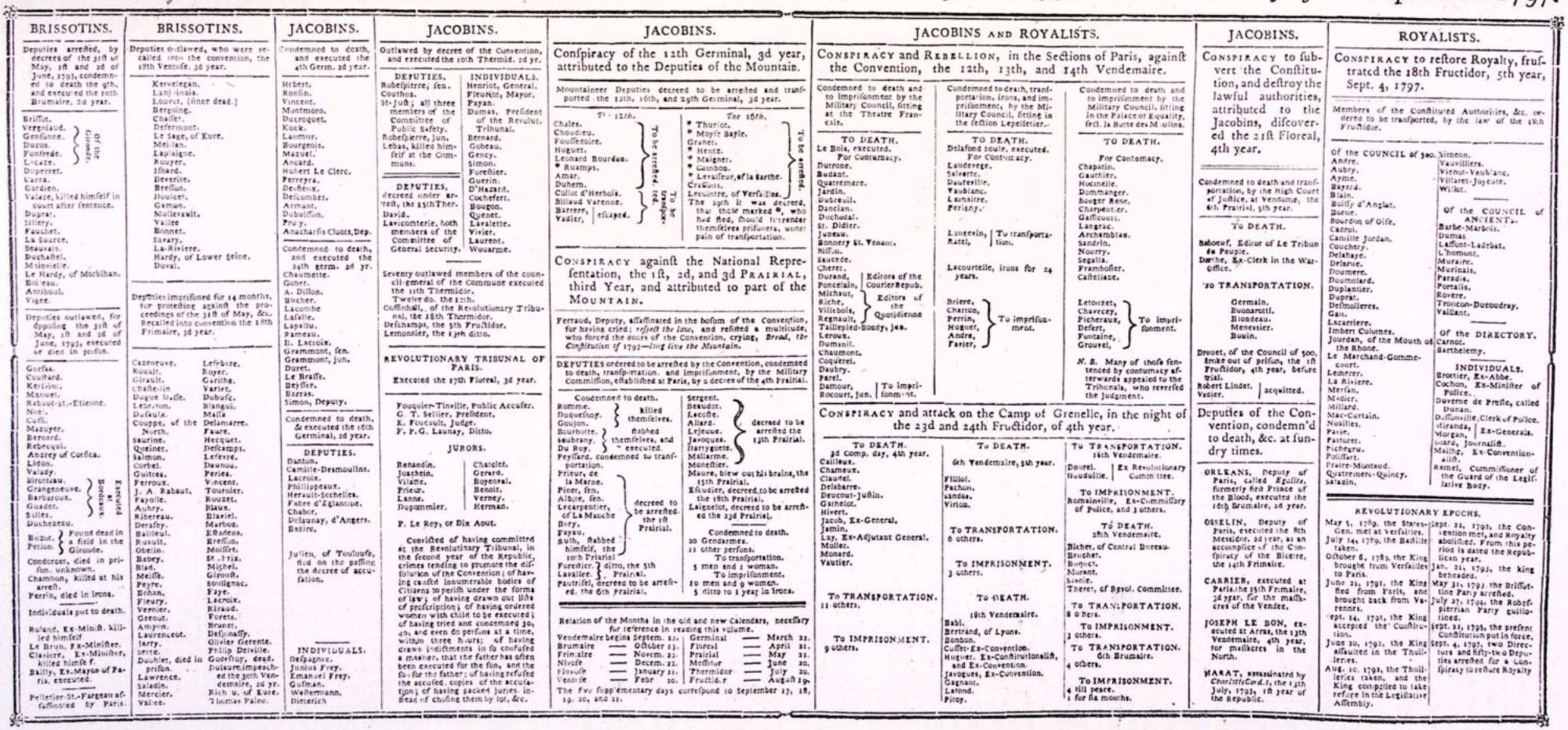
(8) Marat
(9) Tallien
(10) Robespierre, Senr.
(11) Barrere
(12) David
(13) St. Just
(14) Pethion
(15) Condorcet
(16) Kersaint
(17) de la Croix
(18) Chabot
(19) Robespierre, Junr.
(20) Drouet
(21) Danton
(22) Thomas Paine
(23) Brissot

(24) Vermeault
(25) Syeyes
(26) D'Orleans, called Egalite
(27) Dunem
(28) Fauchett
(29) Chambon
(30) I. B. Louvet
(31) Collot d'Herbois
(32) Billaud Varenne
(33) Anacarsis Clooth
(34) Pelletier
(35) Panis
(36) Salicetti
(37) Camus
(38) St. Andree, &c. &c. &c.
(A) The Galleries

This picture-plan of the trial of Louis XVI, giving the names of his judges, and the chart of proscriptions of Parties in France from June 1793 to September 1797, which appears on the page facing, are taken from a volume entitled "Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic and of other Eminent Characters who have distinguished themselves during the Progress of the Revolution," Vol. I, published by R. Phillips, No. 71 St. Paul's Church Yard, London, in 1799.

"Biographical Anecdotes," contained 444 pages and listed 114 characters. The biographies make most interesting reading to-day. By noting the names of the persons who judged the king, nominally in the name of Liberty, and then considering the Chart facing—showing in order of dates how these persons, faction by faction, and sometimes individual after individual, went to their deaths as "enemies of the people," meaning the State executive of the moment—we obtain a valuable lesson in the folly of Government by Proscription. The picture, and the chart facing it, are warnings against the employment of methods of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, such as 18B. This is not the way to defend democracy or to protect liberty and well-being of the people. These 1799 studies establish this truth beyond question.

CHART of the Proscriptions of Parties in France, from that of the *Brissotins* in June 1793, to that of the *Royalists* in September 1797.



This chart, published, as stated on page facing, in 1799, is a most interesting study. Consider the lists of deputies and individuals proscribed, faction after faction, who, in power, had judged and silenced opponents. What a marvellous realistic study in the tragedy of human error! We ask the reader to look at the names of those who tried the king and then note their place in this chart. Those who condemned followed their royal victim into annihilation. At the end, not revolutionary freedom, but imperial terrorism was re-established.

As with 18B in Britain, so in revolutionary France, the original excuse for The Terror was war, and fear of counter-revolution and enemy-conspiracy. Out of this fear rose the cry of clamour. Party after party fell victim to the cry. Each faction in turn was condemned until the struggle exhausted itself and from the crisis was evolved, not liberty, but mundane tyranny. Louis XVI ended in Napoleon I. In satire was the King avenged. Throughout the world to-day this ironic mock-evolution, this circular parade of hysterical non-progress, is being repeated. In no mood of cynical rejoicing, but rather in stern truthfulness and public affection, we bid the common people pause and consider the historic past. We want a democracy to arise that shall make an end of government by Proscription because of its essential wrong and its fundamental unwisdom. We want prisons and concentration camps abolished, the struggle for power to give place to jealousy for freedom. And we want those who call themselves democrats, and believe in the right to proscribe, to consider that proscription in the end destroys the libertarian, the progressive, and the democrat. It ends in Imperialism and clamour.

1793 to 1943 is 150 years! After so long a time—one-hundred-and-fifty-years—the lesson ought to be heeded by every thinking citizen.

first few weeks was only a little alleviated by a sometimes sympathetic but apparently helpless military staff who, as became clear with continued contact, had no knowledge of the treatment stipulated by the Home Office, and who certainly never showed any attempt to carry out the Government regulations during the whole period of this camp.

In every direction was gross neglect of even the most elementary things required to make life endurable. **For several weeks no issue was made of either soap or towels, and many were finally reduced to trying to "wash" face and hands with sand.** Clothes were unwashed as well as the person; metal plates and bowls had to be scoured with sand and could not be wiped, no material being available, not even the newspapers which had been found so useful in prison. In consequence, most men were soon eating from rusty plates. Eventually, small hand towels were put on sale at an inflated price. (Nobody seemed to care; nobody could do anything about it).

In the first three weeks, no letters came and, though cards were issued on the lines of army "field postcards", nobody knew whether these had reached their destination. Some of the newspapers had been screaming that there should be meted out wholesale deportation to Canada or elsewhere, and there was horror abroad in the camp and nerves broken down with thoughts of relatives and dear ones, long without news, tortured with doubts as to what had happened and wondering whether the first intimation would be of another "unfortunate" tragedy like that of the "Arandora Star." Permission to send reassuring telegrams home was brusquely refused. Sometimes distraught wives arrived at the camp gates and were turned away because they had no permits to make visits. This regardless of the fact that nobody in the camp had been advised either that such permits were necessary or where they could be obtained.

Such treatment was plain torture of men and women and in Britain, when the world was being called upon to rally to her cause of Decency, and Liberty, and Justice. . . .

When visits were eventually permitted, it seemed as if everything imaginable had been done to make them unpleasant and distressing. Along the centre of a small room was placed a trestle table, with chairs on either side. Visitors sat on one side, detainees on the other, sitting elbow to elbow, and, watching over them, was a sergeant, whose rough handling of this humiliating situation caused constant pain. Later on, this situation improved, but by then many who had experienced one visit preferred to forego further similar indignities.

In every department the same hopeless muddle and cruelty. Boots and clothes falling to pieces and neither replacement nor facilities for repair; constant under-feeding so that exercise had voluntarily to be restricted; letters constantly being delayed or disappearing altogether. Parcels were permitted from relatives and friends outside, but the "lucky" recipients were sometimes almost afraid to ask for them as most were damaged or spoilt beyond use, jam mixed with cigarettes, perishables in a rotting condition, as if they had been deliberately mistreated as part of the punishment.

With nerves and body both suffering, the proportion requiring medical attention grew. On arrival from Liverpool Prison, there were found neither hospital nor first aid facilities. Sick men simply remained in their bunks, to be attended to there, amidst all the noise and bustle of a hundred men, by a Medical Officer and R.A.M.C. corporal. After a week, a wooden hut, which at a pinch could house three men, was used, ventilated by windows which, when blacked out at night, blocked the only way in which air could enter. These conditions prevailed for seven or eight weeks. There were several doctors among the detainees, and these did their best to alleviate suffering, but were cramped in their efforts by lack of authority or equipment. At the end of September, a larger and better equipped hospital was opened, but it was situated at the worst possible spot, its doors opening into the main corridor and facing the dining room entrance, where hundreds of hungry men assembled three times a day, so that the noise and its effect on the patients need not be described. No special facilities were provided for the preparation of food for sick men, who had to try and recoup on such rough cooking that their fellow detainees with limited equipment could provide. Detainees themselves attempted to organise a first aid corps, but this never progressed very far as supplies and equipment were refused by the military, and private efforts by some of the monied detainees secured only a few needs.

The result of the poor feeding and general bad living conditions and of the earlier prison hardships were most noticeable during roll-calls, when numbers collapsed on parade. Here again was another instance of official inefficiency and stupidity, whereby six hundred men sometimes stood for half-an-hour or more under a broiling sun, or, at other times, went straight from bed to stand with their broken boots in icy puddles, whilst being counted and re-counted and while the camp was being searched, it eventually being found in nearly every case that an incorrect count was due to the military's own negligence. In many instances men supposed to be missing from roll-calls had actually been released or been moved to the hospital in Aldershot.

At no time during the seven months at Ascot was there any attempt by the military to keep records of the different sections within the camp (i.e., Anglo-German, Anglo-Italian, etc.) or of other circumstances which were patently necessary for the running of the camp. Anything which was done on those lines had to be done by the detainees themselves.

HAM COMMON.

About the middle of 1940, there began to filter through to detainees in prison or in Ascot Camp mention of "Ham Common," as a place where special interrogations were being carried out. Suddenly, without warning, one or more men would be told to pack their belongings and were loaded into cars or army vehicles and whipped off "into the blue," to return a few weeks later pale, thinner and, in at least several cases, looking years older. In due course their story would come out, that they had been to Ham Common.

Actually, they referred to Latchmere House, a large country house of some fifty rooms standing in its own grounds on Ham Common and situated some 12 miles from London. In this house were carried out, by some unnamed agency, investigations regarding suspect aliens of many nationalities and selected 18B prisoners.

It is still true to say that the agency operating at Latchmere House is unknown; because neither the Advisory Committee nor the Military Intelligence officers at either Peel or York Camps appeared to know anything about Ham Common or its investigations. Evidence was discussed at Ham Common of which the Advisory Committee professed to know nothing, although the Home Secretary has said that the Committee sees all the evidence and facts that come into his possession. It is believed that nowhere, save on one isolated occasion in the House of Commons, has the place been publicly mentioned; which from the facts available, is not altogether surprising.

Here are the facts as supplied by prisoners who were sent there.

After being driven into the grounds and to the house entrance, the prisoners were escorted to an assembly room on the ground floor and taken from there, singly, before a reception officer. A quite unnecessarily thorough search of both person and property was then made, all correspondence and papers, even of a purely family nature, being taken away. Detainees were then taken to the cells. The cells were small and furnished only with a bed, wooden chair and, in a few cases only, a chest of drawers. Windows were blocked so as to permit an aperture of only three or four inches, whilst wooden bars, interwoven with barbed wire, formed an additional barrier to any attempt to escape. At night the windows were closed and locked and, as the doors were tight fitting, the air became stifling. In these cells were spent in solitary confinement 22½ to 24 hours of each day — the former figure being more representative. Armed sentries guarded the grounds and guards with hip revolvers stood in the corridors.

Morning and evening an orderly officer entered the cells to enquire if there were any complaints. If there were, these were noted and frequently forgotten or ignored. Apart from that, not a word of conversation throughout the day.

Meals were scanty, inadequate to sustain proper strength. In quantity they were only about half the normal meagre prison diet. They were brought in by soldiers, or collected, when the cell door was duly unlocked, from the kitchen nearby; and if a few words were sometimes exchanged with the soldier it was in breach of the regulations. It was usually some ten days before the prisoners' accounts were unfrozen and limited extra food could be bought.

No newspapers were permitted and it would seem that correspondence inwards and outwards was destroyed, since letters were not delivered.

Exercise was taken during a half-hour period, morning and afternoon, on a lawn outside the house. At first, British and foreign detainees exercised together, but later, after protest, the British prisoners were allowed to exercise at different times. Here again, strict silence was enforced, prisoners having to walk up and down the lawn apart from each other. Armed guards stood about the lawn, others paced backwards and forwards outside the barbed wire perimeter, and yet more were seen looking out from various windows — in all, about five guards for each man, a display of force quite incomprehensible, unless it was to intimidate and weaken the mental resistance of the prisoners. Half an hour of such exercise and then back to the silence of the cell.

After a few days, "association" was allowed, two prisoners being allowed in a cell together for a few minutes, where they might engage in conversation. This association took place in cells in what was known as the "hospital wing," and there are grounds for believing that the cells had been prepared beforehand and that microphones were somewhere concealed. One man states that he found wiring in the chimneypiece, and received three days' punishment for so doing. Again, the temporary companion was often a stranger, sometimes a foreigner, and might possibly have been a police agent.

After a week or fortnight of this treatment, when nerves were beginning to wear thin, each man was given a severe cross-examination. This might come at any time of the day or night—one man at least was awakened and interrogated in the early hours of the morning. Every attempt was made by browbeating, threatening, cajoling and promising to extract admissions that might be used against the individual or the organisation to which he belonged. A favourite promise was that what was said at Ham Common would carry weight when the individual's case came before an Advisory Committee. Minute after minute, sometimes hour after hour, this pitiless accusing questioning went on, then finally the prisoner was taken back to his cell. Then, hours afterwards, the cell door might be opened to admit an officer with a supplementary question, or asking for a fresh account of some point which had arisen. In some cases, there came further prolonged interrogations

intended, it seems, to break down all reserve.

But ingenuity was not exhausted. An officer suddenly burst into one man's cell to say a letter had just arrived giving news of an accident in which a relative had been seriously injured. The report was totally untrue and was apparently only another effort to induce a state of nervous breakdown in which the individual might be easily trapped into careless utterances.

Nerves began to crack. Mr. Compton Domville of London states:

"It was not long before my memory began to deteriorate. Certain periods of my life completely disappeared from my mind. Others who shared my experiences at Ham Common have since remarked on similar symptoms in themselves. Even at the time I noticed in others a growing mental hypertension. One association period I had I remember closely. On entering the room, my companion started pacing up and down the room, excitedly uttering disjointed phrases and almost ignoring my presence. . . . I, together with others there, was able to consult the resident doctor. He stated to me plainly that the treatment was intended to produce a state of 'mental atrophy and unreserved loquacity' ".

So the treatment continued, day after day, until, after stays of three to five weeks, the prisoners received orders to pack within an hour, and were returned to their former places of detention.

Latchmere House seems to have fallen into disuse. One story, in fact, says that the house was destroyed in an air raid during 1941. But the facts remain and they are ugly ones, which nothing can obliterate.

Who was behind it? Not, apparently, the Home Office. The War Office, acting through Military Intelligence? The Swinton Committee, alleged to be answerable only to the Prime Minister? Detainees have no means of saying. But whoever it was, they seemed to have authority wider than did the Advisory Committee, and may have had powers of recommendation regarding further detention or release even greater than those of the Home Secretary himself.

These are questions which demand an answer now, for the same mysterious **O.G.P.U.** may still be working insidiously against the interests of other citizens.

YORK RACECOURSE CAMP.

On November 1st, 1940, the personnel at York Racecourse Camp was completed to a total of four hundred detainees, including parties from Ascot, Edinburgh, Stafford, Brixton and Walton.

The largest party travelled from Ascot and was escorted by a specially picked company of "tough" Canadian soldiers who had been very specially informed that they were to escort a gang of dangerous prisoners of war, Fifth Columnists, traitors and "tough guys" supposed to be non-or anti-British. The first sign of this to the detainees was on leaving Ascot Camp for York.

On assembly at 7.30 a.m. at Ascot Camp, the detainees were checked out of the main camp on to a parade ground in batches of fifty, while alongside (though outside the barbed wire) the Canadian guards were receiving final instructions, and were made to demonstrate not only that they were loading their rifles, but that they would not hesitate to shoot on little or no provocation. The Camp Commandant made an address which included a remark that many of the escort guard were "Mounties" who could shoot quick and straight and had been given orders to do so if necessary.

A number of shots were actually fired into the air, apparently as a warning, which, needless to say, created much resentment, as the party included many ex-service men of this and the last war.

The detainees were finally marched off to the station, herded into a train, and told to remain in their seats and not to open windows or doors or try to communicate with other compartments. One or two, for lack of air, began to open windows, but quickly desisted and sat down with no little alarm following an inrush of a sergeant and/or corporal with revolver drawn and a soldier with rifle and bayonet pointed in a most threatening manner. Men were not allowed in the passages and could only visit the toilet singly after obtaining perrmission from an N.C.O.

After some time, some of the more venturesome inveigled one or more soldiers into conversation, and astonishment was expressed at finding the detainees to be British, not aliens. Thereafter the guards, apart from officers and N.C.O.s, relaxed and allowed the detainees greater freedom of movement, and at York, when the Canadians handed over the party, many shouted "Goodbye and good luck!" They were replaced at York Station by the York Camp guard.

As though similarly prepared for toughs and traitors, these fresh troops met the detainees with surly looks of contempt. Hand luggage, mainly comprising sandwiches, toothbrushes, towels, pyjamas, etc., was taken away and thrown in a heap (nothing labelled) on the station platform. Between fixed bayonets, at an unreasonably fast pace and repeatedly told to "get in step" and keep the pace, despite the distress caused among the older men, the detainees marched three miles to the camp, their way taking them through the streets of York, where many residents recognised respected Yorkshiremen among these supposed "traitors."

Severe but efficient reception was given at the camp, where there was a brisk search and registration routine. Then a wild scramble to recover property from the dump of hand luggage. This was followed by an issue of metal plates and mugs, knives, forks and spoons, all dirty, smelly and greasy or covered with paraffin. After this, detainees were sent to a stone-floored waiting room, a dismal disused "long bar" under the racecourse grandstand, ill-lit, damp and cold, unheated and without fires or stoves. Here they sat on forms, packed like sardines, to eat from what were supposed to be whitewood trestle tables, but were, in fact, black and greasy.

Beds were allotted in either "huts" or "dens." The "huts" comprised ex-booking offices and totalisator offices and were not too bad; each held between forty and fifty men. They were equipped with two stoves and folding metal beds; they were eight to ten feet high, twelve to fourteen feet wide and one hundred feet long, very draughty and otherwise badly ventilated. They were very damp except around the stoves. The "dens" were disgusting. They were glass-fronted sheds under the grandstand and moisture was constantly streaming down both the glass front and the other side formed by the under-side of the grandstand steps. The sole furniture was wooden two-tier bunks. No coat-hooks, lockers or cupboards were available. Each "den" was fourteen feet wide and about sixty feet long, and sixty to eighty men were packed in each. No toilet rooms or lavatories were installed and to get to the nearest convenience involved crossing an open yard of about fifty yards distance—not a pleasant journey in the rains and snowstorms of that period. Being locked inside from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m., the sixty to eighty men in each "den" had, perforce, to use buckets for toilet purposes. The atmosphere of the places during such period need not be described.

Early Ascot experiences in the matter of sparse rations were repeated here; though they were later considerably improved. Detainees' rations have always been bare, but there was usually oatmeal for porridge, the one food most detainees appreciated. Only at York did they seem in danger of losing this oatmeal, as no issue was made on one occasion for three successive days. This led them to believe that this mainstay of their diet was to be lost; a spirited protest was made and it was again issued on the fourth day and continually thereafter.

A fight begun at Ascot had to be begun all over again for clothing, especially heavier winter wear, which up to then had not been obtained, but despite promise after promise four weeks went by before even the most needy cases obtained essential boots, jackets and overcoats. Only the destitute (as ascertained by a military instigated "means test") were then catered for and others had to wait.

During the first period extra letters above the two issued weekly were very difficult to obtain and were frequently returned, sometimes four to six weeks later as "provoking and unsuitable." This state of affairs was later eased and almost any "special letter" was allowed, but each had to be typed and submitted in quadruplicate. Very little free stationery was issued and pens, ink, pins or clips had to be found by the detainees out of whatever collective resources they possessed.

No outside work was available and the only Government "payment" for work in the camp was the sum of 17/- per week to cover haircutting, shoe-repairing and tailoring for five hundred men. Appeal was made to detainees with means and to outside friends for contributions to a "Welfare Fund," from which one hundred and twenty destitute camp workers were paid a weekly token for service. Working hours varied between four and eight hours a day—wages were from 1/9d. to 4/- per week.

After the first month, the military authorities became much more considerate and understanding than at Ascot and some of the officers said openly that they thought British detainees should receive at least some of the privileges enjoyed by previous alien and refugee inhabitants of the camp.

A canteen, well stocked, though charging high prices, was provided, from which was promised 40 per cent. of the net profits. Only a small portion of the monies thus due was ever received. Twelve months after they had vacated the camp the sum due, estimated to exceed £200, had not been handed over.

Another valued privilege was permission to receive visitors in the canteen, under conditions less reminiscent of prison life, detainees sitting in my part of the room with their visitors and both being allowed to converse with neighbouring detainees or their visitors. (This much-valued concession has not been granted elsewhere before or since.)

Health.—Five detainees, one a qualified doctor, ran the camp hospital, but medical supplies were inadequate and had to be augmented out of the camp funds. These services were not paid for by the authorities although, without them, outside professional assistance would have been essential.

Sanitation and Hygiene.—All lavatories were dark and unlighted and toilet paper was rarely issued—best issue for any one week was **one** roll for fifty men. All camp cleaning materials were sparsely obtainable, and then only after repeated requests. No capes, rubber boots, shovels or litter bins were available. All drains were badly arranged and were frequently choked up, and often remained so for days on end until outside repairers came in. Detainees' offers to carry out repair work was not accepted, and tools for such work were not allowed.

No laundry was provided or possible (though the men improvised a semblance of one in a dark, unused toilet room) and drying facilities were absent.

Education and Entertainment.—Adequate accommodation, heating, lighting, equipment or other facilities were not available for classes and entertainments until the last few weeks before leaving the camp, and then only after repeated requests.

Kitchen.—Arrangements were dirty and inadequate. Cooking and vegetable cleaning had to be carried out in a dark lean-to hut until, after long delay, permission was obtained to build fresh accommodation. Compliments were afterwards paid for the good job made of the kitchen and its cleanliness and attractiveness; thus the 18B detainees left something of infinite value to future users of the camp.

In the last months at this camp, conditions vastly improved, so that detainees did appreciate that the "non-punitive" description of their incarceration was near to realisation, and those who were at York during the last month or so will say that there at least they were treated like human beings.

There-is, however, a sting in the tail. When leaving York to go to Huyton, detainees had their belongings rigorously searched, when very carefully treasured tinned and dried foods were confiscated, as well as recently issued articles of clothing (the latter under promise that new ones would be issued at Huyton) and, as stated before, over £200 carefully collected and hard-earned Welfare Funds, from inside and outside subscriptions and canteen profits, was not passed to their credit, either at Huyton or (up to the time of writing—February, 1942) at Peel.

HUYTON.

A "Penguin" booklet entitled "The Internment of Aliens" supplied a much fuller account of Huyton Internment Camp than can now be attempted. It told of misery so profound that many internees were driven to suicide. By chance, and their own determined efforts, 18B detainees were saved from the same degree of wretchedness suffered by the aliens who had gone that way before, but they too found Huyton a place of extreme discomfort, shockingly lacking in essential facilities and administered with gross ineptitude.

When, in March, 1941, advance parties arrived at the camp, they found utter chaos and unpreparedness so great that no effective efforts could be made to clear things up before the main parties arrived from Ascot and York. Bedding, discarded rags of clothing, scrapped pots and pans and junk of all kinds covered most of the open space in the camp, whilst inside the houses it seemed as if an army of wreckers had been at work. Electric wiring had been slashed through and fittings wrenched from walls; water pipes supplied miniature cataracts from many punctures and drenched ceilings had fallen in; windows were smashed and cupboard doors and other wooden fittings had disappeared, presumably used as fuel.

Perhaps the best comment on the position was the finding after a few days' occupation of the camp of the dead body of one of the previous occupants hidden away under a pile of stretchers in the camp hospital. Officers gave the impression that they had known him to be missing, but only an increasingly unpleasant smell, and not their investigations, led to this discovery.

The camp consisted of four streets of new jerry-built Council houses, the whole surrounded by barbed wire pallisading, surmounted by elevated sentry posts and patrolled by military guards. A four-acre recreation ground was separately wired off and available at certain restricted periods.

The houses, which varied in size, containing from four to seven rooms, were inadequately furnished with trestle tables, forms, a chair or two, and the requisite number of folding metal bedsteads. Strawfilled palliasses served as mattresses, but many were partly filled owing to maldistribution of the straw. Shortage of blankets meant that dirty remnants intended for blackout blinds had to be pressed into service. Cleaning materials, such as dusters and scouring powders, had to be bought by detainees out of their own funds.

The roadways were macadamised, but because of the layout to get from one part of the camp to another often incurred a wide detour. Intervening spaces, between the roads, were at best barren, uneven wastes, and in wet-weather soggy morasses. Around the kitchens and eating accommodation was, usually, a sea of mud, made passable only by liberal dumpings of cinders and pathways of rotting duckboards.

Food.—The kitchens were of an appallingly primitive nature, a corrugated iron roof being slung across supporting posts, to cover a few near-scrap boilers. This strange erection had no walls, and the ovens were but slightly better protected from the weather. Many appeals had to be made, and much time elapsed, before new boilers were installed to replace the original burned out and rusted wrecks. These factors, coupled with severely limited rations, made for a state of affairs where men were literally near-starving, since, through sheer inadequacy of the available equipment, much food was spoiled, and rations reaching the internees were insufficient to satisfy a normal appetite.

At the outset, no facilities were provided whereby the ordinary diet might be supplemented. One fact which will testify to the prevailing conditions is this: a detainee released at the time made it his first duty outside the camp to buy and send back for general distribution a ton of potatoes.

As eating accommodation was unlit, unheated army huts, incapable of seating more than a fraction of the camp population, it was always necessary for hundreds of men to trudge distances of up to half-a-mile in all weathers, fetching their meals from the kitchens to houses; thus it happened that all meals were usually cold before they could be eaten.

Some relief was provided when, after much unnecessary delay, a canteen was opened, selling strictly limited supplies of canned vegetables and fruits, milk, flour and cigarettes. The fortunate few possessing money and sufficient patience to queue for hours were somewhat aided by this development, but inflated prices were charged even for fixed-price proprietary brand goods—the bombardier in charge of the canteen even loaded "puchase tax" on goods such as foodstuffs well known to be free from such levies. The bulk of the unmonied people in the camp, however, had to manage on miserably short commons, only gradually improved as the cookhouse workers' strenuous efforts triumphed over enormous practical difficulties.

One should note that here, as in all other camps, the detainee was left to fend for himself. Having committed a man to internment, the Government apparently recognises no responsibility to see that he is fed. Raw rations are dumped into camp and it is left at that; whether there are men in the camp capable of converting these rations into consumable food, or whether reasonable facilities exist to enable them to do so, is nobody's business.

So tardy were the powers-that-be in acknowledging that, in preparing their own food and cleaning their own quarters the detainees were taking a burden from the shoulders of their gaolers, that for some time at Huyton it was disputed by the military that some remuneration was due to detainees who undertook kitchen and other work involving many hours' work each day. Ultimately, the point was conceded and payment granted, the usual payment being 1/8 per week! When outside working parties were permitted, their earnings were subject to a large deduction to subsidise this payment to camp workers.

Outside Work. Work became available in this way. Very heavy air raids on Liverpool were taking place, and volunteers were called for to assist in demolition and other somewhat dangerous work; these came forward to a total of about one hundred, all with some building experience, and were to be paid by the Huyton Corporation at Trades Union rates of pay for building labourers. This gave hope to many that at least they would be able to send home something substantial, to help their destitute families. Authority stepped in, however, and ruled that only half of their earnings should be credited to them, the balance to go towards a so-called Billeting Allowance, and towards token payments to inside workers. It is surely unique for prisoners to have to pay for their housing and keep.

Military Control.—Inefficiency was the watchword, and to make confusion more confounded the camp was overloaded with officers and N.C.O.'s, whose main occupation seemed to be to interfere with and obstruct one another.

Two Company Officers came into the camp, at irregular hours and not every day, to answer queries and hear complaints. Through them, application had to be made to see other officers, so that delays were prolonged, for without their "chit" it was impossible to gain touch with officers outside the camp wire. Illustrating the position is the case where a small list of paints, easily obtainable from any ironmonger or hardware dealer, was desired for the Concert Room—an army hut converted for this use by detainees themselves. The request was actually passed through twenty-one N.C.O.'s and officers before being satisfied.

Roll calls, during which the whole population of the camp, often including cookhouse staff, lined up in one of the roads or in the recreation field, were exhibitions of sheer stupidity. It seemed certain that, for some time, the correct roll was not known, so that sometimes, after the whole camp had been waiting in line for two or three hours, after they had been checked and re-checked by name, the count was still in dispute. In one case, a man found himself included twice, once under his own name and again under his business name, and another name on the roll was that of a man released weeks before from Ascot. These foolish happenings went on for weeks, until there was adopted the commonsense system, practised in all other house camps, of counting detainees before or inside their houses.

Visits.—It is believed that the Intelligence Officers were responsible for the very strict conditions governing visits from relatives and friends for a period at this camp.

Inside the army hut where visits were held, two trestle tables were placed edge to edge to impose a separation of at least four feet between visitor and detainee. Detainees sat elbow to elbow down one side; visitors similarly, on the other. Intimate domestic matters and private business affairs had to be shouted across that table, each couple (together with children, who were not allowed to go to their fathers) trying to retain the thread of conversation amid this babel; while all the time, prowling to and fro, listening first to this conversation and then to that, moved a most offensively mannered, sour-tongued Intelligence Officer. These were the delights of a visit, after prolonged separation, experienced by wives, families and friends, many of whom had travelled two hundred miles and more at expense they could ill-afford, for the bare half hour's conversation allowed.

Such was life at Huyton; dull, depressing and oppressive. So it went on, building up resentment and bitterness which found its expression later on, following the move to the Isle of Man.

HOLLOWAY.

"Where the weak sex were tortured."

Holloway Prison has housed many strange inmates and through its gloomy, desolate passages and wings have passed not alone the dregs of human society, but women whose names are now honoured throughout the world as pioneers and whose record of public service

entitles them by public consent to the honours which have since been conferred upon them. Under the great Victoria Tower in the Embankment Gardens at Westminster stands the statue raised to one such woman (unveiled with ceremony and solemn state by the Prime Minister of the day who paid the highest tribute to the integrity and patriotism of the woman he was honouring) but who in her Holloway days was execrated, denounced and derided by that other Prime Minister who, nearly twenty years earlier, had imprisoned her and hundreds of her followers. Yet with this, and many other lessons before them, Governments never learn! They still commit the same follies, follow the same petty methods of political persecution and hatred, until again the wheel turns a full circle and the world gazes upon them with contempt and ridicule. So in 1940 Holloway once again opened its great steel-studded doors to receive within its sordid tentacles a body of women drawn from every type and class of society, from youth to old age, who were to endure without charge or trial for months and years, that timeless detention which even the most degraded convicted criminal is not called upon to endure! Between the two periods, however, the deterioration of the national character which had made it possible to prostitute every known sense of fair play, to violate the great principles upon which English Constitutional Law had been created throughout the long ages of the upward struggle for liberty, had been self-evident to all who had watched the scene with discerning eyes—for whereas in the earlier imprisonments the women had challenged the existing laws, and were brought to trial in the Courts of Justice, in the later period their counterparts who had broken no law, but were nevertheless refused the inalienable right of trial and without charge, were herded into prison cells, there to linger for various periods under conditions and in an atmosphere which were and are a disgrace to those responsible. Yet even in the earlier period the trials of those days brought to light the methods which an unscrupulous administration is prepared to employ against those who dare to challenge its corruption. In the great Conspiracy Trial at the Old Bailey in 1912, Counsel for the Defence, the famous Mr. Timothy Healy, K.C., addressing the Court said:

> "I almost hesitate to call this a legal enquiry, I regard it as a vindictive political act. . . . It is not the women who are on trial. It is the system of Government that is on trial. It is the method of rolling the dice by fifty-four Counts in an indictment without saying to what any bit of evidence is attributable.' The system is on its trial, a system whereby every innocent act in public life is sought to be enmeshed in a conspiracy."

Here is exactly the case against those who filled Holloway in 1940 with innocent and defenceless women, innocent because uncharged and untried, defenceless because all the ordinary channels of defence afforded to the lowest and most degraded criminals were dammed up against them, stigmatised by imputation at least as traitors to their country, execrated by press and public without any opportunity or means to meet their castigators, without hope of release or relief, however exemplary their conduct, condemned to linger in prison, many for years, and some to be eventually deported and cut off from contact with their fellows for an indefinite and unknown period of time and treated accordingly by those into whose custody they had now been so ruthlessly handed!

What manner of women were these and how did they meet the disaster and tragedy that had come upon them? And of what manner were their gaolers and how did they deal with the situation which now faced them? Under what conditions did these women live out their unhappy days? What did they do and how did they pass the grim and long hours now assigned to them as an existence?

There were of course several categories. There were the alien women housed togther in one wing with those of so-called hostile origin or association, amongst whom were self-confessed professional prostitutes, suspected drug runners, and even white slave traffickers. No distinction was drawn between such types and the normal family woman and young and innocent girls, some still in their teens. They were all the victims of the dreaded 18B Regulation! These had been interned from the summer and Autumn of 1939 onward and were already fully established when, in May 1940, the political prisoners began to arrive. The first batch of political prisoners was small in number and was placed in B Wing, where for a few weeks they lived at first in close confinment, and then in association, until they were assigned to F Wing, which was now to house the influx which began in June 1940 and to continue until the wing was full to overflowing.

In both categories of course there were women of every class and type. Elderly women, middle aged women, and young girls, titled women, professional women, wage earners, working women, mothers torn from their tiny children, their homes ruined, their lives wrecked. Tragedy was all around and no one could look upon that scene without sensing the mental agony that enveloped them, collectively and individually. Yet by that astonishing quality possessed by those whose ideals and standards dominate their inner conscience, they at once began to show a genius for adaptability to their strange surroundings.

Their courage and endurance must for all time remain an example unsurpassed in any period of our history. Many showed a nobility of character that won for them the gratitude of all who saw and knew them, and which eventually broke down the hostility of those who held them in their power. Who shall pay a fitting tribute to these women? What reward, when the hour comes to do them honour, can be a measure of their fortitude, dignity, and courage? Until that time those who lived and suffered with them are proud to have been allowed to bear with them the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune that met them on every side.

Those who enter Holloway through the massive doors see before them a great courtyard from which the main building rises, majestic in structure, said to be a replica of the main front of Warwick Castle. The entrance to the Central Hall is flanked on either side by great stone pillars surmounted by two enormous stone dragons, diabolical both in design and form. Their enormous and viscious fangs are fully exposed in the jaws of these monsters. Their great claws hold down the begrimed stonework while in one of these is clenched a gigantic key, symbol of the gaoler's power over his pitiful victim; Lock and Key is the predominating sound in the dread silence that envelops a prison cell, Lock and Key the tragic sound that signalizes the death of liberty to each individual as the great prison doors close behind him and the outer world disappears. And now this sound is hardly ever to be absent from the ears of the prisoners. Every officer carries a forbidding looking bunch of keys attached to a steel chain which engirdles her waist, and wherever a prisoner goes, wherever she may be, the sound of the keys and the chain seems to rise above every other noise—keys and more keys, chains and more chains, everywhere, which to the normal person eventually becomes ludicrous. But perhaps the most haunting thing in a prison is the air of suspicion which hangs over every part of the building. Everyone is afraid of everyone else, afraid to speak, afraid to look, afraid of the unknown. "Walls have ears" wrote an old lag. But not alone have walls ears but everything and everybody seems to be full of ears and in no other place on earth one would think does rumour emerge and spread so quickly as in the inside of a prison. It was once said that the prisoners knew everything even before it happened. That, no doubt, is an exaggeration but it is a fact everything is known so quickly in the prison cell that it often seems incomprehensible to the newcomer. This is the more remarkable since no officer ever speaks to a prisoner except on prison business and each habitually wears an expression of complete detachment which makes many of them resemble the wax figures of Madame Tussaud. Until one gets used to these women they seem like sub-human creatures from whom all human interest and feeling have been extracted. They are of course most afraid of their fellow officers, afraid to speak or give expression of any sort lest they be reported for some breach of discipline, and they behave as though some hidden eye were always upon them, for they know too that not only walls have ears, but eyes in addition. The unfortunate conditions under which they are compelled to work creates a vulgar insolence, as a kind of protective armour against any approach and as time goes on they become aggressive and noisy, and many of course tyrannical and cruel. Their raucous voices seem to resound through the wings like a rasping saw and they appear to take a peculiar delight in shouting on all and every occasion.

Yet the political prisoners soon grew to understand the position of these unfortunate women and with the exception of a very few were soon on good terms, at any rate with those officers who were regularly in charge of them. On their side these officers at first so antagonistic and unpleasant, soon came to respect and recognise the position of the political prisoners and did all in their limited power to ease the situation. Indeed nothing was more striking to a detached observer than the change of attitude wrought in the prison officer towards the detainee and it must be said here that it was the exemplary behaviour and constant co-operation of the political prisoners themselves which brought about this change in the prison officer. By their bearing alone an attitude of respect and admiration took the place of the earlier attitude of insolence and intolerance, and to-day in Holloway the political prisoner's lot is eased and softened because the original political prisoners bore themselves with such patience and dignity, even in the most provocative circumstances. Their conduct entirely disarmed their gaolers as it were and made life more tolerable for both the officer and the prisoner.

According to Command Paper 6162, the political prisoners were to be housed in prisons where certain treatment was to be accorded to them as to association and recreation in addition to other conditions in order that their detention should be custodial rather than punitive. It has now been brought to light that the prisons chosen were unsuitable to enable these recommendations to be carried out and in fact that it was impossible to carry them out in the existing circumstances. This however, was not true of Holloway and, so far as was possible, facilities were granted to the women internees, which went some way towards making life more tolerable than in the men's prisons.

Shortly after the first arrests, the Woman Commissioner visited Holloway and arrangements were made to transfer the early political arrivals to F. Wing, a larger and more commodious wing which had been used previously by young delinquents. This wing had a large flagged hall running the length of the whole wing from which the cells opened off on each floor. It had a kitchen and scullery and several baths; it also contained a room for recreation and games and long tables ran the length of the hall with forms and chairs where meals could be taken in association. When the first political internees were transferred to this wing they cleaned it and made it habitable and eventually they themselves organised and ran the wing, of which a senior officer was in sole charge. And now began a life and existence strange beyond words to most of these who had to endure it! The dreary sordidness of the whole

scene defies all description, the dirt of Holloway seems peculiar to itself, it appears to ooze from the walls and the black stone floors of every cell and gives the impression that it is part and parcel of the place. The windows of the cells are begrimed with the dirt of ages and dust and fluff covers the floor, however often the broom is used. The cell becomes the home of every prisoner and most of the hours of her life in prison are spent within its narrow confines. All her possessions of the moment live with her—her clothes, her food, her toilet accessories. She washes, dresses, eats, sleeps and does everything else within the limit of its space. How to keep it tidy is a conundrum, how to keep it clean under such circumstances a miracle. The accumulation which gradually gathers in every cell baffles description and the least said about some of these the better, but many were gradually turned into living quarters characteristic of their occupants.

The prison food at Holloway was really horrible—there was no attempt to vary it nor to make it in any way palatable either in appearance or taste. It is prepared and cooked in the central kitchen of the prison and each wing carries its own food from kitchen to wing, whether that wing houses convicted prisoners or internees. In this way the internee constantly came in contact with the convicted women, all being lined up outside the kitchens to await their turn for the food for the particular wing they represented.

Those who carried the food in this way were known as carriers and each wing organised its carriers for the week, a different set of carriers discharging these duties on each day. The carriers also had to carry the rubbish and waste from their wings and here the first conflict with the authorities and the political prisoners occurred. They were requested to sort the rubbish in addition to carrying it to the incinerators. This they at once refused to do and very properly the authorities did not attempt to enforce such a degrading rule upon the political women. The writer of this section was a political prisoner and therefore lived in F. Wing most of the time and writes therefore with more knowledge of the life in that wing than of the conditions in the other Wings. But it is a fact that in this matter of the sorting of the rubbish attempts were made to enforce it in other wings and that those who refused were severely punished by solitary confinement in what was called the black cell, a terrible form of punishment which should long since have been banished from prison routine in a civilised country.

In general, however, the internees gave full co-operation to the prison authorities and observed, as far as these were known to them, the existing regulations. The strictest discipline was maintained and the attitude and treatment in this respect was precisely the same as that meted out to the convicted women, save that at first in the case of the internee this attitude was one of marked antagonism, every opportunity being given to emphasize the contempt and suspicion with which they were regarded.

In extenuation it must be said that these prison officers have been trained solely to deal with and handle convicted criminals. Their lives have been spent in an atmosphere of penal work and discipline and it could not be expected that overnight they could completely change this mental attitude to those placed in their custody.

Every effort had been made by the Government and press alike to bring into discredit those detained under Regulation 18B and the most fantastic stories appeared in the daily papers deliberately working up public opinion against these innocent people. One example of this is made clear in the following letter sent on behalf of the political prisoners of F. Wing to the Chief Woman Commissioner:

"TO THE CHIEF WOMAN COMMISSIONER.

In an article which we here attach, in the "Daily Express" of August 3rd purporting to represent the views of the Prison Officers' Association, a number of false and misleading statements appear, which are obviously meant to refer to members and sympathisers of the late British Union and which are presented in such a way that they are calculated to stir up public feeling against those of us at present detained in this prison. This view is borne out by the fact that this same newspaper in common with others has for several days carried articles complaining bitterly of the conditions to which alien internees are subjected.

Before such charges we are at the moment helpless to defend ourselves and we have unanimously agreed to make an earnest appeal to you to help us against so grave an injustice. The position we here set out:

(1) So far from being accorded special privileges (which might have been expected in view of our nationality) we are detained in exactly the same conditions as are those of alien and hostile origin in this prison.

(2) Those conditions are laid down by the authorities and to the best of our knowledge we have adhered strictly to every condition and rule laid upon us, being willing at all times to co-operate and assist the authorities to the utmost and realising the difficulties that have been created by the present abnormal situation.

(3) To suggest as does this newspaper article that "the existing staff have to act as waiters and waitresses to Fascist sympathisers detained under the Defence Regulations" is utterly untrue. The duties of the staff have nothing whatever to do with us. They are laid down by the authorities and no officer has ever been asked to wait upon us. We do our own work having organised it we hope to the satisfaction of those in charge of us; we carry our own food from kitchen to wing, we wait at table upon ourselves and wash up under a voluntarily organised system.

(4) As to visits, like every other detained person here we are strictly limited to one visit a week, to two letters outgoing and to the same number ingoing, as are all other internees.

In this wing a large proportion of our people are so poor that no less than 34 have responded to the request by the authorities for prison labour in order that they may earn the 3/- per week which such labour is paid. We know nothing of bottles of champagne in this wing, most of us ordering only goods which we can afford to supplement the prison diet.

(6) With reference to the increased work of the Prison Officers, we have recognised this from the beginning and by our conduct have tried to mitigate this so far as is in our power, but the truth lies in the fact that the extra burden is due to the increase in the prison population, the result of the Government's present policy.

We would finally point out that we are innocent both in law and in fact, no charge of any kind save that of a political nature ever having been made against us, no trial permitted us and no opportunity given to defend ourselves against those who are not only our political opponents but who in addition are our prosecutors, judge and jury. Hitherto political prisoners in this country have never been subject to the restrictions of convicted prisoners nor attacks of this nature from outside from which we are quite unable to protect ourselves. In the full belief that those who have watched our behaviour under what for us are very humiliating conditions, and in addition which we regard as utterly unjust and unfair will see that justice is done to us in this matter, we present to you this plea, knowing that it will not be made in vain nor turned aside by those who at the moment are in authority over us.

Signed on behalf of those in F. Wing."

To describe the personal tragedies that daily haunted the prison would be impossible, but they were ever present and the mental agony was felt everywhere.

Some women had been torn from their tiny children, having to leave them without time or opportunity to make arrangements for their well-being; some were penniless, ruined in a night, some had their husbands and sons arrested and for weeks could get no news as to where they had been taken or what was happening to them; some were ill and totally unfit to be placed in such an atmosphere and there were even pregnant women, forced to face the horrible ordeal of arrest and imprisonment in circumstances unprecedented. Complete lack of human sympathy was the routine attitude of their gaolers and that perhaps was the most fearful feature of these inhuman proceedings.

Some women had brought tiny children with them and in F. Wing a small baby lived in a dark damp cell for months with its unfortunate mother who, however hard she struggled to make the conditions decent, could not do so.

In other wings similar conditions pertained and the whole scene was one of desolation and misery for months on end. The cold and damp of the wings and the cells added to the discomfort and the wonder is that the bulk of the women were able to endure, without a serious breakdown, treatment and conditions of such a cruel and callous nature.

Lest, however, it be thought that these conditions were deliberately created, it must be pointed out that as time went on, the conditions improved and gradually this amelioration was of a very marked character until now the ordeal is greatly lessened and the life at Holloway is less unendurable. What is to be regretted is that these ameliorations were not introduced at the beginning of the whole unpleasant business.

Air-raids were of course a great anxiety, but the authorities had the good sense to order the cells to be unlocked at the sound of the siren and to allow association. Nevertheless women confined in a prison during such an ordeal had the extra anxiety of being away from their loved ones and of being in a constant state of fear as to what might be happening to them, for many hours had to pass before they could get news or information as to their safety.

One extraordinary example of how the normal ordinary person can accustom himself to the most gruesome surroundings may be given. One of the condemned cells in Holloway was early discovered by some of the more curious and observant spirits amongst the internees. To the ordinary person such places represent a feeling of awe and horror, to others a morbid if repelling interest—and so it was in Holloway, but gradually the morbid interest gave way to complete indifference, and the writer of this section, who at first regarded this dreadful spot with horror and dread, came finally to live in the wing where it stood and in a cell almost adjoining it and to take her meals daily and for months outside the actual basement cell known as the drop, without the slightest apprehension or dread. In fact it was scarcely noticed or remembered by those who daily lived in close proximity to its grim walls, windows and doors. So does familiarity breed contempt, even in prison.

PORT ERIN.

At 10.30 p.m. on the 16th June, 1941, the first party of British women left Holloway Prison for the Isle of Man. The party consisted of forty-two women and seven children, all of the latter under seven and two of them infants in arms.

Before leaving, those of the group who had money in their accounts were allowed to draw 10/- for expenses on the journey. Those without money set forth penniless, neither were they provided with any food.

Army lorries were used for the journey to Euston Station and the women were escorted by policewomen seemingly of a most uncouth and ignorant type.

At Euston Station press photographers were well to the fore, rushing about trying to photograph the party. The police gave instructions that no photographs were to be taken, but by this time, of course, the attention of the large crowds on the platform had been focussed on the 18B group and there was a general rush to stare at the party.

At about 5.30 the next morning Fleetwood was reached and here, after a long trudge, complete with luggage, through the town, a light breakfast (tea and margarine) was served.

After this came yet another walk through the town to a dilapidated hall — a most uncomfortable and primitive place—where the members of the party were expected to settle down for the six or seven hours which must elapse before the boat could be boarded. The police in charge, who were going out in turn for meals, were asked several times whether any food could be obtained, if only milk for

the children for whom no provision had been made, but, according to the police, nothing could be procured.

At last came the next move—on to the boat. The women were hustled below into a small saloon, and there they had to stay until the boat arrived at Douglas. There were still no food to be had and although a few cups of tea were obtained (paid for by members of the party) most of the tea had been spilt by the stewards before it reached the saloon.

Most of the children were sick and the others were crying from hunger. Two of the older children had whooping cough and they coughed and vomited all the time, causing much anxiety to the mothers of the other children with whom they were shut in.

Douglas was reached in the early evening and then came the worst part of the whole unpleasant journey.

As in the case of the men sent to Peel, the Manx papers had done everything in their power to inflame public opinion against the detainees even before they reached the island. The time of their arrival had been published and the local inhabitants undoubtedly encouraged to make the trudge through the town as unpleasant as possible. The children were placed in a van waiting by the quay, but the rest of the party, by this time completely tired out and very hungry, had to walk by the longest route from the quay to the station. The streets were thronged with people, most of whom made abusive remarks. At Douglas Station, there were still more jeering crowds, but at last the party was aboard the train bound for Port Erin.

On arrival, they were taken into the station waiting room, where much time was spent by a large number of people who were pouring over the lists to ascertain to which particular boarding houses the various members of the party had been allocated. By about 9.30—twenty-three hours after leaving Holloway, during which time one very light meal had been provided—most of the detainees had reached their new "homes."

The Port Erin camp, staffed by a group of civil servants, is a great improvement on Holloway Prison, but with a little organisation it could be very greatly improved.

On admission to Holloway Prison, there is no proper medical examination, but at least there is the farce of appearing before a doctor who asks "Are you well?" and occasionally, apparently to vary the formula, "Are you pregnant?" but in Port Erin even this formality is omitted. In its earlier days when the camp housed thousands of aliens and was crowded to such an extent that internees were sleeping two in a bed, on several occasions landladies had been considerably alarmed to find that some of their boarders were suffering from venereal disease.

Soon after arriving at Port Erin, it was found that several of the other children included in the 18B party had contracted whooping cough and one, an infant only a few months old, died a few months later from the complaint. Many of the local children also developed whooping cough.

Many of the 18B women had hoped that in Port Erin there would be work available which would enable them to earn a little money. They were soon disillusioned, however. There were many jobs in the various administrative sections of the camp, but these were all filled by aliens, and it was generally believed that instructions had been given that 18B's were not to be allowed to work, this despite the fact that they were at least as competent as the alien internees. One girl—a most capable worker—was offered domestic work, which she was most anxious to accept in order that she might be in a position to send a little money to her mother, a widow whose three sons as well as this daughter had been interned. She was, however, refused permission to accept the employment.

There was a department known as the "Service Exchange," where orders were taken from local inhabitants for knitted garments. The civil servant in charge was a woman who knew nothing at all about knitting and who made a point of employing as her assistants aliens as ignorant as herself on the subject. There was constant friction and most people who offered their services, for which the remuneration was quite inadequate, soon gave up working for the Exchange as the small amount earned was not worth all the trouble involved.

One or two of the younger detainees were offered work in a local potato crisp factory. They were to work for about forty-two hours a week for a wage of 15/-. Out of this 15/-, howeverer, they were compelled to pay 7/6 towards their maintenance, 2/6 to the Welfare Fund, the purpose of which fund remained a mystery to most detainees, and at least 1/6 to provide a substitute to undertake the household duties which each detainee was forced to perform. This left a balance of 3/6 per week for forty-two hours' work in a most unhealthy atmosphere.

There were no particular hardships in the camp, the degree of comfort of the individual detainee depending on the particular boarding house in which she happened to be lodged. In some boarding houses the food was very poor, whereas in others there were no grounds for complaint in this connection. The life is a very boring one with very little to employ one's time and the delays in receiving correspondence (for a letter to take three weeks to arrive from England is not unusual) are so long that there is a feeling of being completely cut off from home and friends. For a month or so it can be endured, but when the months drag on into years, without for most people even an occasional visit from friends or relations, it becomes more and more depressing and cannot fail to have a bad effect on the physical and mental condition of the detainee.

THE ISLE OF MAN DETENTION BILL.

(This Bill enabled the Government to deport 18B detainees to the Isle of Man).

Many people outside the barbed wire detention camps were surprised at the indignation that the Bill aroused amongst detainees. They could not understand the fierce opposition which, to the extent of their limited powers, detainees put up against the measure.

The general public probably reasoned along the following lines: these people are going to be sent to a safe spot, where the conditions of internment will be less punitive, so why should they complain? Such an outlook might be expected, for we live in an age where it has been regarded as normal to put personal advantage before community service; and this war, whilst showing up many high lights of personal sacrifice and heroism, has also exposed dark places where self-seeking has run rampant.

The detainees did not want removal to a safe place. The British people among them resented deportation from their native land and wanted a fair hearing before their own people, an opportunity to prove their innocence of any treachery or traitorous intent, rather than to be tucked safely away out of sight, out of touch with their families and business affairs. Already, large numbers of them had been working from Huyton camp, Liverpool, constructing air raid shelters and carrying out demolition work after raids, when no other labour was available. They wanted to be of further assistance and local Government officials in Liverpool certainly regarded their removal with much misgiving.

Turn now to the Government and to consideration of their motives. They had not previously displayed an anxiety to improve conditions of detention, although that now proved a useful argument, and useful too, perhaps, in establishing in the public mind that the men concerned were "traitors" enjoying ease and comfort in safe and beautiful surroundings.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, introducing the Bill on the 25th March, 1941, said the transfer would make control and supervision easier; and that modified and special arrangements would be made as to visits. Over a year later, there is still no sign of these "modified and special arrangements."

Mr. R. R. Stokes, speaking on the same day, pointed out that the move would effectively cut off the detainees from their legal advisers, and that, indeed, has been the case, since no Isle of Man solicitor is known who is in a position to act for the detainees in regard to 18B regulations, and the cost of having a solicitor travel over from the mainland, meaning at least two days away from his office, would be prohibitive. It is virtually impossible, having regard to the delays in correspondence (letters taking several days each way) to satisfactorily handle such matters through the post. That is surely adequate reply to those who claim that no legal rights have been lost through this deportation.

What Mr. Morrison did not admit either is that a further barrier has now been erected between the detainees and the Home Office—the Isle of Man Government—whose word seems to have become final in details of food, clothing and other supplies, supplying of canteen and otherwise. Members of Parliament have learned of these things only through letters from individual internees. The Home Secretary inferred that it was impossible and well-nigh unthinkable that the Manx Government should at any time dispute the direction of H.M. Government at Westminster; yet since that time in at least one matter (Conscription of Women) the House of Keys has flatly repudiated and challenged the dictates of the House of Commons. This can happen at any time that Manx authorities feel strongly enough to exercise their rights. It may happen at any time.

The main point, for the moment, is that this body of men, this bogey so long paraded before the public, is now safely out of the way, and can at any moment be cut off entirely from contact with relatives and legal advisers. Moreover, a more sinister thing has happened, in the creation of a precedent. In the House of Commons in July, 1940, demands came from a number of Members that deportation to one of the Colonies, or to Canada, should be ordered. In spite of Government assurances, there is no certainty that at some future time there may not be decided upon and forced through Parliament a Bill to authorise deportation to some more distant part of the world.

Home Office assurances are not a sufficient safeguard. The Home Secretary has most solemnly assured the House that no British subject has been deported to the Isle of Man prior to the introduction of the Isle of Man Detention Bill. This is totally untrue. There is still a man at Peel camp who was sent to the island long before the Isle of Man Detention Bill was passed. Not only this, but there is the case of a British subject who was sent to Canada among alien internees. It is true that these were isolated cases, but even as such they show that scant attention has been paid to civil rights in such matters, and they are fair indication of the measure of confidence to which Government assurances are entitled.

Thus it will be seen that the Isle of Man Detention Bill was a bad measure in that it seriously affected detainees' interests; that it enabled an intermediary body, the Manx Government, to exercise influence in detainees' affairs, and that it positively established a highly dangerous precedent and made it possible to outcast blameless citizens.

The Bill passed its third reading on the 3rd April, 1941, and removal from Huyton to Peel, Isle of Man, began on the 12th May.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

Whenever the control of detainees' affairs has been left in the hands of military represen-

tatives the result has been confusion and muddle with much consequent discomfort and hardship falling to 18B prisoners. Outside of normal army routine the responsible officers have, almost without exception, displayed shameful incompetence, complete lack of understanding of their own and detainees' position, and an utter unrepentant slackness towards duties which were clearly theirs and the adequate performance of which was vitally necessary to general welfare. It was an injustice to those detained that they should have been passed over to the mercies of such men, and it was grossly unfair to the officers themselves that they should have been given tasks for which they were obviously unfitted. As if they had been haphazardly recruited from various walks of civilian life, without any reference to aptitude or suitability to the job in hand, they bungled their way along from one mistake to another, most of them themselves resentful because they had joined the service as would-be fighting men only to find themselves appointed gaolers to a collection of their fellow countrymen. This same resentment was all too evident in their permanent attitude of indifference to the tasks now alloted to them.

To detail each irritation, each pettifogging stupidity, or even each major example of maladministration would be outside the scope of this present document, but in order to demonstrate the impossibility of detainees correcting the conduct of detention camps and counterbalancing military ineptitude it is necessary to explain how administration is organised, and to show instances of the manner in which the complained of slackness and inefficiency have been insuperable barriers to the improvement of the detainees' conditions.

Theoretically all detention camps were given a measure of self-government in that an internal detainee administration, comprised of a Camp Leader and staff, were made nominally responsible for the smooth running of the camps. Excellent as this idea would have been with enlightened application, it has fallen down badly because in practice the authority of the Camp Leader and his staff ends abruptly at the barbed wire, and all the efforts on the part of the detainees' representatives met with rebuffs and obstruction from the military on whom they were dependent and to whom they were, perforce, subservient. Minor reforms, affecting such matters as camp cleanliness and meal service, could be, and were, introduced by internal volunteer administration, but events proved that these offices were chiefly intended to shift much of the "donkey work" from the shoulders of the military, to bottleneck and narrow down a spate of complaints, all representations being ordered to pass through the camp office, and to "take the can back" and generally shoulder the responsibility for the shortcomings of the military administration.

A Camp Leader's lot under military jurisdiction was particularly unhappy; if he did not speak up for the legitimate disgruntled detainees, he was subject to the kicks of his comrades in misfortune, and if he did speak up in strong enough terms to capture the unwilling attention of the military officers he was likely to be sent back to a prison as an agitator and unruly influence in the camp.

Good fellows as some Camp Leaders undoubtedly have been, the results they produced could never be more than a reflection of the Camp Commandant's measure of co-operation. Where co-operation was non-existent, as in most detention camps, the Camp Leader's record is an unfair commentary on his organising and administrative ability, and at no time was it in any way true to say that the conditions endured by detainees were due to their own lethargy or lack of zeal.

When the first 18B camp opened at Ascot, the Commandant, Major Veitch, addressed assembled detainees, the keynote of his harangue being the necessity for co-operation between detainee and military. His speech was warmly applauded by the detainees, who believed that it was made in good faith. It seemed to portend a much more reasonable attitude than had been encountered in prison establishments. Major Veitch then asked the assembly to appoint a Camp Leader and accepted the strongly supported nomination of Mr. T. P. Moran. He further indicated his desire that Moran should be assisted by detainee Lieut. Hamer. These appointments being generally approved, the era of "co-operation" began. A few weeks later, after Moran and Hamer had threatened drastic action in regard to certain major grievances, both men were hurriedly transferred to Brixton Gaol.

Since Command Paper 6162 refers expressly to conditions of detention in prisons, it has never been clear if its terms were intended to apply to detention camps, but it is fair to assume that the spirit, if not the letter, of 6162 was for application wherever detainees happened to be lodged. Yet at Ascot the military authorities had no official knowledge of the Command Paper, and they would inaugurate no improvement until action had been separately sanctioned by the Home Office. Contact and co-operation between the military and the Home Office seemed so inadequate as to be almost non-existent. There were departments that played Box and Cox with one another on every subject. To every request or complaint submitted by the Camp Leader the same formula was returned. The procedure was as follows:

(1) The Camp Leader registered his complaint.

(2) The Camp Commandant agreed that the complaint was justified and that the alteration or innovation was desirable, but pointed out that he had no authority to attend to the matter and must approach the Home Office.

(3) The Home Office, by letter, acknowledged the reasonableness of the complaint, but explained that they can do nothing without approaching the War Office, which controlled the camp and supplied the guard.

And so it would go on, with no department willing to accept any responsibility, and all of them "passing the buck" from one to the other, while the complaint still received no attention, and deplorable conditions still prevailed.

The only times the military showed any punctilious regard for rules was in the application of their own regulations, which usually made for the acute discomfort of detainees. Supreme example of this was in the conduct of Roll Calls.

Ignoring the sane expedient of counting men in their appointed rooms, and so having an immediate check on the identity of any absentee, it was the military practice to herd out the entire camp personnel on to an open compound at 7 a.m. Here, often in a muddy morass, detainees stood in line while counted and re-counted separately by a sergeant and an officer, who could rarely find agreement in their figures. This musical comedy routine was accompanied by an elaborate ceremonial involving a march on and off of guards with fixed bayonets, much grave saluting between officers and other ranks, and a mock solemnity that made the whole procedure a travesty of military efficiency. Throughout this fantastic burlesque, often stretched out to as long as an hour's duration (at Huyton it sometimes lasted three hours), detainees were seriously expected to maintain a demeanour of respect!

Roll Call ended when the junior officer had reported "All correct" to his senior, and when the guard had been marched away, but then, like as not, some mistake would be discovered on the military side of the wire and the farce would be repeated over again.

Roll calls were at first held three times daily; later they were cut to twice per day. At Peel they are still taken twice each day, but under police control, with such efficiency and despatch that they give the minimum possible irritation.

It is important to note that these confusions on Roll Calls were quite unnecessary and were usually the result of military failure to keep proper records. There have been several occasions when muddle was solely due to the fact that men were supposed missing when they had been previously released or transferred.

There were many features of camp life in which military co-operation was an absolute essential. This is particularly apparent in the conduct of such matters as "special" letter facilities, legal affairs, handling of detainees' monies, and the receiving and sending of petitions and other data relative to detainees' cases.

At all camps other than Ascot it has been the practice for officers to make themselves available within the camp, at certain fixed hours, for consultation on these matters. At Ascot a much more complicated system was employed. Anyone wishing to approach the military on any subject had to hand in a chit, outlining the nature of his business, at the camp office before 9 a.m. After the military had been notified of all such requests, a list would be returned to the camp setting out which officers would see which detainees, and at what time. The detainees must report to the gate at that time and wait in the open, irrespective of weather conditions, until it was indicated that the officer was ready to see them. The waiting period varied from half an hour to as much as five hours! There were even occasions when men anxious to conduct affairs vital to the well-being of their dependants outside were put off with the plea that such and such an officer was on leave. When the interviews were finally conceded, they were usually handled in a way to which the gravest exception must be taken.

Rather than recognising it as their duty to attend to these matters, the military always viewed requests as if they had been asked to perform some personal favour. They responded grudgingly and usually made each interview the occasion for prying into the personal affairs of the detainees who came before them. It is not suggested that all officers comported themselves the same way, but certainly most of them followed the unpleasant example set by one Capt. Petrie, a pompous windbag who exerted preponderant influence in detainees' affairs at Ascot and Huyton, and during early days at Peel.

But for the voluntary detainee organisation within the camp, these early days at Ascot must have been a nightmare of turmoil. The military apparently considered their full responsibility discharged when they had dumped the daily raw ration materials inside the camp gates. All cooking and other camp routine fell to detainee labour, not only unassisted but usually positively obstructed by military organisation of the camp. A typical example of the difficulties created was the fact that the Camp Leader was expected to keep seven hundred men informed of military orders, which were varied or added to from day to day. Applications for a typewriter for office use were unavailing and but for the emergence of a Camp Secretary, who volunteered use of his own portable machine, the position would have been impossible.

With internal organisation somewhat stabilised, the Camp Leader and his assistants made representations to the military upon the following main points:

(1) The subject of rations. These had been below the amounts specified on an official statement of rations.

(2) The subject of delivery and despatch of letters, at that time only effected after inordinate delays.

(3) An effort to speed up Advisory Committee hearings. At the then rate of conducting these hearings it was reasonably calculated that it would take over two years before all cases could be heard.

(4) Request for issue of essential clothing to destitute detainees.

(5) Request for issue of tools and cleaning materials.

(6) Request for arrangements for some form of remunerated labour for destitute detainees.

(7) Request for a canteen or other facility for obtaining cigarettes and supplementary rations.

(8) Subject of visits by friends and relatives.

(9) Enquiries regarding whereabouts of impounded property and articles missing from parcels. (Pilfering makes a long-standing complaint against military representatives responsible for handling parcels).

(10) Application for essential structural repairs and alterations to camp buildings (this covered subject of leaking roofs, ventilation, etc.).

It was after making strong representations on these points that Moran and Hamer were transferred to Brixton Prison as potential trouble-makers.

One practice for evading military responsibility at Ascot Camp was the playing of "general post" with the army officials. It worked this way.

An officer would be appointed Welfare Officer. He would listen carefully to representations on the subject of camp welfare and give solemn assurances that some action would follow. After a week without any result, he would be again approached, only to inform his questioners that he had handed over the position of Welfare Officer to another officer, who must henceforth be approached on all these matters. For days one could chase around from one officer to another, only to find, when thoroughly tired of the whole business, that the original Welfare Officer had reverted to the job and was now all set to begin the pernicious game all over again.

Conditions obtaining at the various camps are briefly described elsewhere in this document, reference to the appropriate section will plainly disclose that it was inept administration alone that was to blame for much of the hardship endured. It is noteworthy that the strongest complaint against military administration is earned by those conducting matters at Ascot and Huyton, where the same set of officers were in control. Major Veitch, Capt. Shaul, Capt. Petrie, Capt. Collins and their staffs were the people whose control brought strongest resentment and it was the two last mentioned officers, Petrie and Collins, who, by their insufferable boorishness and arrant stupidity, did most to create a temper for the revolt at Peel, Isle of Man. If Major Veitch could claim that nothing he did personally calls for complaint, nevertheless he cannot evade all responsibility for what happened under his command.

After a joint petition from detainees to the Captain, Petrie and Collins were transferred, their places being taken by lesser irritants, Intelligence Officers Captain Harris and Lieutenant Brown. This was followed by a short period during which it seemed that the Peel Commandant, Major Francis, was intent on redressing grievances. Unfortunately, Major Francis was suddenly and inexplicably removed to make way for a Major Dunn. Attempts to improve conditions ceased, military frigidity increased, correspondence delays re-occurred and the parcel post arrangements became deplorable. The canteen service remained absolutely inadequate, and generally it was apparent that grievances were no longer receiving consideration and were not being referred to the respective higher authorities.

Two more references should be made before leaving this subject.

First, regarding administration of health services, it is an indisputable fact that facilities provided would have been hopelessly inadequate but for the indefatigable voluntary efforts of detained medical men. The efficient handling of emergency cases has always been due to the unselfish work of such volunteers, who have yet had to contend with mulish obstruction from the military authorities. The case in point occurred at Peel, when a detainee died during the night. Dr. Bode, a detainee, had to administer his attentions by the light of a hurricane lamp because the military refused to turn on the main light switch.

Secondly, in regard to arrangements for religious practices, there is again a major complaint. Several Church of England ministers were among the detainees, some of them padres of the last war, and they have always contrived to give some form of Divine Service from the earliest days in detention camps. It was, however, only with difficulty that they succeeded in obtaining the necessary equipment for serving Communion and observing other holy rites. After pressing representations were made at Ascot, and after a certain amount of delay, arrangements were made for regular visits by a Catholic priest, such an arrangement becoming an established feature at all later camps until, at Peel, detainees were allowed to walk to the church in the town. Nevertheless, one vastly important religious practice was at first flatly forbidden—the visiting priests were not allowed to take confession. The secrecy of the confessional, inviolate throughout the centuries, was called into question by these bungling military Bumbles. Worse than that, it was imputed, intentionally or otherwise, that the confessional and the Catholic priests involved more potential instruments of treachery. Twelve months after this important objection had been silenced at Ascot, it was again advanced at Peel, and for five weeks confessions were disallowed.

And still one might go on, amplifying a hundredfold the complaints against the military, still without any exaggeration or distortion. In well-nigh two years of detention, there had occurred a multiplicity of incidents, which prevents any brief summary from covering a tithe of the illustrative detail. But, lest enough has not been written to convince the reader of military shortcomings in respect to detention camp administration, one important aspect is more fully described in the following section.

RIOT.

The events of Saturday, the 20th September, 1941, were sufficiently publicised at the time for everyone to have some knowledge of the riot at Peel. The reliability of such knowledge depends upon whether it was acquired from the press, from the Home Secretary's statement, or from personal accounts from detainees.

First press accounts were luridly drawn by Manx reporters, who found this an occasion for sensational journalism outside their usual experience, and a further opportunity to vent their spleen against 18B detainees. It was these reports which first made headlines in the National press. Later, National newspapermen came to Peel to follow up the sensation story and, apparently, despite the fact that true circumstances belied this view of the happenings, felt impelled to continue in the same strain.

Here is the substance of the newspaper version, variously printed under such headlines as—**"Mob Law Wins"—"700 Fascists Riot"—"Fascists Cause Night of Terror," and "Rioting Fascists Injure Guards."**

"700 Fascists interned at Peel, Isle of Man, rioted on Saturday night and continued the disturbance at intervals throughout Sunday" . . . "They yelled for return to the camp of three runaways who had been recaptured and placed in cells" . . . "They stoned military guards knowing that they had no power to retaliate" . . . "Wild disorder for many hours" . . . "shouting and catcalls" . . . "smashed every window in hotel" . . . "demanded 'send the prisoners back'" . . . "Riot at peak for several hours" . . . "Their demand was refused—reply was violence" . . . "Number of soldiers injured" . . . "Captain struck by bottle" . . . "Shots fired in the air" . . . "fusillade of missles" . . . "hour's bombardment" . . . "Resident described night of terror."

This was the tenor of all newspaper reports of the incidents. They not only conveyed a greatly exaggerated picture of the events but gave the public an entirely false understanding of the cause of the trouble.

The riot was not a result of any immediately prior occurrences, but was a culmination of deep-seated resentment grown out of a long period of maltreatment and denial of elementary justice. What transpired after the arrest of three escaped prisoners was the spark to light a ready tinder which was bound to flare up at some time. Men had harboured their brooding grievances in the face of extreme provocation. Capt. Ryan's conduct on that Saturday afternoon brought them to breaking point.

The three runaways were brought back after the combined efforts of naval, air force, army and police detachments had been applied in the search for them. Their escapade had that about it, that element of adventurousness, which always appeals to British men. It is safe to say that the men who challenged such odds, whatever the reason for their captivity, had a certain grudging sympathy from many outside the wire of detention camps, as well as the approval of the majority who had shared their detention. When the men in the camp saw the returned prisoners, they greeted them with cheers of encouragement. **No cry was set up and no effort was made to bring the men back into the camp itself.**

Capt. Ryan, overjoyed at the recapture and appearing to be flushed with delight, shouted to the cheering detainees "They couldn't get away from us," a bombastic boast utterly discountenanced by the fact that the men had escaped from his charge and the fact that his part in their re-arrest had been to wait by a telephone in the adjacent hotel. His remarks were resented, but were not the cause of any demonstration. This came later.

After individual detainees had been called out by the military in connection with the matter of the escape, they returned to the camp with information that the three recaptured men, by now lodged in camp cells, had been without food for forty-eight hours. Representations were at once made to the military in reasonable and proper fashion that a meal be supplied to them. Capt. Ryan's reply was—"They must wait—they've starved for two days and it won't hurt them to starve for a third—they've given me plenty of trouble, now I'm going to give it to them." This was the military attitude responsible for the demonstrations which followed.

Failing further straightforward applications, in several quarters, that the men be fed, during which a meal was turned back from the gate when brought from the house the men had formerly occupied, temper in the camp became strongly roused. Men gathered at the wire opposite the military offices and shouted repeatedly their demand for humane treatment of the prisoners in the cells. The shouting was ignored and some angrier detainees decided that the time had come when more strenuous means must be used to gain attention to their legitimate complaints. Stones were thrown at the hotel in which military offices were situated and several windows were smashed.

Increased military guards were rushed to the

scene, but still no responsible officer would parley with the camp's elected leaders. At no time were missiles thrown at the guards; detainees' greater satisfaction being derived from pelting the hotel itself, property of Mr. A. E. Ostick, instigator of many of the vilest press attacks on them. After little over an hour, the superintendent of camps on the island had arrived and he interviewed detainees' representatives. The prevarication of Capt. Ryan delayed reasonable settlement of the matter until 1 a.m., but all signs of disturbance had ceased considerably before that time—as soon as the military had indicated reasonable willingness to consider the detainees' viewpoint.

At no time were more than two hundred and fifty men concerned in the demonstration, and it is deeply regretted that two members of the soldiery sustained very slight injuries from missiles rebounding from the hotel walls.

This was the full extent of the disorder at Camp M, and at no time, either on the next day or subsequent days, was there any further outbreak.

Lest it be supposed that the foregoing is biassed in favour of the detainees, here is an extract from the account of the affair given by the Home Secretary to the House of Commons on October 2nd, 1941.

"The recapture of these men and the manner in which they were dealt with on their return to the camp was the immediate occasion of the disturbance. It was not possible to conduct them to the detention cells without exposing them to the view of other persons detained in the camp, and a number of these persons staged a demonstration of welcome. The officer in charge of the camp refused an application of some of the inmates that a meal should be sent to them from the camp. These men had been given a meal on the patrol boat, but this was not known to the men in the camp, and a story was spread that the men were being starved. These circumstances appear to have caused a feeling of resentment and after dark this found expression in a considerable amount of shouting and stone-throwing at buildings in the vicinity of the camp. The extent of the disorder has been exaggerated in many of the published accounts. No assault was directed against any individuals, and although damage was caused to windows only two persons were slightly injured. The Commandant of the internment camps on the island was summoned and, on his arrival, he sent for the camp leader, warned him of the seriousness of what had occurred, and made it plain that the disorders must cease immediately and complete silence be maintained for at least an hour before he would listen to any representations which the men might wish to make through their leaders. Complete quiet was at once restored and after a lapse of an hour and a quarter he met the group leaders, who told him that the demonstration was due to resentment aroused by the treatment accorded to the recaptured men. The Commandant explained that the men in question were, in fact, being given a meal, and sent the group leaders back to the camp with another warning against further disorder. The rest of the night passed without incident."—(Hansard, Vol. 374, No. 103, Col. 714/715).

Here was a straightforward explanation, which, although deprecating the methods used, did show that the demonstrators believed themselves possessed of profound reasons for making some form of protest. It is surely significant that the Commandant of the Isle of Man internment camps ultimately promised that food would be sent to the prisoners, despite previous assurances that they had been fed on the patrol boat.

The press, having convinced themselves and the public that their distorted and exaggerated account of events was a true one, now set up a clamour for severe punishments against the detainees. Cartoons and rhymes were used to suggest that occupants of Camp M led a life of pampered luxury and demand for a "firm hand" and strong repressive measures grew each day.

Bowing before the storm, Mr. Morrison announced that he would impose a month's suspension of privileges against all members of the camp. He particularly mentioned that all cinema visits would be stopped. (This last concession to press agitation was really a pitiful bluff, for Mr. Morrison must have been fully aware that up to that time the privilege of visiting cinemas had never been extended to 18B detainees). A further punishment was to be the removal of "a number of persons likely to cause trouble" to Walton Gaol.

The removal was actually in progress whilst Mr. Morrison was speaking. During the morning of October 2nd, eighteen detainees were suddenly told that they were to be ready to leave the camp, with their baggage at 1 p.m. Fourteen of these men were members of the British Union section; some definitely took no part in the demonstration. How they had been selected was, and still remains, a mystery. (One man removed was the leader of the British Union section, who had personally done more than anyone else to bring the Saturday night disturbance to a close). There was a strong suspicion inside the camp that voluntary informers had been co-operating with the Military Intelligence officers and so paying off old scores or satisfying private vendettas. There was no appeal against the removal order; all the selected eighteen men had to go.

They were taken by closed pantechnicon, with lorry loads of armed soldiers before and behind, and convoyed by motor-cycle despatch riders to Douglas Gaol. Their final destination was kept secret at this time.

At Douglas, an air of secrecy was maintained, the men being only identified by numbers.

At 6 a.m. next morning they were aroused, breakfasted, and in due course marched, under heavy escort, to the boat. Spectators lined the quayside and included many press men and photographers, some of whom shared the crossing.

At Walton Prison, reception proceeded as usual. An officious reception warder ordered one man, an ex-officer of the last war, to remove his medal ribbons as constituting a badge. When met with a firm refusal, he did not press the point.

The eighteen men were allotted a Wing of the prison, which had been badly damaged in a recent air raid. Windows at both ends and the roof still awaited repair, so that the whole place was intensely cold and damp. Rain poured into some of the basement cells where prisoners were housed. The heating system was out of operation. Even in the cells, with windows closed, overcoats had to be worn. Meals had to be brought through the prison yard from other wings and were generally cold when received.

In this way were the supposed "trouble-makers" punished; and so Peel was saved from further "nights of terror."

But this is not the end. Within four months, out of the eighteen desperadoes assumed responsible for the disturbance, three were back in Peel camp, three had been released on an unsuspecting world, seven had been transferred to Brixton Prison, either at their own request or to appear again before an Advisory Committee, and the remaining five were awaiting, and daily expecting removal either to Peel or to Brixton.

Thus it is shown that the whole business of "removing the trouble-makers" was nothing but a shameful bluff, carried through to deceive Parliament and satisfy misinformed public opinion.

THE POLICE IN CONTROL.

It was as a direct result of the disorders described in the previous chapter that Metropolitan police, under Superintendent Ogden of the Vice Squad, were drafted to Peel and put in charge of 18B camp.

Newspapers reported this development with comments to the effect that the Superintendent was of the type to stand no nonsense from the "tough boys" in the camp. The whole detachment of police came with militant intent to quell the seething agitation they believed to exist. They were considerably surprised to find no occasion for drawing batons and facing an unruly mob.

With none of the bombastic braggadocio of former commandants, the Superintendent soon established himself as a man who, while prepared to brook no infringements of discipline, was yet prepared to give full and sympathetic consideration to detainees' legitimate complaints. He, sooner than anyone else, has striven to implement the terms of Command Paper 6162 and has succeeded in bringing about great improvements in conditions of detention.

Perhaps his first improvement was unintentional. By requisitioning the Creg Malin Hotel adjacent to the camp, as police headquarters, he effected the removal of its mischief-making proprietor. For this, detainees owe him relief and gratitude. Through the offices of his various police officials, camp amenities have been vastly improved. Social club centres have been encouraged and a camp reading room has been made available.

The room in which detainees receive visitors has been rendered less black and cheerless. (Although the visits themselves, still under the supervision of Military Intelligence representatives, are by no means as favourably arranged as those in better days at York Camp). Parcel delivery has been speeded up. Newspapers are delivered on the day of publication instead of, as hitherto, the day after. Strenuous attempts are being made to eliminate unnecessary delay in delivery of letters.

Most gratifying is the fact that inflamatory items have disappeared from the local press and newspaper sensation-seekers have been politely discouraged.

Where the military found it impossible to arrange for 18B detainees to share the privilege enjoyed by alien internees for visits to the cinema, the police, surmounting any obstacles there may have been, have made a cinema visit a regular weekly feature.

Administration of detainees' funds, always previously a cause for serious complaint, was immediately improved. For the first time, regular statements of accounts were issued, and a committee was formed by detainees to act, with the guidance of the Commandant, in the disposition of all communal camp funds.

Bills charged against the camp unfairly are questioned by the Police Commandmant and where they are found to be disproportionate due rectification is secured. In a recent instance where bills were presented for damage and dilapidation to property in the camp, the Commandant upheld the Finance Committee's opinion that the dilapidations were covered by a plea of fair wear and tear, and the bill was subsequently withdrawn.

In general demeanour, the police officers have appeared more friendly, because less impersonal, in their relationship with detainees. Because they are men of stature and mature understanding, this tendency towards familiarity has increased, rather than diminished, the respect in which they are held. From this attitude the detainee is able to derive a new morale. To be recognised again as a human being, instead of a numbered animal is of unlimited service to him.

There are many vexatious Home Office rules still felt to be onerous. There is still the injustice of the whole thing known as 18B Regulations rankling in the minds of detainees. But, for the first time in nearly two years, they are not being treated like cattle. The police have maintained a record of honesty and scrupulously fair service in the performance of their duties.

An intelligent interpretation of camp regulations has led detainees to co-operate readily in the smooth operation of camp affairs. In return for their understanding attitude, the police have found that they have reasonable people to deal with. There have been none but very minor infractions of discipline since the military abdicated camp control. These

having been dealt with justly, there has occurred no bitterness between gaolers and gaoled.

If men are bullied, maltreated and swindled over a long period, and denied redress or any consideration of their complaints, then, if they are real men at all, there must come a time when they are bound to rebel and cause just such commotions as occurred at Peel in September, 1941. It may be argued that this commotion was not a proper way to express complaints, but it was only a culmination of a discontent existing after many reasoned petitions had failed. It brought the police into control; it brought order out of chaos.

Detainees are fair-minded individuals and do not hesitate to give credit where it is due. But they are not so impressed by what Superintendent Ogden achieved that they credit him with supernatural powers. What he did could have been done by any former custodian in his place and with his initiative. Thus an important question arises. Why was no improvement effected before? Why, if these reforms were possible; if the implementing of Command Paper 6162 was possible under the police, was no reform attempted before?

If the conditions now obtaining at Peel are in the spirit of the Command Paper, and it is plain that they are nearer the letter of that document than any previous conditions have been, then, by their very difference, they constitute a fierce indictment of the treatment experienced in the past.

MATTERS FINANCIAL.

In our earliest days, we learned what we thought was part of our heritage—the English tradition: "Don't kick a man when he is down." Internees' experience, throughout has been such that they could not be blamed if they concluded this tradition has been lost.

It was so in regard to financial administration at internment camps.

True, many were also robbed in prisons, of small items of personal property, sometimes of money; specified articles ordered through warders were all too often substituted by cheaper goods, or accounts over-debited; or, on transfer from one prison to another, or to a camp, balances would simply disappear, repeated requests for transfer being ignored or side-stepped. Better was expected, however, of military control. But read on and form your own conclusions.

The position of most 18B prisoners—the monied portion was so small as to be ignored—was that their internment had cost them everything they had, job, pension rights, insurance policies, home, everything; and could now promise them, after release, utter destitution. It was men in that condition who tried to find work of some kind inside the camp, and this was available for only a minority and was miserably paid: 1/8 a week at Huyton, only a trifle more at Ascot, 3/6 at Peel, up to 4/- (in a few cases) at York; sometimes supplemented from the detainees' own Welfare Funds, sometimes paid entirely from them. Outside work yielded slightly better remuneration, but was sometimes deliberately "milked" by the authorities on one pretext or another. On top of that, however, it must be recorded that detainees' own accumulated funds have completely disappeared, at Ascot, at York and Huyton.

Detainees were not allowed to have legal tender money in their possession. For inside payments and purchases, Canteen Cards were issued at Ascot and Huyton, and token money at other camps, all against balances in individual accounts.

The accounts were handled by the military, who were also charged with holding special accounts, termed "Welfare Funds," created by voluntary subscriptions by internees or their friends, and approved allocations from canteen profits. The Welfare Funds were intended for the improvement of camp amenities, making nominal payments to men undertaking work of general social benefit within the camps, and assisting less fortunately placed detainees.

At the first camp, Ascot, the Commandant, Major Veitch, definitely promised that 50% of canteen profits should go to the Welfare Fund, and the remainder to the "Barrack Damage" account. Canteen prices were well in excess of normal retail prices, even for fixed price goods, so that substantial allocations were therefore expected. Some optimists even expected that, since Barrack damages were not likely to be enormous, they might not even account for the whole of the 50% balance, and additional amounts would accordingly accrue for the Welfare accounts; certain cynics, however, suggested that such a position would not be allowed to arise—and they were more than justified. Generally, however, the scheme was accepted as sound.

Because certain detainees assisted in the keeping of the accounts, we can give some details of the system adopted.

For each detainee a separate account card was kept and there was a detainees' bank account, into which was paid all incoming monies, represented by remittances to detainees, earnings of outside working parties, etc. Money addressed or due to individuals was posted to the appropriate accounts cards.

So far, so good. But no accounts card existed to show the balance to the credit of the general Welfare Funds; in the case, therefore, of donations of a general character for welfare purposes, or the expected periodical transfers from canteen profits, no appropriate entries appeared in any account book or other records.

Cheques would be drawn from time to time to cover amounts paid out to detainees through account cards or tokens, and presumably would go to the credit of Canteen Account.

Now it would have been perfectly simple, at any time, or each time a camp was vacated, to draw up a balance sheet on the following lines:

Receipts.	Outgoings.
Remittances to individuals.	Credited to Account Cards.
Outside workers' earnings .	Payments to inside workers.
Donations to Welfare Fund.	Credited to Barrack Damage account.
Transfer from Canteen Account.	Expenditure on camp amenities.
	Balance

when it would become clear what balance remained for welfare purposes.

On that basis, there would have been no complaint. It remains as a plain fact, however, that when representations were made, the military stated emphatically that **detainees had no right to see or criticise their own Welfare account,** and that no check was available on canteen profits. To this day, there is no information to be had of what money is due to detainees from any camp.

Ascot. Artisans were continually working on the premises, building new punishment cells, enlarging the cookhouse, laying new drains and erecting new barbed wire fencing. The work was by no means necessitated by Barrack damage, but it is by no means clear that detainees were not called upon to pay for it. Be that as it may, it still remains a sheer impertinence, and quite unjustifiable, that prisoners should be made to pay for the upkeep of their own prison, through any sort of Barrack Fund. Presumably, even had the money been used to purchase weapons in guarding the camps, there would still be no right to question the proceeding.

Certain detainees keep well-supported private accounts, in their own interests, and it was adduced from these that at Ascot camp the canteen profits and other income totalled £910 16s. 3d., and the total expenditure, to camp workers and for camp amenities, amounted to £610 0s. 6d. The assumed balance of £309 15s. 9d. was never accounted for, and it is asked—what happened to it?

Yet another matter for enquiry is what happened to the wireless set and furniture, cost £70, purchased by detainee funds? These have not been seen since detainees were transferred from Ascot camp.

It is appropriate to mention here the military practice at Ascot of using detainee labour for military official or semi-official purposes, and leaving such labour to be paid for by detainee funds. Squads of men were used for camp maintenance work; building drains and making paths, while others were employed building a new barbed wire compound for later arrivals at this place. Other men worked in the gardens of "Woodstock," a house used as Officers' Mess. It is strongly alleged that the military authorities made no payment of any kind for the work thus performed, and that the payments which they instructed should be made were only possible by the improper usage of detainees' monies entrusted to their care.

York. At York camp, the position is more clear as a better system of accounts was adopted. It was further simplified because the canteen was managed by private contractors, who paid into a camp fund an agreed percentage of their takings. Here again it was proposed to impose a charge on canteen profits for "barrack room damage."

The accounts at York camp, agreed by the military a few days before its closure as a place for 18B detainees, showed a favourable balance of £192 6s. 8d.

Once again it was asked—what happened to this money?

It has been suggested that a sum of £92 6s. 8d. was sent on to the detainees' next camp at Huyton. If there be any truth in this story, there is still the question—what happened to it when it reached Huyton?—and the further question—why only £92 6s. 8d.? It is not quite certain that even this inappropriate amount has yet reached the detainees to whom it rightly belongs.*

Huyton. Detainees from Ascot and York were united at Huyton in March, 1940. It required some hundred workers to run this singularly ill-equipped and ungainly establishment, and after six weeks a grant of £50 was made from canteen profits to enable some payment to be made to them. (It is important to bear in mind that a very large number of detainees had been rendered absolutely destitute by detention, and these insignificant payments from camp funds were to many a sole source of income).

After heavy air raids in the district parties were taken from the camp to engage in demolition work. It is understood that the Council concerned paid full Trades Union rates for the men thus employed, without which condition many men refused to work lest they be displacing any available labour outside. First charge against wages of detainees taking these jobs was an impudent percentage of deduction, stated to be on account of a "billeting allowance." Significantly enough, the amount of this deduction, made against the provision of mean rations and ill-equipped dwellings in Huyton camp, was larger than the billeting grant given to provincial housewives asked to accommodate civil service evacuees! The remaining aggregate earnings of the demolition workers, being some £30 per week, was fairly apportioned to cover costs of camp workers' wages.

No canteen accounts were published during the entire period of Huyton camp's usage as a place of detention for 18B prisoners, and no acknowledgment was shown of the £92 6s. 8d.

* **£92 6s. 8d. was credited to camp funds at Pool in the autumn of 1942. The balance of £100 seems to have disappeared without accounting.**

suggested to have been transmitted from York.

From careful calculations, it is deduced that the canteen takings at Huyton were in the neighbourhood of £960. In view of the inflated prices imposed, it is fair to suggest that a gross profit of £240 was made. No detainee ever saw a penny of this money save the £50 already referred to.

Since reaching Peel, Isle of Man, the administration of detainees' finances has been much more satisfactory. The strain on camp funds caused by provision of camp workers' wages is greatly relieved because the Manx Government, as is only just, makes small provision for a certain number of cooks and cleaners. (At a rate of 6d. per day). Again, destitution is not the same problem as it has been at previous camps because of wider scope for outside work on farms and land-drainage schemes. Most favourable aspect of Peel camp is that a proportion of canteen profits is faithfully transmitted to general camp funds, full accounts are available and, under police supervision, detainees have been encouraged to take a keen interest in the position of their accounts.

One item shown in early accounts at Peel still causes great resentment. It is a debit for £56 for the residue of goods alleged to have been packed and sent to Peel from Huyton. They were sent in the care of a military sergeant and the bulk of them never reached the canteen at Peel. It is grossly unjust that detainees should have been charged for defalcations or losses for which they could not have been responsible.

* * * *

The foregoing is a summary of the details backing detainees' assertions that they have been made the victims of double dealing and sharp practice. Repeated requests have been made in official quarters that some form of inquiry be instituted. When Home Office representatives have visited the various camps they have heartily agreed that these matters were deserving of the closest investigation, yet there is still a strange reluctance to do anything.

Now, we have tried to discuss this matter dispassionately. But all who have followed the press reports, and particularly the Manx press, will know that there were times when Courts Martial were a weekly occurrence in regard to officers and N.C.O.'s attached to internment camps, on account of their unjustified debts, or actual peculation of public or private monies; and until there is some attempt to explain what has happened to the various Welfare Fund balances, it can only be assumed that, with 18B prisoners too, unscrupulous men, clad in His Majesty's uniform, have abused their positions of trust.

Consider the position of the detainees. Through accident of birth, or because they have violated the time-honoured political dictum—never demand reforms ahead of public opinion—British citizens, hundreds of them, were deprived of their living and financially ruined, made destitute.

In internment, as their clothing wore out, they were issued, as though it were a great concession, with the shoddiest kind of clothing and footwear; and as these became damaged or torn, were made to pay, out of what they could earn within the camp or hard-hit relatives could send to them, for necessary repairs, or call upon their better-off companions in misfortune to meet the bills.

The only efficient medical advice has been that given willingly by a fellow internee, a well-known London specialist; the British authorities would pay him nothing at all for what he did; those in the Isle of Man offered him first 3/6 a week.

Dental service, of a sort, was given free. But if a man, even one without funds, required repair of a dental plate, he must be prepared to see the cost debited against him as soon as he has any funds to his credit, however great his other needs may be.

On release, the final hardship comes. The very fact of release implies that after the fullest investigation the Home Office is satisfied that the man can safely be at large; in other words, the whole internment is admitted not to have been justified.

Then, thrust into a world taught, and eager, to suspect and mistrust him, lucky if he has a decent suit to stand up in, the victim is granted by way of recompense and to enable him to start life anew, **the noble sum of five shillings.**

The Welfare Funds had as their primary object the supplementing of this paltry sum by a pound or two, to lesson the initial hardship and cover those first empty days of liberty while the man was adjusting himself to the outside world and could find himself a job.

It is this compassionate effort which has been stultified when inefficiency and crookedness have conspired to conceal accounts and hold back the rightful funds of 18B detainees. We can think of nothing meaner; of no plainer case where authority should step in and deal with those responsible, and make honourable amends to their victims.

THE USE AND MISUSE OF M.I.5.

Behind the external war, there has raged, continually, an internal one, waged by established political parties against a possible rival. No quarter has been given. Fascist thought, regardless of whether it was or was not in sympathy with any foreign power, was the enemy; so in many indictments against British subjects detained under Regulation 18B we find the charge:

"He was sympathetic with the system of government of a power with which His Majesty's Government is at war."

How this squares up with the fact that many of the countries now allied to His Majesty's Government have themselves political systems paralleled to those of Germany and Italy, is something only a politician could explain; but that provides no valid defence to a detainee before the Advisory Committee.

The mind of Mr. Herbert Morrison on the subject was revealed in a House of Commons speech on the 10th December, 1940, replying to one by Mr. Stokes:

"What is the lesson of Nazi Germany? It is that the republican politicians were too soft—not that they were too hard—in applying to what was a revolutionary situation classical liberal doctrines and so on. I am sure that my hon. friend would have dealt more properly, with full legal advices and procedure, with Herr Hitler if he had been in Germany at that time. . . . If I had been running the German Government at that time, that man would never have got out. He would never have survived. He was an enemy of the State and he ought to have been shot."

This may be a sound comment on the attempted insurrection of Hitler and his subsequent mild political imprisonment. But such reasoning, concerning the punishment of an overt act, cannot be held to justify internment without trial, or the subsequent job victimisation, of persons who hold heretical political opinions. This argument is a complete surrender of the principles of democracy to a punitive opportunism of fear.

It may be said that Fascism denies democracy and aims at establishing a totalitarian state. A Fascist may have no right, therefore, to plead for democratic treatment if he denies democratic principles. Neither have democrats a right to violate democratic principles, which cannot be outraged nor denied with impunity. Democracy is the constitutional protection of mankind. Only when democratic society falls short of full economic democracy and so tends to become plutocratic need it be afraid of its political democracy, and extending the full rights of free discussion and assembly even to Fascists. A happy social democracy need have no fear of Fascist intrigues or conspiracy, which would remain abortive. Inherent in society is the ancient right of free men to uphold even political error. No Government has the right to assail such right. It has been claimed by the friends of the imprisoned 18B prisoners that this right was smashed by the Home Office. But one of the means used has been M.I.5, otherwise known as Military Intelligence.

The widespread nature of unjust political discrimination against detainees, before, during and after detention, has been indicated in some measure elsewhere in this document; the full story cannot be told until after the war. One is apt, of course, when placed in distressing circumstances, to imagine all sorts of hidden conspiracies. But that truism cannot explain away what has happened before one's eyes.

The Secret Police were features of all old-time books about Czarist Russia, until their mantle was assumed by the Ogpu. Nowadays, it is the Gestapo that is dangled before the public gaze, as an example of what we must avoid in this free land; the secret agent, the **agent provocateur,** and all the rest. Against such institutions this war is being fought . . . But you may not have seen this report in the "Manchester Guardian" of January 15th, 1940:

"The Executive Committee of the Civil Servants Clerical Association is to meet next week to consider further action following the refusal of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Capt. Crookshank) to receive a deputation concerning the activities of M.I.5 agents in the Government departments.

The deputation hoped to have pointed out that civil servants had been dismissed or relegated to subordinate positions on the basis of charges made against their loyalty and reliability, although those charged were not told the origin of the detailed nature of the charges.

Mr. L. C. White, assistant general secretary of the association, told a reporter that it appeared that these M.I.5 agents, who looked after civil servants and others in munition factories and other places, operated in many cases upon the receipt of anonymous letters.

After enquiry, the agents recommended that employees should be dismissed or removed to work where they could not reveal confidential information.

'About one hundred cases have been brought to our notice since the war began,' said Mr. White. 'Most of the people affected are those alleged to have Left Wing views or to have been active in political work. . . . It is unfair because there is reason to believe that some of the information that M.I.5 gets is unreliable. The accused should be informed of the actual charge and given an opportunity to reply.'

Capt. Crookshank has stated that the matters are appropriate for discussion, if at all, by the Whitley Council for the Civil Service."

The procedure will be noted. No open enquiry, but sudden transfer or dismissal, without redress or right of appeal. In a way it is an extension of 18B to the public still at large. Capt. Crookshank's inference will also be noted; that the matter is not really appropriate for discussion at all.

There is in Peel now a man who was attracted to and joined British Union because of its apparent promise to promote economic and industrial efficiency in Britain. He also had a passionate belief in Empire and in the welfare of the working people. At the outbreak of war, his abilities earned him the position of works manager in an aircraft factory in North Wales, where he instituted a number of improvements and came up against vested interests from time to time. If he criticised production methods with vigour, it was surely not to his discredit.

This man had occasion to write to his home town asking for re-payment of a debt. A few weeks later, a director of the firm asked him to carefully sponsor a new employee, and he did so, even became friendly and mentioned to him his past connection with British Union. Suddenly, came detention under 18B, charged with "acts prejudicial," the sole evidence being remarks **passed by the new employee.** His son, disgusted with what had happened, asked permission to leave the works; he, too, was threatened with 18B. From the time of the victim's detention, agents of M.I.5 shadowed and worried his wife until an appeal

had to be made to the Regional Commissioner to call off this persecution and give the poor woman some piece of mind.

Thus a promising production engineer was lost to the war effort because of political discrimination possibly coupled with self-interested malice.

A Welsh farmer and his daughter, belonging to one of the oldest families in Pembrokeshire, began to receive police attention in 1940 because of British Union membership; constantly being visited on one pretext or another; a son was even prosecuted for riding a horse without a light—a charge never brought before or since in the whole country.

The house was raided early in June, when certain Fascist papers were confiscated. A week later police came again, to accuse a son of saying in a certain village that "we would lose the war"; that was untrue, as he had not been off the farm premises at the time mentioned. In August, about a dozen soldiers on motor-cycles entered the yard and one, a corporal, asked for the loan of a spanner; this led to general talk, leading to joking questions as to whether the farmer ever listened to "Lord Haw Haw," and so on. Presently, all went away excepting the corporal, who then passed remarks abusing army life generally, said he was miserable in his billet, and asked if he might come round some time to listen to the wireless.

The same evening the corporal returned, bringing a friend, and whilst left alone turned the wireless on to a German station. They were entertained to supper and stayed on late. Next night, they came again, and were again asked to supper. By this time their behaviour had aroused suspicion, so that when they returned two nights later they were asked if they were detectives, and strenuously denied the fact. Again they had supper and then went away and were not seen again.

In November, the father and daughter were arrested, under the usual brutal circumstances. Three months later, the Advisory Committee heard their case, the chairman telling them that he considered they had been badly treated, and he was advising immediate release. He asked about the soldiers who had visited them; they had made a statement that swastika flags were being made at the farm to welcome Hitler, and that parachute troops that might land on the farm would be hidden. Striking his pencil through the rest of the accusations, with the remark that they were obvious lies, the chairman said he was perfectly satisfied with the explanation given.

The farmer still remains in Peel camp, whilst his farm suffers for lack of labour.

Another man still detained—not in British Union, but long interested in Fascist thought—was employed by a large insurance company. Early in June, 1940, his employers (following the procedure in very many cases) were visited by the police and warned about him, so that he was suddenly transferred from the Head Office to a small evacuation office; at the same time his house was visited in his absence and his wife was asked two questions; had he ever belonged to British Union, or had he any foreign blood; apparently an attempt was being made to build up a case, but the reply in each case was negative, so the police went away.

The next development was at his office, where a newly employed female clerk was allotted to him. Obviously acting under instructions, her job was to find something incriminating; why otherwise should she, a girl of about 22 or 23, have suddenly interposed into a general conversation the question: "Do you think messages could be transmitted by means of music?" Quite innocently, he discussed how this could be done, through the arrangement of musical programmes, or by particular kinds of syncopation. He was arrested on July 1st, and at his Advisory Committee hearing **seven months later** that conversation was thrown back at him.

Just three examples of M.I.5 at work.

The employment of traps, and agents provocateurs, are as old as diplomacy itself. They are devices of the corrupt and inefficient. One did not think, though, to see them flourish in modern Britain.

How is M.I.5 recruited. No layman really knows. Some say it is largely composed of "young hopefuls" of all ages in the Conservative Party, who wish to make a mark politically or possibly diplomatically. The "Manchester Guardian" report certainly indicates political bias. Agents we have met include a British Union member who was expelled for lack of common honesty, and another man who had earned a considerable competence through particularly nasty activities in regard to divorce cases. But our experience is limited—we move among ordinary decent men and women—and it must be clear that there are agents of more character than those we have mentioned, though obviously character and ability for this kind of work do not necessarily go hand in hand.

In the various internment camps, however, there have been good opportunities for seeing Military Intelligence at close quarters. There, the officers have been on a higher social plane, unsuccessful barristers, and occasionally a genuine scholar (otherwise quite inefficient) in a particular language. All have the spy complex very marked, to a degree which can be termed pathological, imagining the wildest possibilities, and living in a world of gun-running and gangsterdom.

These officers have not hesitated to use the services of people whose character has broken down under the worry of internment, and have turned "nark." Here are extracts from letters received in the camps from two such "broken reeds":

> "Since moving in a complete atmosphere of Fascism, as in all the prisons and camps in which I have been detained, I have realised, mostly from overhearing conversations, that when supporting the Fascism (sic) regime as I did before detention, I must have been living in a fool's paradise, and I now fully realise my mistake.
>
> "I have definitely decided to abandon all participation in the B.U. and break with all my former friends and associates, as I feel I have been duped, or used as a tool for their ulterior motives."

Such is the stuff of which "agents" are made; may they get their just reward. To crawl and squeal on your comrades is considered the worst offence of all, even among criminals. To infer, by filthy innuendo, that innocent men have done something their one-time comrade is ashamed of is about the rottenest action one can think about.

What have these "narks," "snoops" and Intelligence Officers achieved in two years of the most careful scrutiny of the intimate details of detainees' lives? Precisely nothing; and that because there is nothing there for them to find. All the breaking open of cigarettes, cutting of cakes, opening of tins, steaming off of postage stamps and pouring over letters and the hundred and one other things laid down in detective fiction have not yielded one small plum to enable authority to say "I told you so." Yet, like the child in the nursery story, still they plod on looking for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, when sensible, normal people would have given it up long ago.

In many well-authenticated cases, release has been promised or hinted at, if only a detainee would get certain information or betray imaginary secrets. Sometimes the man approached led them up the garden, but no matter, on they went; finding nothing. In a particularly vile case, an Intelligence Officer offered release to a detainee if he would lay evidence **against a brother officer,** whose sole offence was that he desired to treat detainees as ordinary human beings.

The real purpose of these Intelligence Officers cannot readily be ascertained. They act as a second censor; snooping into the letters of certain detainees; perusing books and periodicals despatched (in accordance with Home Office rules) direct from the publishers; they censor camp cinema shows, even the B.B.C. news and the daily newspapers. At times, even the most innocuous books are banned by them, if sent to particular individuals. In fact, it often seems as if they just exist to make things a little more difficult, and to justify their own existence; refusing proper access to books through the lending libraries; refusing correspondence courses; and preventing adequate correspondence. Sorriest farce of all is their solemn scrutinizing of letters to Members of Parliament which, nowadays, they are not allowed to alter in any way; even there they insist that the special sensitised paper be used, preventing any writing in invisible ink!

Really sinister is the process known to detainees as "Funfing."

A detainee will suddenly be sent for. He will be asked, quite politely, to take a seat; it is a real danger signal if he is also offered a cigarette. Then starts one of these freakish interviews, so stupid as to compete seriously with a Dixon Hawke fiction story:

> "Who do you think will win the war?"
> "Are you part of the pro-German element in the camp, or are you pro-British?"
> "Why did you move from House X?"
> "What do you think of Mr. Churchill?"
> "Do you like the Japanese?"
> "Do you intend to continue political activity during and after the war?"
>
> "Did . . . tell you he was going to join Scotland Yard when he was released?"

And to crown it all:

> "Of course you know we don't employ 'snoops,' don't you?"

These and scores of other leading questions have been asked. The reader may laugh; but the detainee was not always in the position to do so, as often his liberty, and the well-being of his family, depended on what he answered. Hints were frequently thrown out that the officers themselves had sympathy with particular Fascist ideals and had at one time almost joined British Union.

All the paraphernalia of the detective technique, as outlined in those advertisements appearing in cheap American magazines, headed "Be a detective and earn big money." And all yielding exactly nothing, though it went on week after week, month after month. Their employers must be very patient, or very stupid.

But it is clear that a good deal of their reporting gets to the Advisory Committee, where detainees are often confronted with practically verbatim accounts of conversations in their own quarters, twisted so as to make a good point.

One is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that political discrimination and bias is the guiding motive, looking for justification for what is otherwise unjustifiable.

We have tried to give a picture of the position in the internment camps where are confined British men and women. It seems to us not far removed from the state of affairs in 1817, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended on baseless grounds, later completely condemned by historians, under an Act "to empower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as His Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and the Government." Two quotations from "The Age We Live In," vol. 1, by James Taylor, D.D., reveal further similarities:

> ". . . . it was in the month of June (1817) that the conduct of the Government in employing spies and informers had been exposed and condemned in the House of Commons."
>
> "Lord Sidmouth's biographer affirms that none of the Government spies were 'employed in the first instance by Lord Sidmouth, they themselves found him out' and 'if they in any circumstances instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own.' There is no reason to question the truth of this statement."

The position became so bad as far as suppression of public opinion was concerned that

William Cobbett ceased publication of the popular "Weekly Political Register" and fled to America, observing that:

"Lord Sidmouth was sorry to say that I had not written anything that the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success . . . . I do not retire from the combat with the Attorney General, but from combat with a dungeon . . . . any sort of trial I would have stayed to face . . . . but against the absolute power of imprisonment without even a hearing for a time unlimited, in any jail in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink and paper, and without any communication with any soul but the keepers . . . . against such a power it would have been far worse than madness to strive."

Possibly the following quotation from the "Black Dwarf," a contemporary political periodical, relative to the Cabinet, which appeared on April 2nd, 1817, will give a further interesting parallel:

"(They) talked of patriotism when they meant plunder, and their object in embarking in a war with France was, not to conquer that country, but ourselves."

Are our politicians turning back the clock a century and a quarter? Are the liberties of the public being insidiously chequered?

THE PRESS.

In preceding chapters it has been clearly shown, by statements of the Home Secretary himself, that persons detained under Regulation 18B are not deemed guilty of any offence. They are held in custody solely because the Home Secretary subscribes that he has "reasonable cause to believe" that in certain unspecified circumstances—which may never arise—they MAY act in such a manner as would assist the enemy.

The Home Secretary's belief is apparently founded upon certain known facts about the individuals detained. It is convenient at this point to re-state, very briefly, the main heads under which detention orders may be issued, since these represent the primary known facts in which Sir John Anderson and Mr. Herbert Morrison find "reasonable cause" for their beliefs. They are as follows:

(a) HOSTILE ORIGIN—The reason being applicable when one or both parents of the detained person, or the detainee himself, were once aliens of one country or another with which we now happen to be at war.

(b) HOSTILE ASSOCIATION — Which head may cover any relations, family, social or commercial, with nationals of enemy countries — EVEN THOUGH SUCH RELATIONS MAY HAVE BEEN SEVERED LONG BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

(c) Membership, or former membership, of any organisation believed to have had sympathy with the system of Government of those countries with which we are now at war—EVEN THOUGH SUCH MEMBERSHIP WAS ALWAYS LEGAL AND FULLY SANCTIONED BY EXISTING LAWS.

Regarding (c), it is important to note that approval of such a purely domestic matter as a new Agricultural Policy sponsored by Mosley's British Union could—and actually did—lead many innocent people to months in gaol. There is a case on record in which one of the reasons given for a man's detention is that he once stood for Parliament as an anti-Tithe candidate. (He is a man with an outstanding record of military service to Britain).

It will be seen that these causes for supposedly "reasonable" belief are perilously wide in scope. It is no exaggeration to submit that in one aspect or another they might touch on the pre-war activity of nearly a quarter of the population. The margin for mistake and detention without adequate grounds is dangerously large—and there is ample proof that mistakes have occurred.

Out of a total of 1,817 arrested under Regulation 18B, about 1,288 have already been released from detention, many of them unconditionally. Circumstances affecting national security have changed so little since the arrests were effected that it seems only reasonable to assert that if these people are fit and proper persons to be at liberty now, then they must have been equally so at the time of their detention.

In some cases, where it has been patently evident that suspicion of ill-intent was not sufficiently justified to warrant further detention, the victim of 18B, by then duly stigmatised in the public eye, has been allowed to go free. In other cases, where the unfortunate detainee has been unable to perform the very difficult task of dispelling hazy and insubstantial suspicions, he still remains in a prison or barbed wire cage. There he must stay as weeks become months and months drag on into years. He must endure the hardships and vileness of conditions detailed elsewhere in this document whilst dependants and loved ones outside suffer want because denied his support. His only solace is Mr. Morrison's repeated declaration—"These people are not charged with any offence"—and even that solace is completely negatived by the obvious fact that not one person in five of the general public believes such declaration.

"No smoke without fire" is a saying that finds great currency in this country. Send a man to gaol for a lengthy period and no matter how much you proclaim his possible innocence the lay public will nod its head sagely and knowingly, happily convinced that such things could not happen in England unless some grave misdemeanour had been perpetrated.

In view of the respect in which British justice has hitherto been held, this attitude of mind is hardly surprising. Whether it should be so or not, there can be little doubt in the public mind that 18B detainees have been tried and found guilty. In this erroneous opinion they have been encouraged, led and unscrupulously misinformed by the most terrible machine of propaganda—THE PRESS.

Reminiscent of its behaviour when the Prime Minister asked the public to reserve judgment upon the capitulation of King Leopold of the Belgians, and the press promptly leapt in to rend the character of that unhappy monarch, is newspaper treatment of 18B detainees. With complete disregard of the Home Secretary's declarations, they have attacked the subject like hungry jackals attacking a near helpless prey.

The anecdote printed with subtle intent to defame; the mean inuendo; false interpretation are only the lesser injustices for which 18B detainees must one day demand redress. Treason has been charged against them by more than one malicious newspaper out to make sensational headlines. The relevant cuttings are carefully preserved for the time when the responsible publishers may be invited to explain their accusations. They are among hundreds of press extracts retained to prove that a campaign of calumny has been maintained right up to the present date.

Extracts from offending newspaper matter will not adequately illustrate the full reason for complaint, as, in many cases, it is the inference to be drawn from articles in complete form which constitute most grievous libels. The articles themselves are too lengthy to be embodied in this statement, but lest it be supposed that a persecution mania, arising out of a lengthy spell of unmerited imprisonment, might have led to the interpretation of innocent newspaper comment as something more sinister, the example which follows may be taken as typical.

An article entitled "I HELPED TO GAOL THE TRAITORS," written under the name Ewart Brookes, was published in the "Daily Mirror" during August, 1940. In the centre of the article a panelled announcement stated:

"Ewart Brookes watched and joined the British Fifth Column rats. Read his story and see if you agree that prison's too good for them."

The writer is, therefore, a self-confessed informer **who claims to have supplied the police with data leading to many detentions under 18B.** His article makes a sensational little adventure story and is totally unembarrassed by restricting demands of truth. He writes:

"If Sir John Anderson will put them (the detainees) on trial I volunteer as a witness . . . I will tell of the men and women who, when war broke out, rushed to join civil defence organisations and stamp their treachery with a forked lightning badge."

(It is made clear that the badge referred to is that of British Union).

This is followed later in the article with:

"I will tell how I turned over to authority personally conducted dossiers of these traitors . . . ."

Later again he declares that he will tell so much that men and women will—

"line up outside the prisons and barbed wire camps in which these suckers live in comfort and will demand the right to hang them from the nearest lamp post."

The writer of this scurrilous nonsense has not left himself the excuse that his accusations are directed only against a few individual detainees. His penultimate paragraph plainly states:

"As far as aliens are concerned, Sir John may have been extra and superbly cautious. As far as our own British brand of rat is concerned he hasn't put a finger wrong."

Not a finger wrong, says Mr. Ewart Brookes—yet the Home Secretary, with infinitely more information on the subject, has since seen fit to release two-thirds of the original number detained! The "lucky" 1288 released have gone out to associate with the public taught by Mr. Brookes, and the "Daily Mirror," to regard them as rats and traitors.

One large circulation Sunday newspaper described certain 18B arrests under a streamer headline across a whole page: GAULEITERS TO BE ARRESTED." The article that followed was made up of a list of names and descriptions of the latest detainees. These names included that of Lieut. Francis Christopher Fane, R.N., who was granted his unconditional release only after spending more than a year in captivity.

The name Fane is deservedly respected, not only at home in Lincolnshire but in a far broader sphere. It is known with honour in the Forces of the Crown and Lieut Fane may claim that he has endeavoured to maintain a proud family record. His claim is belatedly recognised by his release without any restrictive conditions. His freedom is restored to him and he is officially regarded as one with all the other Englishmen willing and ready to serve their country. But who would argue that his position can ever be the same? He has been publicly branded as a Hitler puppet and no retraction of such charge has yet been published. Only those well acquainted with public temper at this time can fully realise what approbrium has thus been attached to his character.

Lieut. Fane's case is not exceptional. It is representative of many cases of innocent men now released and many still awaiting the Home Secretary's pleasure.

Where men have been named in offensive newspaper matter the imputations are dreadful indeed, and will doubtless be the subject for challenge—effective and successful challenge—in the appropriate place, when clarity of mind and freedom to discuss the issues involved in Courts designed to stand between the citizen and the Executive are again functioning assets of our Constitution. The position of the average detainee who has not been individually mentioned in the press is not less invidious and equally deserving of redress.

The average 18B detainee, though deprived of his rights of free citizenship, is not otherwise unlike the average free citizen. He has only a crude understanding of the complexities of the law, and, in any case, could not afford recourse to expensive litigation. How then is he to protect his character and protect those private interests which inevitably suffer when

character is impugned?

During detention, he is forbidden to write to newspapers, and even after release he does so only at his peril. While in detention this is a complete and unbreakable ban. Thus he is forbidden any attempt to correct glaring misrepresentations and distortions of facts. The Home Secretary, who is armed with plentiful power to enable him to prevent the publication of mischevious and false matter, which he has himself deplored in Parliament, displays noteworthy respect for freedom—of the press—by doing nothing at all about it.

The individual detainee is left absolutely helpless against press slurs on 18B prisoners collectively: yet no individual detainee can **escape the stigma.**

It is true that occasional misgivings about the Regulation have found expression in various mediums, but only one newspaper, the "Manchester Guardian," has expressed consistent opposition. In the main, such trepidation as has been displayed has been not so much about how the Regulation has been applied in the past but how it might be applied in the past but how it might be applied in the in the future. Newspapers find it truly horrifying to reflect that it might be applied against newspapers. These selfishly inspired misgivings in no way compensate for the evil the press has worked on present and past 18B victims.

In criminal proceedings, any newspaper which ventured sub judice pronouncements on the guilt of the accused person would be guilty of contempt of Court, and, if convicted, fined and the responsible person might even be imprisoned. Finding that considerations of expediency and economy do not demand the same restraint in the case of detainees, who are neither charged nor awaiting trial, the press voluntarily appoints itself prosecutor, judge and jury. It then passes such judgments as are calculated to appeal to that inflamed public opinion it has itself so shamelessly misinformed.

It is difficult for anyone who has endured the detainee's experience at the merciless hands of the press not to sound a harsh note of condemnation. To him no condemnation seems harsh enough.

He has been used as "whipping boy" for the unhealthy entertainment of readers of the yellow "tabloid" press; he has been used as an experimental guinea pig by sedate and serious papers and reviews intent on proving or disproving, with the aid of pontifical men of law, that the cause of liberty is best served by its negation; and to him it seems that he has been used as the subject for exercises in unrestrained invective, by every gossip columnist, every hardened hack, and every aspiring amateur of the pen, writing in every medium from the national press to the most remote little local "rag."

As has been said before, extracts from newspaper matter, given without the full context, would not properly illustrate the very solid grounds for detainees' complaints against the press. The reader is reminded that files of cuttings, sufficient to justify every assertion here made, do exist, and will be produced as required, even though reasons of space prevent reproduction here. Any reader of this document who is also a student of the popular press will reasonably agree that further proof is unnecessary. Nevertheless, there is one section of the press which, though of no great importance in general influence, demand special mention—and from which quotations must be given.

The papers of the Isle of Man demand this particular mention because:

(a) The British Government at Westminster has no direct authority over them.

(b) They are not restrained by the same laws of libel that apply on the mainland (thus any litigation undertaken against them would involve extra complication and cost).

(c) They may, and it is reasonable to suppose that they do, by their own attitude to detainees held on the Island, influence the attitude of their readers. This means that they are in a position to prejudice not only the Manx people with whom detainees may have to come in contact in the course of work on farms and land reclamation schemes, but also, and this is of immense importance, they are in a position to prejudice the attitude of guards and personnel of the detention camps.

To suggest that one paragraph in one issue of a local newspaper is likely to exert any great influence is patently ridiculous; but when all local newspapers, daily and weekly, in a geographically detached region work to a like opinion; when they are from time to time supported by organs of the National press; when prominent local figures endorse that opinion, and when no counter opinion is ever given publicity, it would be expecting too much of human nature to hope that the reading public should not be swayed, and their attitude not be biassed, by such weight or propaganda.

These things considered, one is entitled to expect a sense of responsibility dictating press conduct. One is entitled to expect newspapers which eschew sensationalism to take pride in sober, objective news presentation. One might think to find a stronghold of that press dignity which commercialism and ballyhoo have ousted from Fleet Street journalism.

So much for expectations; what does one get?

Here are some extracts from an "Isle of Man Examiner" report of the arrival of 18B detainees on the Island. This report is headed

"TRUCULENT VISITORS."

"The contempt in which **those who would undermine national stability** in pursuit of a political belief are held by true blooded Britons was shown late on Monday (12th May, 1941) night when one of the Manx steamers engaged on Government work arrived at Douglas with about 600 18B detainees . . . ."

The words we have underlined clearly impute treachery to the uncharged detainees.

"The ship's passengers were mostly members of the British Union of Fascists . . . ."

Actually, the Fascists were a minority in a party which was largely composed of British subjects of Italian or German origin.

". . . . There were many typical Englishmen for whom one can have nothing but a feeling of utter loathing."

One or two detainees had hoped to impress on bystanders that they were not traitors by chalking "18B" upon their clothing. This pathetic precaution is described by the "Isle of Man Examiner" as:

"merely another instance of their depraved attitude of mind."

The report ends:

"Shortly after 7 o'clock the first of the two special trains left for Peel, and the second one departed just before 8 o'clock—and as a result the atmosphere of Douglas became all the purer again."

On the same day (16th May, 1941) the "Isle of Man Daily Times" published an item subheaded "The Corner Mob in the Camp." Two separate paragraphs will suffice to show its tone:

"These Fascists can fight, but with their tongues, and though we treat them with contempt we give our readers a few of the thoughts of these **traitors** now at Peel.

"We were, however, asked a poser at Peel this week by a Government official. He asked how could we or anyone else account for a man wearing the Mons Star and the Military Medal **turning against his own country, as was the case of one man now behind the wires at Peel."**

(The underlining is ours.—Ed.)

Such writings can only be interpreted as positive assertions of treachery. They permit no other reading.

In the same issue of the paper another news item ends with the question:

"Why all this secrecy over the Fascists? The public are allowed to look at the skunks at the Zoo."

This was the beginning of a long chapter of insult and persecution. When events at the camp did not provide news items, then news items were shamelessly invented, all of a character to give openings for new and more violent outbursts of contumely.

A purely imaginary ban by Manx farmers against "Mosley men" gave opportunity to quote one farmer as saying:

"We look upon these men as traitors to the Empire. I would rather work till I drop than have one of them on my land."

This item, in common with many of the most scurrilous fabrications, appeared also in the London "Daily Mail." The falseness of the news is best proved by the fact that 18B detainees, "Mosley men" and others, have subsequently worked regularly on Manx farms and enjoyed perfectly civil relationship with their employers.

That visitors to detainees may bring their husbands, brothers or friends presents of creature comforts to lighten the ordeal of detention sends the Manx press, and certain Manx officials, into a frenzy of protest. Mr. A. E. Ostick, formerly resident proprietor of an hotel adjoining the camp and a member of Peel Commissioners, a gentleman of whom more must be written, furnished grotesquely exaggerated accounts of the quantities of foodstuffs delivered in this way. His accounts, taken up acidly by both local and National press, were the basis for an outcry against alleged "luxury feeding of Fascists" ("Isle of Man Daily Times" 4/7/41 to 8/8/41, and other papers).

The circumstances that public seats on Peel promenade had been enclosed in the barbed wire fence of the 18B camp caused another flutter among the Town Commissioners, and incidentally gave the press an opening to report a Mr. Jenkinson as saying:

"I do not object to the aliens using the seats . . . but these Fascists are different—they have turned against their country."

The accumulation of cuttings offering "news" couched in similar terms to the examples given would themselves fill a large volume.

Here follows an instance in which gross misrepresentation is the weapon used to stir public animosity against detainees.

First the bare facts:

On the night of Sunday, September 7th, 1941, in accordance with normal practice at that time, all camp lights were switched out at 10.30 p.m. They were switched off by a master switch controlled by the military and situated outside the camp itself; thus no detainees would be able to switch on a light until such time as the master switch was turned next morning.

This being the recognised signal, detainees proceeded to remove blackout materials and throw open windows for the night. About half an hour later, **by a careless mistake on the part of the military,** the lights were again switched on, and before the mistake was corrected, or detainees could all be awakened to effect the necessary re-adjustment of blackout curtains, lights had been exposed for several minutes.

Here is the incident as recorded in the "Isle of Man Examiner" (12th September, 1941).

"PEEL RATS KICK UP A RUMPUS.
"Many Lights Show Out to Sea.

"Considerable noise was heard in the neighbourhood of the Fascist detainee camp at Peel late on Sunday evening, when there was yelling and shouting and the banging of pots and pans. At the time the camp was in complete darkness, but suddenly over a score of windows facing the promenade were lit up by electric light, reflecting into the bay and visible far out to sea. When the lights were shown there was further shouting, and after a few seconds the lights were put out with a few exceptions. One light in the middle of the promenade and another in Victoria Terrace stayed on for several minutes. Eventually the lights were put out, but other lights were showing on several occasions. The matter appears to call for serious investigation, as the

showing of lights out to sea is so dangerous to people living on the Island."

In the editorial of the same paper, the matter is taken up again in these words:

"THE PEEL RATS.

"The disgusting behaviour of the British traitors at Peel last week-end calls for serious investigation. These men—if they can be called so—seem prepared to do anything which will upset the people and damage our cause. It is a matter of serious import that they should be in a position where they can switch on lights exposed out to sea, and the proper way to deal with them is to deny them any artificial lighting at all. They are the scum of the country and are not worthy of the slightest consideration. We do hope that some serious notice will be taken of last Sunday's outrageous behaviour."

And here is how the story was distorted for the readers of the world's largest circulation daily newspaper:

"LIGHTS UP IN BLACK-OUT.
"Fascists Protest.

"British Fascists interned at Peel on the coast of the Isle of Man switched on bedroom lights 'wholesale.' The men said they had a grievance The lights shone out to sea for fifteen minutes during the black-out. More than twenty boarding houses forming part of the camp were illuminated, and some lights were switched on and off like signals." ("Daily Express," 11/9/41.)

So, it will be seen, is a careless action by the military guards used to the severe discredit of the detainees. The embellishments supplied in the "Express" report give their version of the affair an air of complete authenticity and incalculable harm accrues to the detainee, who is already hard put to it to establish his claim that he is a sober, responsible individual.

The anxieties suffered by relatives of detainees through these mischevious reports, and the baneful influence they may exert, is shown in the worried letters which reached the camp after each of such publications. The wife of a man who has served Britain in war and peace (he was a member of the Shackleton expedition to the Pole) wrote a letter including this passage:

"I have striven desperately to urge men who know your record to make representations to secure your release, and at times I have been hopeful of useful aid. Then comes news of this kind (the "Express" report of the lights incident) and I cannot sincerely blame them when they say that people guilty of such dangerous conduct should not be freed. Why! Oh why must you do such terrible things which only make people hate you?"

A number of marriages have actually been wrecked by such damnable lying.

Even the foregoing quotations of defamatory newspaper matter lose significance in comparison with what was let loose after the so-called "Fascist Riot" at Peel. This subject is more fully dealt with in the section of this statement devoted to "Riot." Here it is sufficient to record that those primarily responsible for the "exaggeration" deplored by the Home Secretary were the Manx newsmongers, who acted as representatives to the National press, prominent among these being Mr. A. E. Ostick of the Creg Malin Hotel, whose masterpiece of graphic fabrication made "splash" headlines in the "News Chronicle." When the more highly trained reporters of the National press did reach the Island the situation was only aggravated. As if bound to justify the expense of their trip to Peel, they began to manufacture sensations out of the most trivial happenings—sometimes without any happenings at all. Failing this, they sent back "local colour" stories which, though vivid, bore scant relation to the truth.

Discovery of a tunnel by which three escapees had crawled under the wire fence of the camp, led W. A. Dixon of the "Daily Herald," and many other reporters to compose a fantastic tale of a mass-escape attempt.

The discovery was obviously legitimate material for a piquant news item—but the mass-escape plan never existed outside reporter's imaginations. It was deliberately invented to "build up" the news value of the tunnel find. Nor was this all. Detainees, who had spent the normal quiet and monotonously boring week-end in the camp, were dumbfounded to read in the press one Tuesday (30th September, 1941) that, in addition to planning this mass-escape, they had been burgling their own canteen (a small lock-up shop) and engaging in riotous brawling.

Since Mr. Dixon is one of those who compiled this lying nonsense, let him tell the story his own way:

"The discovery of the tunnel followed a disturbance in the camp canteen, during which a number of detainees were injured. Some of the detained men broke into the canteen with the object, I understand, of toasting in wine the completion of the tunnel and the prospective bid for freedom. There was a free fight, in which empty bottles were used as weapons. Eight men were put into the camp 'glass house' as a result of the brawl." ("Daily Herald," 30/9/41.)

The whole deliberate fiction was front paged under one inch headlines. Other National dailies and the B.B.C. generally regarded as the guarantor of news authenticity, shared the story of fighting and injuries, causing God knows how much alarm and concern to the families of detainees.

When men pressed for permission to send home conciliatory telegrams they were told—"the matter is not sufficiently important."

Damaging effect of these and other reports on the outlook of the general public is reflected in the correspondence columns of the papers responsible. Here is a typical letter to the press:

"I protest against the utterly flabby treatment of the rioting Fascists in the Isle of Man—I refuse to call them British. If we are fighting with our backs to the wall why not shoot these Quislings and so save complications? Why should they live in peaceful surroundings while other people have to sweat and toil and die.—J. White, South Molton." ("Daily Mail," 24/9/41.)

And here is an extract from another:

"These so-called men, these spineless creatures, revolted, knowing that their guards were not allowed to hit back. . . . These are the men who, rather than fight for their country, prefer to attempt to betray it in the hope of receiving good jobs if their betrayal is successful. And these dirty, would-be traitors are the ones who are allowed to throw broken bottles (wine bottles, I expect), old tins and mud at their guards." (Letter in "Daily Mirror," 25/9/41.)

These two letters indicate an attitude of mind that is by no means rare.

Regulation 18B and the machinations of an unprincipled press have directed against a group of men and women, held in captivity without trial or charge, with no means of proving their innocence, and no defence against the foulest calumny, an intensity of hatred that is mercifully uncommon in the British people. Here is a situation that shrieks aloud for rectification.

If it is really necessary to the well-being of the country to commit innocent men to prisons and prison camps; to scrap their rights; to reserve or totally dispense with charges against them; if these unconstitutional, un-British measures are truly necessary, then we, the detained, must reserve our defence and submit, with what patience we can muster, to our unhappy lot. But is it too much to ask, in view of this absence of charges and of our reserved defence, that all men of fair mind should reserve judgment upon us and press vilification be silenced.

There is another aspect at which we can only hint, as we have only suspicions, not actual proof. That is, that the press is used, deliberately, by certain anonymous quarters, to create bias against detainees at moments when new moves are contemplated against them, or sympathy for them threatens to become too strong.

Commander Bower, M.P., seems to have the same suspicions, so that he remarked in the Commons on the 21st July, 1942:

"In the last few days there has been a very tendencious press propaganda tending to discredit the internees. Coming just as this debate was pending, I cannot help wondering whether this is absolutely fortuitous."

RELEASE.

That Defence Regulation 18B has been administered oppressively is proved overwhelmingly by the fact that, of the 1,160 persons released to date from detention under this regulation, only one man has been given even partial vindication. We refer to Mr. Ben Greene, former Hertfordshire J.P., who, after twenty months of detention, was released on the 7th January, 1941, with all the original charges levelled against him unreservedly withdrawn by the Home Office. Even here, however, possibly to save their faces, the Home Office imposed the nominal condition upon him that he must report to the police any change of address.

Other releases have taken the form of a "revoked order" or, as in the majority of cases, a "suspended order." It is in the circumstances of these releases, and the refusal of vindication to hundreds of men and women returned to a world convinced that they are actual or potential traitors to their country, that the fully punitive effect of this regulation can be seen.

Command Paper 6162, which purports to define the conditions of detention, expressly states that "the condition of the confinement will be as little as possible oppressive."

Can it be other than oppressive that a detainee should read in a newspaper that he has been released, yet that he and the Camp Commandant should continually telephone the Home Office for three days before he actually is freed? This happened.

Can it be anything but punitive that detainees should receive anxious letters from their relatives asking for their whereabouts, as local police said they had been released; and that a month of mental stress should have to be endured before actual release takes place? This happened in several cases.

Is it not oppressive that the release should not come until as long as five weeks after the date on the release order, a gross delay which could do irreparable damage to business affairs, or to the health of the detainee and his relatives? This was a common occurrence.

Can it be anything but malicious treatment that Military Intelligence officers should question detainees—twice in one man's case—on the views of fellow detainees, suggesting that satisfactory answers would bring their own release much nearer? This despicable practice was once a regular routine.

It may be contended that muddle and what is called "red tape" are responsible for delays in fulfilling the intention to release men. Yet does the knowledge of Governmental ineptitude lessen the mental torture of its victims? Furthermore, even this excuse meant nothing where the price of release is the invitation to become an informer. So obvious was it that the Military Intelligence officers concerned were flagrantly over-stepping their duties that, after strenuous protest, they were removed from their posts.

The punitive effects of the Regulation can also be seen in the release of certain men and continued detention of others.

Ex-servicemen of the last war, Englishmen who bear decorations for heroism and service, have been casually informed that the Home Secretary sees no reason for their release. In the meantime, British subjects of enemy origin have been released against their own wish, while avowing their allegiance to Hitler. These men, two of German origin and one of Italian parentage, left M Camp, Peel, after protesting against a release which might cast doubt upon their German and Italian loyalty. Farcical limits are reached when we find one of these men of German origin being forced to join the British army.

It is equally difficult to understand why, of men detained on precisely the same ground—membership of a particular political body—some should be released and some kept in

detention indefinitely. There are hundreds of such cases, where it seems that the deciding factor has been not the decided judgment of the Advisory Committee or the Home Secretary, but the whim of some local official; for if the holding of certain political views has led to detention, what intelligence on earth could decide, at a distance, that one man has changed his attitude and can safely be released, whilst his neighbour must still be confined, in the public interest?

One prospective Parliamentary candidate for British Union was abruptly released, although only five days earlier he had been notified that he must be further detained. Could his views have changed in so short a time?

But punitive treatment endures after release. Every man and woman released, after months of detention, knows that he or she can be whipped back into internment at any time, for there has been created a new and vicious form of "ticket-of-leave" system. This became clear and was brought to a definite threat by Mr. Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons on the 27th November, 1941, when he said:

> "It must not be assumed that the curve of detentions is always going down. There may come a time . . . . that it may be necessary for the curve of detentions to go up again and, believe me, provided that I carry the support of the House with me, I shall not hesitate, in the changing situation that may arise, to detain every person whom I think with reason might be a danger to the State in the situation of anxiety."

This is no mere threat. Men have been released, perhaps by mistake, through some inefficiency in high places and, after so long as six weeks of liberty, have been re-arrested.

Fifteen men serving in the army, mostly as volunteers, were detained for sixteen months and then abruptly released, having been arrested under a wrong clause of Regulation 18B. For a few days, wives, relatives and dependents enjoyed a heartfelt relief; then came the tragic shock. All were re-arrested under new orders. The cruelty of such frivolous play with human liberty is only exceeded by its utter pointlessness; pointlessness which is revealed in the fact that at least eight of the men have since been released again.

But it is the stigma attached to any released person which carries its punitive effect back into civil life. He leaves detention without any withdrawal of the imputation that he is a potential traitor. The facts of this matter were notably summarised by Flight-Lieut. Boothby when he said in the House of Commons on the 26th November, 1941:

> "But to the British citizen interned under Regulation 18B, or the friendly alien interned under Regulation 12 (5A), a stigma must necessarily attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children. We cannot get away from that fact."

The Home Secretary will not admit the error. Every man released carries with him, often endorsed upon his identity card, which must be produced whenever he seeks employment and upon many other occasions, a stigma, making him an outcast amidst a public possessed of a Fifth Column complex.

Under a Suspended Order, the detainee often finds that he may not live in his own town, often even in his own county. A man from Kent reached home to find his wife and family acutely destitute. A local job was available to him; a job that would have enabled him, in some small measure, to compensate his family for the grievous deprivation they had suffered. The job had to be rejected because the police forbade his residence in the county. Little imagination is needed to visualise the anxiety with which he had to search for work elsewhere, still, in effect, as far from his family and home life as ever.

In a second case, a schoolmaster in the East of England was likewise debarred from living in his own county. Driven to take hotel accommodation elsewhere, he suffered the unpleasant indignity of being locked in his bedroom. The landlord, no doubt an excellent citizen, had considered it his bounden duty, on observing that his guest's identity card bore traces of Regulation 18B, to keep such a man under restraint.

Other men have gone out of detention to find their families completely broken up. There are three known cases in which wives have deserted their husbands rather than continue to live in an atmosphere of spiteful malevolence too great for human endurance. The number of shattered engagements is too great for computation.

Many ex-detainees have found their wives in a state of irreparably damaged health. A Bolton ex-serviceman, released after nineteen months' detention, discovered his wife in a condition of physical collapse because of her endeavours to keep on with his job as caretaker of a three-storey warehouse.

Some cases illustrate a vicious misunderstanding by the general public. A Brighton butcher had his premises bedaubed "Traitor." An Islington trader had his shop ransacked. An Ashtead man wrote that he left his timber-yard "full of poles, timber, sheds . . ." and returned to find it bare and depressing. "A timber-yard without timber is awful . . ." It would seem that those who have incurred the Home Secretary's suspicion are no longer protected by any laws of property; that they are regarded as fair game for "patriotic" vandals and thieves.

Released, yet still suspect, subject of whispered back-door gossip, of scandal handed over the shop counters of their neighbourhood; undesirable employees; the released detainees are marked men wherever they go.

A Worcestershire man obtained work with a forestry unit, and there is no doubt he would have been an efficient organiser in work of great value to the country. When the Labour Exchange observed the evidence of 18B detention on his identity card and reported this to his divisional director, he was immediately dismissed. He was informed that his membership of British Union was sufficient reason for this treatment.

Another former member of British Union has been forced to change his employment no less than seventeen times. From most jobs he has been dismissed because of such membership. One firm of Government contractors who employed him as a lorry driver gave the Security Clause in their contract with the Government as the reason for his dismissal. This, they said, forbade the employment of members of British Union. Questioned in the House of Commons by Sir Irving Albery, the Minister of Labour denied that such instructions had been issued by his Department. Be this **true or not**, the fact remains that ex-detainees may be victimised, and are being victimised, either by employers or Government departments.

In the case mentioned, salt was rubbed into the wound when, on application for relief at the local Labour Exchange, the man was refused any form of assistance. This in spite of the opinion of Mr. Craven Ellis, M.P., who wrote "I cannot believe that this would be refused."

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore, M.P., asked in the House of Commons:

> "Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that men who have been released from internment camps have their identity cards marked to show they were so interned? How is it possible for them to get jobs?"

There was no adequate reply. There could be none. The press did not report the question.

There is as much injustice attached to release as to actual detention. That cannot be emphasised too vigorously. It is unjust that men and women of good character should have been flung into prison without warning and detained for more than two years without charge. It is unjust that their cases should have been considered by a tribunal whose findings have frequently been over-ruled by a single Minister of the Crown. It is unjust that established Courts of Law have been bound to refuse the ancient right of Habeas Corpus, a right treasured by the British people for more than eight centuries. Equally unjust is the complete lack of explanation when release from detention is granted. It is damnably unjust that with so much mystery about their detention and release, men and women should be denied public vindication by the Minister responsible for creating that mystery. It is a flagrant travesty of justice that they should be left exposed to the condemnation of a world taught to regard them with gravest suspicion.

There can be no computing what misery; what depths of desolation and utterly helpless desperation may come from this ultimate cruelty.

The point has been put forward that because some three quarters of those originally detained have now been released that there was never any justification for detaining them.

Mr. Morrison replied to this suggestion that changed circumstances justified him in altering his decisions.

It must be recorded however that a large number of those who have been released have joined the army and we should have thought that no amount of change of circumstances would have warranted accepting a man in the army if his status as a "suspected person" still existed.

We should admire Mr. Morrison a great deal more if he were man enough to come out into the open and admit that the whole thing was a mistake from start to finish, and that there never was in point of fact any justification for the detentions.

Because the great majority on release have to report themselves weekly or monthly to the police it is logical to assume that in the eyes of the authorities they are suspected of traitorous intent.

There are numerous cases of such persons being required to do this **right up to the moment** they have joined His Majesty's forces.

It is perfectly good logic to suggest therefore that the Forces are being obliged to accept men of suspected traitorous intent.

This of course is a very wrong procedure unless of course we must assume that Mr. Morrison knew perfectly well that such men had no suggestion of traitorous intent and if that is so why did he compel them to report regularly to their local police? Was it just to damn them still further in the eyes of their neighbours?

WAS PARLIAMENT DECEIVED.

Imprisonment for offences against the civil or criminal code is a survival from those far-off days when the king or his barons had absolute power to cast their rivals or serfs into dungeons, perhaps to inflict physical torture upon them, as punishment to themselves or deterring examples to others. Modern civilisation calls for modified treatment, so that the mere fact of confinement under unpleasant conditions, coupled with coarse and barely adequate feeding, and forced labour, is regarded as sufficient punishment for most offences; but, mark, it is thought of as punishment. Actually, it is the family of the wrong-doer who are usually the worse hit, because while he, at any rate, is housed and fed, they are left outside, deprived of their breadwinner and exposed to such obloquy as neighbours may inflict upon them—but that is a thing our legislators do not often consider; for one thing, there are no votes in it.

It is obvious in any case that to sane people the mere fact of imprisonment is punitive and oppressive; otherwise gaols would have terrors for nobody, would serve no purpose whatever.

Whatever the Government thought and felt about Regulation 18B, Parliament was distinctly restive when the matter was first under

discussion, and this feeling was only set to rest by Government assurances, embodied in the Command Paper 6162, already set out in this document, laying down strict precautions to be adopted to ensure that the imprisonment would be as little oppressive as possible.

Paragraph (1) reads as follows:

> As persons detained in pursuance of Regulation 18B are so detained for custodial purposes only and not with any punitive purpose, the conditions of their confinement will be as little as possible oppressive, due regard being had to the necessity of ensuring safe custody and maintaining good order and good behaviour.

We will make nothing here of such matters as temporary deprivation of books, extra food, or tobacco and cigarettes. In war-time, all should expect inconveniences and loss of solaces and luxuries. Further, it is unnecessary to stress such things, in view of the manifold examples of cases where the Command Paper was not complied with in far more serious respects, to a degree counter both to ordinary humanity and to the expressed will of Parliament.

Ignorance of these matters cannot be pleaded by the Home Secretary, as innumerable and continuous representations were made through prison officers, visiting magistrates, Home Office inspectors, petitions to the Home Office and complaints to Members of Parliament (where these were not obstructed or lost in transmission). Yet applications and petitions were ignored, and parliamentary questions were disposed of by deliberate evasions or downright lies; and when pressed both Mr. Morrison and his Under Secretary, Mr. Peake, have indignantly denied that conditions were oppressive.

Consider some of the circumstances attending arrest and first arrival at prison. How men were seized in their homes, at places of business or employment, or elsewhere, and, without any opportunity to straighten up their affairs before being whipped away into timeless imprisonment, bundled into gaols or local police stations; were not allowed, in some cases, even to acquaint relatives with their fate and whereabouts, or to ensure that children would be looked after; were sometimes paraded, handcuffed or chained together, through the streets of their own town. How an ailing man of 76 was taken on a long and arduous journey, handcuffed, and thrown into gaol to die. How men were threatened, even struck, by police bullies in search of kudos.

Picture how men in His Majesty's forces were in many instances detained in a manner contrary to the Army Act and King's Regulations, were paraded before the public view wearing handcuffs—in one case, a serving officer was handcuffed to a junior rank, a breach of every army code; how regimental badges and badges of rank were torn off uniforms, to provide a public spectacle at a Liverpool railway station.

Read again the testimony of Mr. G. B. as to the birth-pangs endured by his wife, whilst, unattended, even unprovided with articles of hygiene, she lay in a cell at Shrewsbury.

Recall how a child of 10 underwent police interrogation and then, instead of being returned, as promised, to his mother, was placed in a public institution; and we would mention here another case where both parents were arrested on a ridiculous charge, their children also being put into an institution; the London Council (of which Mr. Morrison has been so important a member) later on sending to the mother, still in imprisonment, a bill for their keep.

Were these things punitive? Were they oppressive? Or has the English language changed its meaning?

It is laid down that detainees should be kept apart from convicted prisoners. Yet there are established cases, at Maidstone, Winchester and Walton prisons, where this was not done; and at Brixton and elsewhere many men were made to strip in the presence of convicted prisoners, who sometimes assisted in searching their property.

Frequently, treatment was meted out worse than laid down for convicts. Unless, that is, it is customary for prisoners to be lodged in cells reeking with filth and denied facilities for properly cleaning them; unless it is usual to keep prisoners in solitary confinement twenty-two or twenty-three hours in a day, for days or weeks on end; unless it is typical of English gaols that towels and soap should not be issued until several days after arrest, and that men should, in default of proper cell fittings, be forced to wash their clothes in a cell urine utensil.

Visits were expressly allowed, subject to suitable supervision.

In a number of cases, notably at York, Cardiff and Leeds, these visits were refused. Still, in prisons, they are limited to fifteen minutes' duration. Rules have varied according to the person in charge, but often a warder has sat between the detainee and his visitor, and an embrace, even a handclasp, refused.

On the transfer to Ascot, a permit system was instituted, but was not notified either to detainees or their friends; so that for a period it was a common spectacle to see visitors who had in many cases spent their last few shillings, even borrowed money, to gain touch with husbands, to obtain advice as to how homes should be kept together, turned away and walk, weeping bitterly, along the road back to the station. Somebody had bungled, or somebody didn't care. Telegrams and urgent letters sent from the camp, giving instructions how permits could be got and stressing that it would be futile to come without one, were deliberately delayed or suppressed, resulting in yet more wasted journeys and bitter disappointments.

At Huyton Camp, an Intelligence Officer, Capt. Ormstein, laid down that detainee and visitor must be separated by double table width. When several detainees and their friends were present conversation had to be carried on in unnaturally-raised tones amid a babel of voices, distressing to both visitors and visited; small wonder that after one such experience visitors avowed they would rather undergo separation than such painful meetings.

Food could be sent in; and, packed by loving hands, often at personal sacrifice, was allowed to lie in dirty rooms awaiting the pleasure of those detailed to see to it, eventually reaching the detainees in a battered and rotting condition, or not reaching them at all, having been pilfered by some scoundrel in uniform.

Immediately following the mass arrests, in early June, 1940, letters, inwards and outwards, were subject to extreme delay, it being usual for a letter to take a month in transmission, exchange of letters rarely being accomplished within six weeks. So families without means were cut off from touch, wives in many cases not even knowing their husband's whereabouts; and traders and commercial men engaged on work of extreme national importance unable to contact their businesses and works. It was ruled in prisons (with the exception of Stafford) that no more than two letters could be received in one week, so that frequently a man would receive letters from casual acquaintances, whilst those from his family or business were returned, without explanation, to their senders. This aggravated an already distressing state of affairs.

The situation then became acute on transfer to Ascot, when first of all a printed "field card" was allowed to notify the change of address, and then two 24-line letters, written on sensitised "prisoner of war" note-paper, were allowed weekly. But relatives waited for many days without news. It was so with a Stockport man, who was telegraphed on the 31st July advising of his wife's coming confinement; not until 17th August was a reply allowed to reach her. Reassuring telegrams were not allowed to be sent, or were much delayed, whilst letters were pouring into the camp asking "Where are you and why don't you write?"

Of all the trials undergone by 18B detainees, this barrier to reasonable communication facilities has always been a major provocation to discontent and mental stress. Still in May, 1942, there were many occasions when letters took a month in transmission.

When a detainee's home town is bombed, he waits with great anxiety for news that his family is safe: is it not punitive, not oppressive, that his anxiety should be protracted over weeks before his heart is set at rest?

Says the Command Paper:

> "A detained person will be given full opportunities to make representations in writing to the Secretary of State regarding his case and treatment."

How has this been interpreted? At the outset, a single sheet of paper, probably the most important document a man has ever had before him, in which to make his appeal against detention for an **unknown period, on undisclosed grounds.** Legal advice was not permitted as to its compilation. In one case, only five minutes were allowed in which to write it. One man was refused it altogether at Walton, resulting in failure to lodge it within the prescribed ten days.

After this, there was the right to petition the Home Secretary. Some petitions got lost altogether; most of the others never seem to have been acknowledged.

"Medical attention will be provided . . ." So we read on.

At Walton Prison, a man with duodenal ulcers could not get any attention at all apart from powders. Another was refused permission to obtain medicine which had not failed, over a number of years, to reduce a complaint to a minimum of discomfort; when he pressed the point, the doctor left his cell and ordered the door to be locked.

Also at Walton, two men required dental treatment. One, a Sheffield school teacher, after ten minutes of acute agony during which the doctor had only succeeded in breaking the top off a tooth, was told that nothing more could be done. When he had undergone weeks of pain, the stump was removed by a dentist at Ascot Camp in a completely painless manner and without trouble. Another, with acute toothache, asked for a dentist, and was told the dentist was only available once a week; after a sleepless night, he entrusted himself to the prison doctor, who took it out—without a local anaesthetic.

Altogether, a pretty story. Legal minds may still be divided on the point whether the 18B Regulation is legally valid at all; but none, surely, will have two minds about the manner in which it, and the Command Paper, have been carried into effect.

It is submitted that there are only two possible explanations. Either the Home Secretary and the Home Office have been lax in tolerating the many abuses which have been allowed to go on in breach of the Command Paper; or that there never was any serious intention of honouring it.

Detainees have their own feelings in the matter. It is for members of Parliament, however, to decide if, and to what extent, they may have been deceived, and what they propose to do about it.

CONCLUSIONS.

In the foregoing pages it has been attempted to outline the origin and working of the 18B Regulation. Such shortcomings as are evident —and they are many—have arisen from a number of causes; the conditions under which the compilers had to work, inside an internment camp and therefore cut off from many sources of enquiry, and aware all the time that at any moment authority might step in and seize their writings, to be impounded or

destroyed, or turned to use against them; the reluctance of a great many detainees to discuss their cases, lest publication should prejudice their own chances of release or subsequent immunity from re-arrest; and the fact, all too well appreciated, that the compilers themselves do not profess to be professional writers. Yet setting all that aside, there remains that it has been their lot to live through or to see suffered by others, day by day, the hardships and cruelties complained of or to have heard them related at first hand; and to have read the pathetic letters received by detainees from sorely tried relatives, or from men who, after release, have still found oppression and manufactured hatred dogging their every step. Unfortunately, the women's case cannot yet be given in any detail.

Piecing the story together was no light task. Personal distress and anguish are things of feeling, not to be set down by ordinary men in words; and in striving to remain objective it has been endeavoured to avoid high-flown phrases, keeping rather to blunt fact, as is our English way.

The fact that most of the victims were alleged or avowed Fascists is no justification for the treatment meted out to them, if the statements in this document are correct. It is not our purpose to defend the political views of these victims. But it is demanded that an enquiry be made of the wrongs done to them, and that adequate redress be made wherever that is possible.

THE DEMAND.

As has been shown, nearly two thousand men and women have suffered grievous hardship and loss as a result of this panic legislation, forced through Parliament by means of threat and deception.

We demand that there be set up an impartial body, independent of any Government department, which shall review every case where a British subject has been detained or has been the subject of restrictions under Regulation 18B, and where it is found that in view of all the circumstances the action was unjustified, proper amends shall be made under the following heads:

Victimisation.

This we put first and foremost. Remember the words of the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Osbert Peake: "Why should they be tried? . . . There is no charge against them." (Hansard, Vol. 370, No. 41, Par. 517).

For three bitter years false accusations have been launched against these unfortunates of State, and the possibility has already been envisaged that the slur will remain with them for the rest of their lives, and be borne by their children and their children's children after them. That must not be. We demand that definite Government declarations be forthcoming, and given proper publicity through press and radio, refuting the lies and calumnies that have come to be accepted as fact; furthermore that, apart from any matter of Court proceedings for libel and slander, it be constituted an offence, punishable by law, to conduct further persecution, or business or social discrimination, based on the fact of 18B detentions or restrictions.

Rehabilitation and Redress.

1. Where positions of a permanent nature, whether in private or public employ, have been lost, they must be restored, with due adjustments for lost time; or should this be found impracticable in individual cases proper compensation must be awarded, to include reasonable allowances for loss of pension rights, loss of career and similar damage sustained.

2. Similarly, all other employed persons to be reinstated, or proper compensation awarded if similarly paid work cannot be obtained.

On the contrary "The New York Times" was permitted to use the evidence supplied by the

3. Proprietors of businesses or shops shall be rehabilitated, so that they shall not have lost by their internment; every aspect must be considered—e.g., loss of or damage to business connections, damage to goodwill, loss of ability through long idleness.

4. Compensation shall also be granted in respect of:

(a) Damage to health or mental faculties.

(b) Material losses sustained, for instance, where dwelling, furniture or other property has had to be sacrificed or mortgaged during and/or as a result of detention or restrictions.

(c) Losses sustained by and hardships enforced upon internees' families.

where these have arisen solely as a result of internment or the imposition of restrictive conditions.

5. In assessing compensation, there shall be taken into account any breaches, that is, failure to carry into effect the provisions of Command Paper 6162, the terms of which met with approval in Parliament.

Those are the amends which we feel should be made. There is no desire by internees or others to make money out of the situation, but harm has been done and must be righted.

BEN GREENE CASE

Reference has been made in the body of this work to the internment of Ben Greene.

On January 7, 1942, Ben Green was released from Brixton Prison and a week later he received a long letter from the Home Office which concluded with the following words:—

"After considering the report of the Advisory Committee the Secretary of State thinks it right, taking account of the nature of the allegations in the above quoted particulars and of the exceptional publicity given to them, to inform you that these allegations should be regarded as withdrawn."

Ben Green proceeded to take action for false imprisonment and for over a year the matter hung about in the courts, with one appeal after another. The hearing came up in April, 1943, and after some days Ben Greene withdrew the case, because of the impossible legal position. His case established beyond any shadow of doubt that no 18B person can possibly win any action for false imprisonment for the following reasons:—

1. To win such an action the plaintiff's innocence is not a material factor. He must prove that Secretary of State did not believe him to be guilty, or in other words, he has to prove the state of mind of the Home Secretary.

Lord Clauson stated the legal position in this way:—

"The only thing which in this action can be discussed will be when Sir John Anderson said 'I have reasonable cause to believe.' Was he lying and was it the fact that he did not believe anything of the kind?"

2. To prove the state of mind of anyone is difficult enough but in the case of an 18B it is made quite impossible because at the behest of the Secretary of State himself the most essential evidence can be excluded as it was in this case by the claim of privilege. The Secretary of State declared:—

"I have examined the plea of the Advisory Committee including the transcripts of the proceedings and the reports of the two Committees and I have to inform you that I object to their production other than for letters and documents passing between the Committee and Mr. Greene or his advisors on the ground that it would be contrary to the public interest that they should be disclosed. Further, I have to say that it would be contrary to the public interest that evidence should be given as to what passed at any of the proceedings before the Advisory Committee."

This claim for privilege was upheld by the court and the most important evidence was thereby excluded and Greene withdrew his case to save some of the costs.

It should be noted, however, that in Capt. Ramsay's libel case against "The New York Times" there was no claim for privilege but Secretary of State. Whichever the leg the boot is on, the 18B prisoner goes down!

Kurtz admitted that he was a paid Government agent and admitted that in such circumstances it was his duty to lie. Though he had denied to Greene's solicitors the fact of his alleged report, in the witness box he withdrew the denial and the only evidence not covered by privilege was nullified. To cap all the Government now require Greene to pay well over £1,000 for the legal costs for daring to bring an action for alleged false imprisonment.

EDITOR'S STATEMENT.

[Whilst this work was passing through the press, the editor and compiler indicated to the publisher that he wished to change the foreword. It was not easy to make this alteration so the following paragraphs from the intended revised foreword are published as the editor's and compiler's concluding word.—Publisher.]

I leave it to the reader to judge for himself whether the facts as presented ring true. If he feels that they do ring true then I ask him not to allow the cry of those so unjustly treated under this regulation to go unheard and unanswered.

I am bringing these facts to the public notice, not merely for the sake of the sufferers themselves. It has been said that "a house divided against itself will fall" and the same is true of a Nation. More than ever do we now need complete national unity and if those who are abroad fighting for liberty feel that injustice is being perpetrated in their own country they can hardly be expected to give of their best.

This is no matter of personal surmise for I have seen letters from all three services indicating that the writers are gravely concerned by what they have heard about the administration of regulation 18B.

My final appeal to all who are impressed by what they read is that in every possible way they will bring pressure to bear on their elected representatives so that The Mother of Parliaments may compel the executive to cease from abusing the war-time powers conferred upon them; with, I venture to think, too lively a fear for the military dangers of the present and too little regard for the constitutional dangers of the future. It would be sad indeed for Britain and her allies if we gained a military victory only to find that we had lost the most precious thing for which we are fighting.

I wish to make it quite clear that so far as possible I have refrained from showing any political bias for any party or section but as a British Officer with active service in the last war I am naturally prejudiced in favour of England.

J. WYNN.

Coleshill.

PUBLISHERS' AFTER-WORD

18B Regulations Continued.

A prayer was presented in the House of Commons on July 8, 1943, to annul certain Regulations under the Emergency Powers Act, by Sir H. Webbe. The attack was directed mainly against the delegation of powers by Ministers. Major Lloyd George resisted the prayer and contended that, during the war, these powers were necessary. Finally, the motion was withdrawn. Seven days later, the continuation for another year of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, dating from August 24, 1943, was discussed. It was evident that the manner in which the liberty of citizen, undemocratically and objectionally termed "subject," under the 18B Regulation is curtailed, meets with growing dislike in the House of Commons. Mr. Pickthorn, whom I have attacked for his anti-Socialism in the past, but with whom I agree on this matter, said that, next year, some of the House would divide against the Government unless, by then, its intentions for the future were made clear. Mr. Montague, though

wanting other restrictions to continue, expressed the opinion, that:—

as soon as we can get back to those fundamental principles of the British Constitution in respect of personal freedom the better. I hope that in priority of abandonment the restoration of personal liberty will take the first place.

Mr. Stokes contended, as he has on other occasions, that it was never the intention of the House that a Regulation should be passed to keep persons without trial under detention for any indefinite period of time, and he added:

Whatever may happen, this House will be held responsible after the war for any injustice that may be proved to have been done to people who have been so detained.

Mr. Stokes referred to special cases, and, as regards Capt. Ramsay, said:

I do not believe that the hon. and gallant Member for Peebles and Southern (Capt. Ramsay) would do anything consciously against the interests of the country. I know he has odd views, but if people are going to be locked up for having odd views, quite a number of Members of this House are in danger. His views about race or religion have nothing to do with whether or not he should be locked up. He was in the last war, and he has three sons in this. However cracked his views may be on one particular point, I do not believe he would do anything contrary to the national interest. I suspect other motives. I should be most interested to hear whether his knowledge of certain telegrams which passed between high officials in this country and America had anything to do with his detention. Other people are detained for the same reason. One was tried under the Official Secrets Act and acquitted on all points but is still detained under the Regulations and, as far as my knowledge of the case goes, for the same reason. My right hon. Friend knows well enough to what I am referring. I think the House is failing in its duty and always has failed in its duty on this point by not demanding that the hon. and gallant Gentleman should come to the House and state his case. Whether he is in a fit state to do it after three years of detention I do not know. Personally, I should not be. I should have measured six feet of earth by now if I had been locked up so long. I do not believe any harm would be done if his whole case was reviewed and his liberty restored.

With respect to Sir Oswald Mosley, Mr. Stokes, backed up in his views later by Mr. Boothby, who also mentioned the case of Admiral Sir Barry Domville, considered that the proper thing to do was either to let him out or shoot him after trial, and there was a flurry in the House when he stated that it had been admitted that no foreign money was coming into the British Union organisation, Mr. Morrison believing that that was a quotation from the private report of the Advisory Committee and so should not be given, whereas Mr. Stokes subsequently quoted Hansard of 10 December, 1940, to prove his assertion.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that, as stated by Mr. Pickthorn, Ministers have not

really made the necessary effort to present to their imaginations the extreme heaviness of the penalty inflicted upon the victims, deserving or undeserving, of 18B. It does require some effort of imagination to bring home to oneself what that situation must be. It seems to me, personally, an infinitely worse fate than death. I would sooner be shot or hanged, with or without trial, than detained for two or three or nobody knows how many years, without charge being made against me, in such circumstances, that I think my existence would be certainly a curse to my children and grandchildren for ever afterwards.

Mr. Morrison in his reply maintained that the Government and the House acted as regards Regulation 18B with their eyes fully open, but he agreed that it was a highly exceptional Regulation, adding:

I do not feel any great sense of pride in administering it.

He explained that cases are reviewed irrespective of whether those detained ask for a review or not, and said:

They are not only periodically reviewed in the Department; they come up to me, and I consider them personally. There have been cases in which one, two or three years ago I would not have authorised release, but where I have thought that, even apart from any change in a man's mind, which sometimes takes place, it was right in the different circumstances to release. There are even persons of very doubtful respectability whom I would not have let out but whom I let out now with some risk, recognising that in present circumstances it is safe to let out people whom I could not let out earlier. I think that is the common sense way of dealing with the matter. I have made many mistakes in letting people out, and I also hope that, broadly speaking, I have not made many mistakes in keeping people in.

At this time, there were 429 persons detained, or 100 fewer than in July, 1942, of whom 286, Mr. Morrison stated, are persons of hostile origin or associations, 55 were concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety, and 88 were members of the British Union or active in the furtherance of its objects. To describe some of these detainees as "nasty bits of work," as Mr. Morrison did, seems to be going beyond the limits of fairness, for, not knowing to which class of internee it applied, the House could not object. After all, there are some "nasty bits of work" at large.

The opinion has been expressed in some quarters outside the House, and to some extent in the House, that these Regulations are dangerous because they enable people with whose opinions others do not agree to be shut up. This is a most dangerous thing that can come into our consideration of this matter. I would, therefore, invite the attention of my right hon. Friend to this point, and I think he will agree with me. I do not ask him to accept my word, but I gather that these Regulations, including 18B, are intended to deal with those who overtly or covertly act as agents of the enemy and not those who express themselves in favour of any totalitarian system or any form of government foreign to our system. If it were true that they were to be shut up because they were in favour of any totalitarian system or any Constitution foreign to our system, Communists would have to be in prison, including the hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher). The right hon. Gentleman himself at the Trade Union Congress accused the Communist Party of being practically in favour of violent revolution in this country. . . .

The only justification for the Regulation is that the people arrested are those who are in some way acting overtly or covertly as agents of the enemy. It is necessary that that should be made clear. Otherwise we should get into a dialectical dilemma; the Home Secretary himself would, because of the speech which he quite properly made the other day at the Labour Party Congress. Even more dangerous statements are being made outside. Many people are suggesting that because a man expresses an opinion in favour of a totalitarian form of government he should be shut up if it is in favour of Fascism but not if it is in favour of Communism. That way lies complete dictatorship. Nothing could be more dangerous. It is a view which is being expressed by the Communist Party, though we could reply, any Socialist or any Tory could reply, "You ought to be shut up too." Another impression is growing up outside.

Before the debate concluded, Commander Sir Archibald Southby referred to the growing apprehension both inside and outside the House of the increase in government by Regulation and by Order, the apprehension of members themselves being evidenced by the greatly increased attendance at each debate on the subject. As regards 18B itself, Commander Southby declared that he himself had never been one of those who wished to do away with it, and he added:

If you can produce for me a man convicted as a traitor to this country, not only will I acquiesce in his execution, but I will be prepared to take a hand in executing him. But I do say that the time has now come to review the way these Regulations work. The most obvious example, in my view, of the danger inherent in this type of legislation lies in the fact, that we, as Members of Parliament, have allowed a Member of this House to be locked up without insisting upon being told why he has been locked up. I conceive that it may be necessary to lock up any or every Member of Parliament, but I have always said—and I adhere to it—that you should not lock up a Member of Parliament and silence his voice without first coming to this House and saying, as could be done in Secret Session, why he was being locked up and giving him the opportunity of standing in his place or at that Bar and defending himself against the charge.

As a matter of fact I believe that, if a sufficient number of Members put down a motion demanding the presence of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Peebles and Southern (Capt. Ramsay) either in his place or at the Bar of this House the Government would have to produce him here so that he could answer the charges against him. It cannot be right that you should silence the voice of a Member of Parliament in this way.

The contribution of Mr. Boothby, however, was noteworthy as being an excellent summary of the position. In the course of his speech he said:—

I intend to deal with Regulation 18B and also with Regulation 20 (a), which in my opinion is even more pernicious; because 20 (a) entitled the Executive to imprison an alien against whom a deportation order may have been made. It may have been made on reasonable grounds, and in time of peace no one questions the right of the Executive to make such an Order; but simply because it is physically impossible to execute the deportation order owing to the fact that there is a world war, the Executive has arrogated to itself the right to imprison the person against whom the deportation order is made. That is a very serious thing. It may have very serious repercussions in the years that lie ahead. It is even more arbitrary than 18B.

In opening this debate the Solicitor-General said that the good faith of the Executive was implied and assumed, and was subject to the review of the High Court if necessary, and if it could be impugned. But nobody denies that the Executive act in good faith. Nobody has suggested that the Home Secretary puts people in prison because he does not like their faces or has some personal spite against them. The fact remains that the High Court of Justice has no power whatsoever in regard to the administration of Regulations 18B or 20 (a). It is known that the High Court judges hate Regulations 18B and 20 (a). There are many cases which I could read out to my right hon. and learned Friend, but he knows them well enough, in which the judges have expressed profound dissatisfaction with them. They do not like them.

Most of the people detained under Regulations 18B and 20 (a) were put there in the supreme emergency of 1940. I still maintain that it was generally thought and assumed by this House that those people were being taken into custody for a comparatively short period of weeks while the supreme emergency lasted; but their detention has now turned into penal servitude for an indefinite period of years, without any right of appeal to any tribunal, public or private. I believe that that is wrong and I will never change my opinion on this point.

What are the concessions for which some of us are asking at the present time, and have asked for every time these Regulations have been debated? They are very moderate concessions. For two years now we have asked the Government to establish a properly constituted legal tribunal sitting in camera; to give these internees a chance of putting their case, and to judge by the results. Let them also be represented by counsel, should they so desire. Above all, allow them to know what the case is against them. It is never a good thing to try a man without charging him; and nobody can say that it is. It is a bad business. But that is what we have done to these people. In nine cases out of ten they have no idea of what they are charged with. They are there, eating their hearts out in doubt and misery; and that is cruel and wrong.

An hon. Member mentioned Sir Oswald Mosley, and I quite agree with much that he said. I would try Sir Oswald Mosley, and if he were found guilty of high treason I would shoot him. Failing that, I think he might do much better work for the country outside prison than in, under whatever surveillance the Home Office may consider necessary. The same goes for a man like Sir Barry Domville. No one can persuade me that a man who was second-in-command to Admiral Tyrwhitt in the last war, was going to do anything but fight the Germans if they landed in this country. He is a man of over 70, with a record of distinguished service to the State. What is the point of keeping that man in prison at the present time? There is also the case of the hon. and gallant Member for Peebles and Southern (Captain Ramsay). I would certainly have had him before some properly constituted tribunal as a Member of this House before committing him to prison. As I have said before, and now repeat, I often wonder what would have been the position of Charles James Fox in this country to-day, if he had been a Member of this House and had made any one of a whole series of speeches that he made during the first Napoleonic War. He would have been in Brixton Prison before he was half way through the first one if the Home Secretary had had anything to do with it. It is not in accordance with the tradition of this country.

The Home Secretary has recently been making speeches in the country about the future organisation of government, and talking of the control of monopolies. So far as monopolies are concerned, I am with him a large part of the way. But I would just say to him that control of the bureaucracy is equally important. And where you get the monopolies and the bureaucracy getting together, that is the greatest danger of all, because we are on the pathway that leads directly to the totalitarian Fascist State.

The House concluded its sitting by extending the Emergency Powers Act for another twelve months. Whether in the meantime these powers can be modified, as suggested by Commander Bower, remains to be seen.

Since this debate, the press has informed us of the death, on active service, of Captain Alec H. R. Ramsay, Scots Guards, eldest son of Captain A. Maule Ramsay, M.P. The father was allowed to attend a memorial service and

then returned to Brixton Prison. Alec Ramsay is said to have been a brilliant scholar at Eton where he was head of the "Oppidans." Leaving college he entered the Army, and in this war he served in Norway where he was wounded, but was able to escape by plane. On recovery, in the early spring of 1942, he begged to be transferred from his battalion in order to serve abroad again, and he went through the Libyan campaign, contracting, as a parachutist, from sand in the lungs and exposure the illness from which he died in the Military Hospital, Johannesburg, on the 19th August.

Whilst Earl Winterton cannot be expected to understand economics, or to realise that Stalinism is not Communism, there is point in his argument concerning the operation of 18B.

When the repressive Regulations were introduced, the Communist Party, then anti-war because of its own hireling character, and the existence of a Russia-German Pact, was afraid of being suppressed. So it cried out against legislation it now approves, not from principle, but purely from a mean party political power complex interest; that is, from the standpoint of unprincipled political scoundrelism.

On this point, so that readers may judge for themselves, we reproduce the following article from the columns of the "Daily Worker," for Wednesday, July 3, 1940:—

NEW ANTI-LABOUR REGULATION.

A new Defence Regulation giving the Home Secretary power to suppress certain organisations and to make participation in their activities illegal, has been made by a recent Order in Council.

The new Regulation concerns any organisation which, in the opinion of the Home Secretary, is "subject to foreign influence and control" or of which the officials have, or have had associations or sympathies with the system of government of an enemy country, and which is in danger of being used for purposes prejudicial to the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of the war, or of the maintenance of essential services.

Such an organisation can be the subject of an order by the Home Secretary, the effect of which will be to make it illegal for any person to summon a meeting of members, attend any such meeting, publish any advertisement of such meeting, enlist support for the organisation, or make or accept any contribution for the organisation.

Any member or creditor of the organisation or the Attorney-General can apply to the Court to wind up the affairs of the organisation and to dispose of its assets. The Court may, if it is satisfied that the organisation is of the kind described in the Regulation, order its funds to be disposed of in any way the Court thinks fit.

GOVERNMENT POLICY.

The new Regulation, 18AA, is in continuation of the Government's policy to invest the Home Secretary with arbitrary powers against persons and organisations which the Government may at any time wish disposed of.

Power to make participation in a political organisation of itself an offence is almost unprecedented in British legal history. The nearest analogy is the early nineteenth century ban on trade unions and the persecution of their members.

In France, of course, it was precisely under such powers as that given to the Home Secretary by Regulation 18AA that the Communist Party was suppressed.

The Regulation was made at a meeting of the Privy Council in Buckingham Palace on June 26. It is not known which Privy Councillors were present.

LABOUR AGREEMENT?

It would be interesting to hear from the Labour Ministers, who are, or have been made, Privy Councillors, whether any of them were present at the June 26 meeting and whether they approved of the new Regulation.

The point is important because the Regulation could quite easily be made to apply to the great trade union and labour organisations of this country, which have always had international connections, and which, in a period when these organisations become "troublesome" to a reactionary Government, may be held to be capable of being used for purposes prejudicial to the "maintenance of public order."

The entire working-class movement is entitled to know whether the Labour members of the Privy Council had any hand in framing or approving of such an anti-Labour Regulation.

It is hoped that the reader has found food for thought in the above few notes but should he be interested in obtaining other information the following literature is recommended to him for his perusal.

The Defence Regulations. 3d. post free.

Our Fight For Freedom. 5d. post free.

LIBERTY RESTORATION LEAGUE,
38 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.

Is This Justice. By The Duke of Bedford. 5d. post free.

STRICKLAND PRESS
104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

The Case of C. R. Merriman. By R. Hamer. 4d. post free.

Magna Carta in the Dustbin. By Jane Zedd. 6d. post free.

In Search of Justice. By Henry St. George. 8d. post free.

Shall Justice Prevail? 5d. post free.

18B Publicity Council, 15 Woburn Square, London, W.C.

Printed and Published by The Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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Three Conferences and a Speech

By C. H. NORMAN

Recent weeks have been marked by much coming and going on the part of those men in whom the peoples of the Allied Nations have been foolish enough to entrust absolute control of their lives, liberty and property in the past five years. The three dictators, Messrs. Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt have been meeting in conclave with their Chinese counterpart, the purpose of the various Conferences apparently being to devise means of speeding up the slaughter of their countrymen and those of enemy States in various parts of the world. The Conferences of these major figures was preceded by a preparatory conference of the lesser lights of the various Foreign Offices. In addition that curious person, Field Marshal Jan Smuts, has been taking some months off from his duties as Prime Minister of South Africa for the purpose of informing the world at large what he has to offer as a prophet of things to come. It may be worth while to consider for a few moments the purpose of these mutual genuflections and complimentary barrages.

Perhaps it is a little reckless to refer to the purpose of these Conferences, as the official announcements are so vague and self-destructive when analysed, the one against the other, that not much "purpose" can be discerned in them, except for asserting once more the truth of the Amrican maxim, in its accurate form, on which the whole principle of the government of the United States is based: "That the purpose of statesmanship is to deceive all the people all the time, at a reasonable remuneration to oneself." (Private Papers of President Bunkum of the United States, 1890-1943).

The meeting of foreign secretaries resulted in a statement which was remarkable for its omissions, Poland and France being not referred to, nor Japan. What is the supposed origin of the war? The pact between England and Poland (entered into **without** the authority of the British people in 1939) whereby Great Britain would assist Poland in the event of a Polish-German War. It was this fact which inspired the ultimatum from Britain to Germany in September, 1939, the rejection of which by Germany led to the European War, and finally to the world war. It is certainly odd that after the war has been proceeding for four years (during which the assistance to be rendered to Poland has not proved particularly successful) a conference of Allied Foreign Secretaries should have been held at which the word Poland is never breathed. The same observations have almost equal force in the case of France, which was dragged into the war by the British Government against the real will or desire of her own statesmen, which was the one fact which emerged at the Riom Trials. France, having been landed in an unholy mess as a result of British policy, is now treated as though her territories may be regarded as satrapies of Britain and the United States. Japan was not mentioned at this Conference to gloss over the awkward fact that all the blandishments of Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt have so far failed to induce Russia to enter on any joint operations against Japan.

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

ON THE THRESHOLD, 1944

The next Conference was at Cairo between Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-Shek, where the absence of any Russian representative made it possible to discuss the dreadful topic of Japan. The announcement was duly made that Japan was to be stripped of all territories which "she has taken by violence and greed." Well, well! These moralists in international politics certainly all come from the stock of Uriah Heep. Did not the United States acquire the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, in the same period in which Japanese conduct is denounced, by 'violence and greed'? Was not the acquisition of the free and independent Boer Republics by Great Britain the result of a policy of "violence and greed"? A contest between strippers and stripped may be the next stage. The Conference produced a vast number of threats and a good quantity of humbug, but not much else. Certainly one may wonder as a humble taxpayer where the value for the money spent comes in, as it is the taxpayer who has to pay for these jaunts, at which the various meeting gentlemen (and ladies) contrive to do themselves well and their countries rather badly. These gentlemen are so sensitive of their value to their countries that, on this occasion, the correspondents recorded that they met "behind guns" and the ordinary business of the "locus in quo" was entirely suspended at their pleasure. It is a curious form of democratic activity. The facts rather remind one of the activities of Alexander, Tamerlane and Attila.

The next Conference was held at Teheran, the capital of Persia or Iran, a country which was driven into the war as a result of a conspiracy in which the Shah was forced from his throne by an Anglo-American occupation of the country. The only concrete result was a declaration that the independence of Iran was a matter upon which the governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom were "at one." The cynic might ask, since when? Persia has been harassed by the Russian and British Governments steadily for thirty years to the writer's knowledge, while its most valuable economic asset, oil, has been entirely exploited for the benefit of everyone except the Persians. It was perhaps necessary to make this declaration in view of the fact that the invasion of Persia by Messrs. Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt was accompanied by the following inconveniences to the Persian citizen: "Every frontier was closed; every plane was ordered to stay on the ground; all road transport, except that needed to carry food, was stopped." Considering the state of distress in Persia, under the Anglo-Russian occupation, perhaps one may wonder whether the exception did not prove the rule on this occasion! "The Daily Herald" account (December 7, 1943) proceeded: "Travelling on the railways was forbidden; no telegrams were allowed to be sent abroad; the radio station was off the air." It would seem that only the Persians were not "at home" in Teheran during that conference period. The declaration of concern for Persian independence was a little overdue from these three paragons of democratic principle. The general announcement at the end of the conference did not add any information on the two points on which the world was naturally curious: whether Russia was going to lend her aid in the struggle against Japan, or return to China the territories taken from that country in the past by "violence and greed." Otherwise, one is told that the Conference was "roses, roses, all the time." There are certain pieces of Persian wisdom (from Omar Khayyam) which seem more applicable to this Conference than any other kind of comment, but politeness forbids quotation of the apt passages.

The final Conference (till the next one) was held in Cairo at which the Churchill-Roosevelt spiders invited the Turkish fly into the Allied parlour. Whether the Turkish fly has escaped intact from the web in which it is apparently the wish of the United States and Britain to entangle it, only time can tell; but there are signs that something has gone wrong with this piece of artful dodgery. The Turks are in a rather unhappy position, surrounded as they are by states whose sole purpose for decades has been the "maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire," with the odd result that large parts of that Empire (perhaps as a consequence of the policy of "violence and greed," and perhaps not)—have fallen under the control of those so concerned with "upholding the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire." Certainly, situate between such well-known international philanthropists as Great Britain, Russia, Germany and the United States, a certain skill will be required by the Turks to retain for themselves such few portions of "Turkish delight" as their quondam friends have left them for their own enjoyment.

Amid all this conferring, Field Marshal Jan Smuts let slip some of the real policy behind the facade of international make-believe represented by the names, Atlantic Charter, Hot Springs, U.N.R.R.A., A.M.G.O.T. and the rest of the gibberish of the Allied and Associated nations. Field Marshal Smuts told the Empire Parliamentary Association that "France has gone; Italy has completely disappeared; Germany will disapnear." Their substitutes apparently will be Russia, Great Britain and the United States. Japan was not mentioned. Even the Field Marshal did not venture on prophecy there, having already compromised himself heavily in that regard in past utterances. It is well to recall that the Field Marshal was the gentleman who had the bright idea of proposing at the Versailles Conference in 1919 that Germany should pay by way of one item in indemnity and reparations the whole cost to the Allies of all the pensions for dependants of killed and for their wounded soldiers! He was also the gentleman who so mishandled the military operations in East Africa in the 1914-1918 war that he was recalled by General Botha who told him that "he was not a soldier, but a politician." He has indulged in numerous prophecies about the course of the war, and he is believed, with Mr. Churchill, to be the person responsible for getting the British armies bogged in the mountainous areas of Italy. One can well believe this as it is of a piece with the military incompetence he has exhibited throughout his life, even though he has become (like the late Lord Haig) a Field Marshal.

One word about another prophet, Marshal Stalin. He told the world in May 1942 that the Germans would be driven out of Russia by the end of the year. He repeated the same statement in May 1943. He authorised the issue of a statement on June 22nd, 1942, that the Germans had suffered ten million casualties in the first year of the Russo-German War. In June 1943, he authorised the issue of a statement that, in the two years of the Russo-German War, the German casualties amounted to 6,375,000, so that in a year the Germans had a net gain of three and a half million men! By the end of 1944 (when General Smuts asserts "Victory will be in the pocket") at this rate, the Germans will gain another three and a half million on 1942!

The end of this war is like the receding carrot before the unfortunate donkey's nose; it is always "next" Christmas. There are certain features about the war which remind one of the characters of "Alice in Wonderland." One might safely cast Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt for the parts of "Tweedledum and Tweedledee," Marshal Chiang Kai Shek for "The Mad Hatter," and Marshal Stalin for the double role of "The Walrus and the Carpenter." But heaven protect their unhappy subjects from their activities in the coming year. The only prophecy the writer has made about the war was that its length would exceed the length of the war of 1914-18, a prophecy now unhappily justified by the event. He can only add the words of the old song: "Christmas never comes," in relation to the end of this war, while under the control and conduct of the present Allied leaders, generals and admirals.

Perhaps the invocation of characters from "Alice in Wonderland" is too delicate for these sombre times. A truer parallel may be taken from "Sardonic Tales," by Villiers de Lisle Adam, who satirised the characters of European statesmen in his studies of Baron Bottom, the inventor of "The Glory Machine," in Professor Schneitzoeffer, the inventor of "The Apparatus for the Chemical Analysis of the Last Breath," and, more appropriately to these times, is his study of the sinister millionaire who perambulated Europe in the early days of the nineteenth century bribing executioners so that he might substitute them at their grim task and indulge in the sadistic pleasure of operating the guillotine in France. These modern statesmen, smiling at each other across well-loaded dinner tables, while their subjects so often starve, might reflect on the ruin they have already wrought on the peoples they are supposed to rule in faith and in equity, and might wonder whether it has been worth while expending so much energy to secure for certain a place, in Villiers de Lisle Adams' famously bitter phrase, among the "dilettanti" of Torture.

There is one final question which commonsense would put at this stage of the war when the phrase "the plebiscite of the democracy" is being so much bandied about. The peoples of Europe (the United States, Russia, China, Japan and India seem excluded from this boon) are offered after the war a free choice of government by plebiscite on a democratic basis. Suppose the inhabitants of Jugo-Slavia, Italy, France, Germany and Bulgaria vote for a return of the Fascist or Nazi system of government. What then? Is the free plebiscite to be set on one side. If so, that is an end of freedom of choice in the form of government desired. If the result of the plebiscite is accepted, then the whole purpose of the war, which is alleged to be the complete overthrow of Fascist and Nazi dictators (though Communist and Capitalist dictators are quite acceptable in Russia, the United States and China) will be nullified, and Europe will be back at the political state of 1939! It is an interesting dilemma on which the "democrats" have so far maintained a stony silence, though it is well to recollect that all the European plebiscites held after the war of 1919 went in favour of Germany.

Finally, as Japan is to be called upon to make reparation for the undoubted suffering inflicted on the Chinese people, may one ask whether Great Britain is also going to join in this orgy of repentance by making reparation for the undoubted suffering inflicted upon China during the infamous Opium Wars, during the Boxer Rising, through the seizure of Hong Kong and other Chinese ports and through her aid in suppressing the Communist movement in China in 1924 and onwards? If not, why choose Japan as the only occupant for the stool of the sinner? Merely another piece of humbug one may suppose, a commodity whose manufacture seems as extensive in this war as that of all the other munitions of war.

New Humanist Minister

Our comrade, the Rev. C. H. Cole, minister of the High Street Unitarian Chapel, Kingston Crescent, North End, Portsmouth, has been ordained a minister of the Humanist Society of Friends. Mr. Cole joins the ranks of the many Unitarian ministers who have become ministers of the Humanist Society without leaving the Unitarian Pulpit and so have served to bring Unitarianism into line with the radical and progressive concept advanced by W. J. Fox in England when he founded the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at South Place Chapel in London, and by Theodore Parker, when he established his own independent pulpit at West Roxbury, Mass., U.S.A. Fox's approach has proven more radical and more useful to humanity even than Parker's.

Readers will recall the biography of Mr. Cole that appeared in these columns for September, 1942. This illustrated record recounted Comrade Cole's experiences in the war of 1914-18 as a member of the N.Z. Expeditionary Force, and described his Socialist and Pacifist post-war activity in New Zealand. We reproduced his pulpit renunciation of war.

Next month we shall publish Mr. Cole's Humanist Confession of Faith, specially written for "The Word." This declaration will appear subsequently in United States Unitarian journals favourable to Humanism and the establishment of a Humanist Federation, embracing Unitarian and Ethicist Pulpits.

TO READERS.

During 1943 many comrades showed their appreciation of our work by financial sacrifices and support. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude. Our correspondence is heavy and it is not possible always to write to comrades. Our appreciation of the loyalty shown in these days of crisis is none the less sinfficere.

Many comrades grow impatient when their MSS. are not published. We are overset very much every month and sacrifice our own essays constantly. Please do not send MSS. unless you are willing to be patient and to run the risk of losing the copy sent. Take the risk and in time your MSS. will be published most likely. Our desire is to afford every comrade the opportunity of being heard. Since this office is a combined Public Assistance, Poor Man's Lawyer and Free Advice Bureau, as well as a publisher's office, we cannot give guarantees: and we do not want to make personal enemies of comrades should we happen to lose some MSS. That is all.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH

By the Rev.
F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A.

There is always an exhilaration to be gained by watching a fight in which one of the combatants is a strong man struggling against heavy odds. The struggle becomes more intense when the strong man is one who has cultivated both his mind and the ways of the world; it is more vital when the cause is a challenge to the whole round of conventional opinion. At such a time, the conventions are struggling to maintain a hold which has weakened through the gradual failure of rational sanction; the attack will bring them finally to the ground. The long round of battles fought during the later Victorian days by Charles Bradlaugh were struggles of this type between a strong and determined man, possessing gifts far above the average and a somewhat shallow series of conventions in both religion and politics which had riveted themselves upon English life. The name of Bradlaugh has become but a shadow to-day; the number of people is becoming very small and very old who can remember him as he moved about the country or who were thrilled as they heard the voice of the great orator. Yet there was a time when Charles Bradlaugh possessed a voice which could lead the men of Lancashire and Yorkshire or the Durham pitmen to struggle for liberty against oppression. If, to the timid and conventional, his name once suggested something very akin to Antichrist himself, he was highly valued by those who understood his true worth and the work which he had done. Once a spurned outcast, Bradlaugh died as the respected Member of Parliament for Northampton; the day after his funeral, Mr. Gladstone himself paid high tribute in the House of Commons to the memory of a man whom he described as one of the most valued members of the assembly. The work which he did would have filled several normal lives; his activities ranged over many fields. Charles Bradlaugh was a remarkable man and one of whom any country might well be proud. He strove to give to his fellow-men liberty and justice. To this end, he sought to liberate minds from superstition and bodies from useless toil. If some of his views do seem out of date to-day, it is because they succeeded in making advances sufficient to render later progress possible. Bradlaugh was, for example, no Socialist; he remained a firm believer in individualism and in old-fashioned radicalism; he was opposed to unionism and co-operation. From one standpoint, this might suggest that his political and social approach has no value for to-day; it is all too easy to forget that contemporary approaches, designed to build up a living working-class movement which shall overthrow the remaining remnants of oppression, owe their present potency to the pioneer work of such men as Bradlaugh over sixty years ago.

Born on September 26th, 1833, Charles Bradlaugh had a hard boyhood. His home was at Hoxton in the sweltering wastes of bricks and mortar which make up East London; his father was a small lawyer's clerk whose income was never more than a pittance. The son left school at an early age and found work with the firm which also employed his father. On Sundays, he attended St. Peter's Church, Hackney Road, and he was reared in the strict tenets of the Church of England. It was this fact which was to alter the whole life of the youth. He was a Sunday School teacher and was being prepared for confirmation. The vicar, the Rev. Graham Packer, instructed him to fit himself by gaining a knowledge of the Gospels and their contents; the youth of sixteen was not the first to be struck by the inconsistencies and difficulties inherent in the narrative. He wrote a long and courteous letter to Mr. Packer and asked him to explain the many improbabilities which the orthodox view of religion contains. The reply of the vicar was characteristic of his class; he was suspended from the Sunday School; he denounced him to his father as possessing dangerous infidel tendencies illustrated by a leaning to teetotalism; he brought into being a petty persecution at home. Young Bradlaugh, cut off from his church associates, and unwilling to attend service during his suspension, drifted on Sundays to Bonner's Fields, then a popular forum, where he listened to the open-air speakers. He was soon to learn that the religious views of Mr. Packer would not stand a moment's examination in the light of knowledge, common-sense, or ascertained fact. His refusal to repent exasperated Mr. Packer; he consulted Bradlaugh's father, a fellow-fanatic, and together they made life so unbearable for the young man that he left home and employment for good. Bradlaugh's strong atheism, which remained with him for life, was in part the outcome of reflection and study but in part it was also the legacy of the treatment which he had received from his father and the vicar of St. Peter's, Hackney Road. The outcome of their work serves as a warning against a mistaking of ignorance, bigotry and folly for the will of God; the real foes of religion in every age are religious fanatics or mere conventional bigots.

Young Bradlaugh made an ineffective attempt to earn his living as a coal-merchant. He would have starved had he not been protected by the widow of an old freethinker, Richard Carlile. This remarkable man, whose life-work was to win for his countrymen the freedom of the press, left a determined fellow-warrior in Elizabeth Sharples Carlile. Poor though she was herself, she took pity on the friendless young man and allowed him to eat at her table. It saved him from the gutter to which the Rev. Graham Packer and his father sought to bring him although he was still unable to earn a living. His best customer for coals, a baker's wife, left him when she heard that he was an infidel; her excuse being that the bread might smell of brimstone! They were hard years but they had one effect; Bradlaugh learned to express himself freely and fluently. He took part in debates upon religion and politics, sharpening his viewpoints and his wit. But life was difficult; he could see no prospect of settling a trifling debt which he had incurred. As a result, he enlisted in order to obtain the money and was, for three years, a private in the Dragoon Guards.

His fellow-recruits started by ragging him; they ended by respecting his exact knowledge and stand for liberty. Bradlaugh had now started his life-struggle for the rights of man; it was this fight which maintained him through his army days. Drafted to Ireland, he strove against all that made for oppression. When the captain of the troopship tried to cheat the recruits of money for some work which he had got them to do, it was young Bradlaugh who stood up to him and got the money from him by dint of threatening to write to "The Times"! The incident was characteristic of later days, though then the threat would have been one of a writ or a summons. An impertinent army chaplain remarked that the soldiers would not understand his sermon; it was Bradlaugh who staged a demonstration which prevented the parson from making any further remark of this sort. In Ireland, Bradlaugh learned of the depressed nature of the Irish peasantry. He saw the extent to which the woes of the country were caused by absentee landlordism and repressive politics. His genuine sympathy for the Irish was never lost; years later, as an English Member of Parliament, he strove for home rule on behalf of the unhappy people. He also became a strong convert to the temperance movement, frequently breaking bounds to give teetotal lectures in a Dublin hall. The sight of an Irish eviction was written on his mind; many years after, he was to repeat the story in the House of Commons. When a small legacy from an aunt enabled him to purchase his discharge, Bradlaugh left the army and returned to England. It might be thought that his army years were wasted, yet it was not so. They meant a widening of experience and of knowledge which was soon to stand him in very good stead. Bradlaugh left the army as a convinced radical and republican; the last vestiges of a somewhat noisy and reactionary patriotism—the creed of Mr. Packer and his father—were dissipated from his mind.

Back in London, the young man obtained work as a lawyer's clerk. It was in this occupation that he gathered an exact and far-reaching knowledge of law. Although he never qualified, Bradlaugh was one of the best lay-lawyers of his day and a figure to be feared when the argument of a law-court had to be faced. He became well-known at this time as a public lecturer. When his own experiences are recalled, it is not to be expected that he would have much patience or sympathy with traditional Christianity. It had made Mr. Packer a bigot and his father a fanatic; it had ruined his boyhood; it imprisoned men's minds and drew off attention from social advance. Bradlaugh opened war upon religious superstition; he gave a forward impetus to the secularist movement which sought to build up the earth in the light of reason as a place where happiness might prevail. Becoming the President of the National Secular Society, he occupied the position for many years and he founded several papers to express his views. After one or two abortive journalistic efforts, he brought into being the "National Reformer" which, until his death, was to be the main medium for his propaganda. Atheistic, radical, republican, it represented the views of many English working men for over a generation. Bradlaugh wrote a number of pamphlets and books; they were designed to assist in overthrowing the colossal superstitions of mankind. It may be felt that he did not succeed; he is dead whilst the church has gone on. In part this is true but ecclesiasticism has gone on with wings clipped and claws pared. Its monstrous interference with social life and its stranglehold over education have alike been broken for good. Light has entered men's minds and ecclesiastical theology could not stand against it. Looking back over the years, it is not Bradlaugh who has failed in the intellectual contest. Many of the views on the Bible, on creeds or on dogmas, for which he strove almost a century ago, are commonplaces to-day. In the same spirit he took to politics. Bradlaugh realised that many people throughout the world were unhappy and that it was due to certain causes. Empire-building and imperialism could only lead to the exploitation of subject-peoples; large profit could only end in the general oppression of the working-classes; militarism could only bring war in its train. His voice was heard upon many a London platform; it was always on the side of justice and liberty. When the typical episcopal utterances of those days upon such subjects as war, unemployment, or imperialism are recalled, the voice of Bradlaugh stands in sharp contrast as one raised for the noblest ideals against the selfish spirit of grab and oppression which has always characterised reactionary political parties. When the battles of to-day come to be remembered, it will be possible to trace in the progressive efforts now being made something of the spirit which characterised the political work of Charles Bradlaugh eighty years ago.

Bradlaugh had his troubles and trials; the bigots never left him alone; they sought to entangle him in prosecutions for blasphemy and to ruin him by vexatious litigation. In spite of their efforts, Bradlaugh made several of their best-known leaders sadder and poorer men when they got to the law-courts! His wife, to whom he was devoted, became a drunkard; it was one of Bradlaugh's bitterest griefs which he hid for many years beneath a noble silence. There were days of poverty and struggle, misrepresentation and every conceivable attack was made at his expense. But he strove on and fought numerous battles; one of the bitterest fights taking place in 1877 when he struggled for the liberty of the press by himself issuing a pamphlet on the population question which the authorities were trying to

ban. Bradlaugh might have been ruined by the litigation, but he won his battle. He had previously fought a great legal fight concerning the stamp-tax on newspapers and had placed the authorities in a position where they were forced to repeal an obsolete tax which prevented the free spread of knowledge among the working classes.

As the years went by, various warriors for freethought stood at Bradlaugh's side. Austin Holyoake, brother of a famous pioneer in the co-operative movement, died in 1874, but he had been enabled to assist Bradlaugh in numerous struggles. For many years Mrs. Annie Besant was a comrade-in-arms. The wife of a Church of England vicar in Lincolnshire, she had been driven to part from her husband owing to her unorthodox theological views. During a long period she assisted Bradlaugh by pen and speech. It was a bitter sorrow to her when her husband, assisted by the Bishop of Lincoln, brought a legal action which tore her two children from her care owing to professed theological unbelief. The suffering and misery thereby caused provided Christian England with an edifying and worthy spectacle! It is interesting that both children left the vicarage to return to their mother's roof as soon as they were free to do so. The later career of Mrs. Besant caused Bradlaugh some perplexity. He was unable to understand why she should desert radicalism for socialism; he was still more astounded by her later rejection of materialism and atheism in favour of the occultist cobwebs of the Theosophical Society. It is interesting, however, that Mrs. Besant, whose future career lay in very different fields, never ceased till her death in 1929 to speak in terms of respect and affection for her old chief of the days when the future theosophical leader was a propagandist for radicalism and freethought upon the platforms of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

The last fight was perhaps the bitterest of all. In 1880, Charles Bradlaugh was elected after several efforts as Member of Parliament for Northampton. Upon assuming his seat, he asked leave to affirm instead of taking an oath which implied belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. The right had been conceded to Quakers for a long while, but it was refused to Bradlaugh. He then asked to have the oath administered as a matter of form. This concession was also refused on account of his declared atheism. Bradlaugh joined issue, the more so because theological and political bigotry inflamed the partisanship. He was nobly supported by his fellow-member for Northampton, Mr. Labouchere, whilst he was warmly denounced by Lord Randolph Churchill who cited Bradlaugh's republican book, "The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," as a reason for violating democratic principles by unseating a duly elected representative. Atheism was hotly debated in Parliament as an excuse for breaking down constitutional election, one pious member asserting that "we all believe in a sort of something somewhere" and becoming angry when Bradlaugh ridiculed this aspect of religious faith! Unseated and re-elected in subsequent bye-elections, Bradlaugh's battle went on till 1884. On one occasion, he appeared in the House of Commons and administered the oath to himself, being supported by John Bright and Tommy Burt, the Unitarian miner's labour member from Northumberland. Outside the House, Bradlaugh had the warm support and sympathy of, among others, a noted Unitarian divine, the Rev. R. A. Armstrong. The two men had met in a public debate over religious questions at Nottingham in 1877. However much they differed concerning abstract theology, they then acquired a genuine and lasting respect for each other which later struggles did much to cement. When Bradlaugh died and orthodox religion, with usual charity, preserved a stony silence, words of heartening cheer were spoken by Mr. Armstrong in Hope Street Church, Liverpool. The brave Unitarian leader saw in the dead atheist a kindred spirit in the service of man and his true liberty.

The parliamentary battle was won in 1884 when a new Speaker insisted upon administering the oath in spite of Tory protest, whatever Bradlaugh's speculative religious views might be. A few reactionary members were bent upon making further trouble but they were prevented when an Affirmation Bill, supported by such notable Liberals as Gladstone and John Morley, was passed to regularise the situation. Bradlaugh had still six years of active labour but the battles had told upon him. His daughter, Hypatia, who did so much for her father's memory by carrying on his work, relates how he entered upon the parliamentary struggle as a man of middle age with vigour and strength. When it ended, he was old and weary. Bradlaugh did much useful work in Parliament. His attention was called to India and he undertook many issues of importance for the solution of its problems. He sought to forward his radical cause; freedom of thought and of speech always found in him a friend. He fought against the forbidding of public political meetings in Trafalgar Square to the Socialists with whom, in fact, he disagreed as he had once, long before, striven against the closing of Hyde Park to a public demonstration when he won a great victory. Bradlaugh still lectured publicly upon problems of politics and religion but those who heard him realised that their old leader was tired and that his battles had exhausted him. Living in modest circumstances in St. John's Wood, he still maintained his Hall of Science in Old Street as the centre of his propaganda. But the end was now very near. One illness followed upon another; ill-health was aggravated by the handling which he had received from the police when he was ejected from the House of Commons during the height of the parliamentary struggle. Gradually unconsciousness came on and Bradlaugh could never know his greatest victory. Various censures against him were recorded upon the minutes of the House of Commons as a part of the general record of the oath controversy. For some while, Bradlaugh had been moving to secure their revocation. When the news reached the House that Bradlaugh was dying, Dr. Hunter proposed that these votes should be expunged from the journals as a token of the high respect and esteem in which the member for Northampton was held. The old Tory orthodox and political bigotry raised its voice once more in the person of Sir Edward Clarke but he was swept aside in disgust by Mr. W. H. Smith as leader of the House. The vote was all but unanimous; it was a tragedy that Bradlaugh himself, now quite unconscious, could not know of it before he passed away at the early age of fifty-seven on January 30th, 1891. He was buried at Brookwood, at his own request no form of "service" marked the funeral. But great crowds came to pay a last tribute beside the open grave, and among the distinguished visitors was Mr. John Morley. On the next day, Mr. Gladstone, as a churchman, made high mention in the House of Commons of one for whom he had come to feel a genuine affection. Bradlaugh died in debt; it was not his fault but the work of those who had forced him to find large sums of money for legal expenses. The debts were defrayed by the sale of his extensive library.

There is much that may be learned still from Bradlaugh's life and work. If the spirit of God means the spirit of life welling up in nature and in man, God had no truer servant than Charles Bradlaugh, whatever his speculative opinions might have been. He was the stern disciple of truth, as much as any Hebrew prophet of old; it was this determination to serve the truth which led him to make such strong and unyielding attacks upon the intellectual untruthfulness and mental dishonesty which too often does service for religion. Bradlaugh believed in the spirit of man; his belief did not turn him into a sentimentalist but it moulded him into a strong politician and a determined radical. He did not believe in empire-building because it made for the degradation of the spirit of man among Afghans and Zulus. He did not believe in the blasphemy against the spirit of man which was implied by long hours and low wages. He did not believe that man was honoured and made free by the servitude and regimentation of the militaristic method. He did not believe that man is liberated if his mind still be in fetters to decayed creeds and dead dogmas. Bradlaugh strove for the liberty and freedom of man: those who believe in these things still owe him a great debt. It is interesting that many of his anti-religious battles were caused by the blatant manner in which the orthodox churches supported imperialism, war, exploitation, superstition, and all that makes for the degradation of mankind. However much they may have hated and scorned his name, Bradlaugh sought higher and nobler aims for man than have many of the churches. Perhaps the best tribute that can be paid to his memory is to continue his work. Reformers of to-day must strive for the freedom of man, for liberty of conscience, for the overthrow of superstition, for the exposure of religion when it is used as a cloak beneath which selfish exploitation or corrupt and reactionary politics carry out their sway. It was this fact which made Bradlaugh a bitter opponent both of the Church of England and the other orthodox churches; his tradition of battle for liberty must still be carried on though under different circumstances and in a different age to that which he knew.

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(1793-1943)

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London, W.C.1

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11 a.m.

Jan. 2—Lord Snell: The New Year: Is It the Dawn?
" 9—C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.: On Intellectuals: Intellectuals are the Salt of the Earth.
" 16 Prof. G. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.: Six Great Englishmen (4) Jeremy Bentham.
" 23—A. D. Howell Smith, B.A.: The Myth of the Holy City.
" 30—Dr. R. H. Thouless: Education in Reasoning.
Feb. 6—Prof. G. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.: Six Great Englishmen (5) William Wordsworth.

GUY ALDRED AT OPEN FORUM

"THE CHURCH, WAR AND PEACE"

Guy Aldred was the speaker at an Open Forum meeting in Lesser Town Hall on Sunday evening. Mr. W. E. Currie presided over a good attendance and introduced the speaker, whom he had known for many years. Aldred, he said, despite much personal suffering and persecution as a result of his anti-militarist activities, still remained true to his principles. In opposing the present war he did so with the same courage and fearlessness as in the years 1914-18.

Mr. Aldred took as his subject "The Church, The War, and Peace," and compared the early Christian Church with the Church of to-day. The former, originally the church of the common people, had since passed through various stages until to-day it was merely a part of the capitalist system of society and dominated by vested interests. It was, therefore, no surprise to find the church supporting a war that was spreading death and destruction among the common people.

At Christmas, the time of "peace on earth, goodwill to all men," the usual sermons would be preached blessing the righteousness of our cause, while bearers of "glad tidings" in the shape of 1000 lb. bombs would carry the message of goodwill. And when it was all over and peace for the moment restored it would be said of the Church—"Well done, thou true and faithful servant."

Following Mr. Aldred's address questions were put and satisfactorily answered, and members of the audience contributed to the discussion.

—"The Motherwell Times," Friday, 24th December, 1943.

"COMMUNISTS" AND THE WAR

(Continued from page 60.)

On October 5, 1940, at the height of the air-raids on London, the Communist Party Central Committee published a resolution in the course of which it stated :—

The Labour Party, in which millions in the past placed their hope to lead to Socialism, has failed the people. The Labour Ministers in the Government, the Bevins, Attlees and Morrisons, are the main support of the rule of reaction, of the Churchills, Chamberlains and Andersons, of the Tory machine and the war profiteers. They are united with the Tories on every issue of policy.

Under their leadership the local machinery of the Labour Movement has been paralysed, put out of action or distorted to the service of capitalism and the war machine. The air war has exposed their complete abandonment of the interests of the people. They bear the responsibility for the refusal of the bomb-proof shelters which the Communist Party demanded, and which could have saved the lives of those now dead. . . .

Their path leads to Fascism, to the same type of regime as the Nazi regime in Germany. . . .

For months during this period the Communist Party were busy organising through the *Daily Worker* and in other ways the "People's Convention." John Strachey, at one time very closely connected with the Communist Party but later denounced by them, wrote of the Convention in the *Tribune* on January 10, 1941 :

For it is as certain as that the sun will rise tomorrow that the People's Convention is an Anti-War movement, and that its activities are expressly designed to interfere with our complete victory over Fascism.

The word "democracy" had a great deal of lip service paid to it but there was nothing democratic about the Convention. The names of the Standing Orders Committee were all moved from the platform, and all the speakers were selected by that Committee.

During this period the Communist Party did everything it could to sabotage what it now terms the war-effort against Fascism. Here are some typical headlines from the *Daily Worker* :

4,000 to Take Holidays in Aid of Aircraft Men.—August 17, 1940.

Sound Sirens or We Don't Work.—August 19, 1940.

Making Prisons of Our Factories. — January 3, 1941.

They Promise Us Greater Hardship in 1941.—January 4, 1941.

Strike in Reply to Attack on Convention.—January 6, 1941.

Hunger, Disease and Death.—January 7, 1941.

Another "Prison Diet" Week-end.—January 10, 1941.

The Grave Threat to Irish Neutrality.—January 10, 1941.

4,000 Aircraft Men Win Big Gains in Strike.—January 17, 1941.

The technique was simple but effective. The paper was a mass of criticism and of grievances exploited to the full. Wherever possible, an anti-British anti-war twist was given. British losses and set-backs, military and political, were emphasised. Doubt was thrown on British claims, and Nazi claims were emphasised. Strong backing was given to policies or action which would slow down the British war output. No single piece of Nazi propaganda in Britain was so effective as the *Daily Worker*. This propaganda proceeded from no principle, no anti-militarist hatred of war, no sense of humanitarian horror. It was simply allegiance to the Soviet dictatorship and its Nazi alliance.

On January 21, 1941, the *Daily Worker* was suppressed. A debate followed in the House of Commons. On January 29, 1941, the *Manchester Guardian, commenting* on the debate, declared that the position of the *Daily Worker* was *not "that of a sincere but roughly spoken critic of the Government."* It added that the *Daily Worker* exploited the suffering of war, as in the "Communists" approach to the people of bombed cities, formented trouble in the Forces and the factories unrelated to any principles and so resorted to *"forms of sabotage of the war effort"* that justified *"the use of urgent if sharp measures."* The *Guardian* pointed out that it would have preferred a judicial process against the Communists and also against the interned Fascists.

We do not believe in either suppression or internment without trial, even in war-time. But we agree with the *Manchester Guardian's* comment on the policy and activity of the Communist Party.

As stated earlier in this article, Hitler extended his war to the East and launched a sudden attack upon the U.S.S.R. The same day Churchill pledged the British Government's support of the U.S.S.R. He declared that *"any man or State who fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or State who marches with Hitler is our foe."*

On June 23, 1914, the Communist Party issued its Manifesto on the new situation. It made no reference to Hitler's attacks upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece, and Yugo-Slavia. *All these invasions it had justiced, explained in the terms of war, or blamed on to the British Labour leaders, headed by Morrison and Bevin.* But it isolated the attack on the Soviet Union from these other attacks and declared it to be a crime. It said nothing about the criminal Nazi-Soviet Moscow Pact which set the war going. It made no reference to the criminal Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland. Indeed, the Communist Party, in this statement, blamed the British Government and the Labour Ministers for the invasion of the Soviet Union. Here is the June 23, 1941, statement :—

"Hitler's attack against the Socialist Soviet Union is Fascism's supreme aggression against the people of the world.

The cause of the Soviet Union is the cause of the working people all over the world, of freedom, of Socialism.

Hitler's attack will be resisted and defeated by the common action of the working people in all countries in solidarity with the Red Army, Navy, and Air Force of the Soviet workers.

This attack is the sequel of the secret moves which have been taking place behind the curtain of the Hess mission. . . .

We can have no confidence in the present Government dominated by Tory friends of Fascism and Coalition Labour leaders, who have already shown their stand by their consistent anti-Soviet slander campaigns."

The Communists were not sure what they should say. They hadn't yet received instructions from Moscow. But they did execute another complete turn-coat act.

In May, 1942, the Churchill Government concluded the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance with the U.S.S.R. Stalin declared that it marked "an historic turning point in the relations between our country and Great Britain."

By July, 1942, the Communists had completely changed their position on two important issues. No longer did they call for the end of "Labour Party collaboration with the Government." On the contrary they insisted that Labour should remain in the Government.

If the Labour Party approves — as I believe it overwhelmingly does—the Government's main policy of alliance with the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. for the defeat of Hitler, then it cannot withdraw its members from the Government.

This extract is taken from the Communist Party Pamphlet "Labour's Way Forward," written by Emile Burns.

The emphatic view was expressed :

Nothing could more weaken Labour's position, more submerge its identity among the "independent" groups which represent everything from sheer muddled thinking to personal careerism and even defeatism, nothing could more silence its authoritative voice in the councils of the nation, than if it abandoned its direct share of responsibility in the government of the country at this supreme crisis.

But the Communist Party had changed its mind also on the question of the Electoral Truce. No longer did they demand an end to the truce—"the shameful alliance of Labour leaders with the leaders of capitalims." It had become all in favour of the truce and wanted candidates chosen by agreement between Tory, Liberal, Labour, Communist and non-Party organisations in constituencies.

The authority already argued that "for Labour to fight by-elections where the Government candidate is a Tory, is not the way forward."

The Labour man or woman who votes for a Government candidate who is a Tory is not voting for Toryism, any more than a Tory elector voting for a Government candidate who is Labour is voting for Socialism. This is not the issue before the electors. The votes are cast for the Government, for national unity in the Allied fight against Hitlerism.

Another example of the Communist Party's hypocritical inconsistency is furnished by their blatant switch of attitude towards the Colonial peoples.

In 1940, when the Communist Party was opposing the war, it said :—

"The Colonial peoples see in this crisis of Imperialism at war the downfall of the British Empire. . . . They see it with joy and confidence of liberation by their own unity and mass strength."

But in August, 1941, after Hitler had attacked Soviet Russia, the Communist Party issued this statement :—

"It is felt that if the Nazis won this war then it would mean the most brutal enslavement of all he Colonial peoples. We must see that nothing stands in the way of all parts of the Empire co-operating with Britain and Russia in defeating the common enemy."

The complete contradiction of these two statements is so obvious as hardly to need comment. First, defeat of Britain would mean liberation for the Colonial peoples; later, defeat of Britain would mean the "most brutal enslavement of all the Colonial peoples."

Never in the history of British politics has any organised group calling itself a national party been guilty of such a shameful record of interested, calculated, hypocritical inconsistency and insincerity. That record was built up by slavish obedience to an external superior authority (the Communist International) whose instructions were obligatory and whose instructions were obeyed.

If the "Communists" had been successful in their anti-war, pro-"peace," anti-Labour disunity activities between October, 1939, and June, 1941, the working class of Britain and of every other country in Europe, according to their present pro-war policy and argument, to-day would be enslaved in Hitler's "New Order."

The conclusion from these facts is inevitable. No section of the Labour or Socialist movement, reformist or revolutionary, Anarchist or Collectivist, reluctantly believing in Capitalist Militarist alliance for the armed destruction of Fascism or avowedly anti-militarist and believing in the revolutionary struggle against Fascism, should associate with or recognise the Communist Party. The Labour Party's 1943 continued refusal of affiliation should be applauded and endorsed, for the Communist Party merely wants to capture the machinery for its own party-power purposes, and anti-working class dictatorship activity. "Communists" have no principles. Nothing emphasises this fact better than the shameful and shameless War Record outlined in this article. Even as a war party, anxious for a Second Front, against every kind of strike, the Communist Party has no loyalty to the War Government it protends to support.

(To be concluded.)

THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE

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WHY I AM AN ABSOLUTIST

The Bold Statement made before the Conscientious Objectors' Appeal Board, Wellington, on October 20, 1941,

By MICHAEL YOUNG

(Secretary, New Zealand Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, and Executive Member, N.Z. P.P.U.)

[In our September issue there appeared a letter addressed to us from Papanui Prison, Canterbury, New Zealand, by our comrade, Michael Young. Many comrades have expressed a desire to read the statement made by our comrade before the Conscientious Objectors' Appeal Board at Wellington, on October 20, 1941.

At the conclusion of his remarks, Comrade Young refused to submit himself for medical examination and stated that he was not available for military service or any form of national service whatever, either under military or civil control.

His appeal was dismissed without consideration or discussion.—Ed.]

I am here to show the Board that I hold a genuine belief that it is wrong to engage in warfare in any circumstances. The Board, having regard to the length of the period of holding such views, and the extent of corroborated evidence, is to judge my sincerity, not the correctness of my views. If I say that I would use force in some circumstances or that I would defend myself if attacked or kill an assailant in order to protect my wife, that does not rule me out, as I am called to show that I would not engage in warfare—not to prove that I wouldn't use force in any circumstances. Again, the Board is not entitled to dismiss the appeal solely because I may prove inconsistent or illogical in some of my conclusions because, as I stated before, the sincerity with which I hold my beliefs is the test, not their correctness. If I succeeded or failed to answer all the questions put to me by the Crown Representative, to my own or the Board's satisfaction, it would not establish the sincerity or insincerity of my conscientious objection to war.

In support of this contention I would say that my views this week are not identical with those I held last week and my views have altered considerably since I first definitely felt war to be wrong and that I wouldn't support it. Naturally enough, my views five years hence will have changed—at least I hope so. If war could be proved to be a right and proper thing under all or some circumstances I should cease to be a pacifist. That is my attitude to all questions. Therefore my conclusions are reasoned ones, not unreasoned beliefs held because I was taught them as a child or read of them as being infallible truths and therefore not to be challenged by man's reasoning. If it were necessary for me to know everything in connection with the problem of war and to realise its full implications in order to prove my conscientious objection to war, then likewise it would hold good that any person who could not present a flawless case for support of this war should be prevented from taking part and murdering other human beings. I would go so far as to challenge any believer in this war to-day to make as few slips and admit so few inconsistencies as are being made by the great majority who are appearing before this Board. It will therefore be for this Board to try to decide by what I have to tell them if my beliefs or views (I can see no clear distinction between them) are conscientiously held and if I am likely to change them.

War, as a means of settling any dispute is futile, wasteful of human life and supremely impractical. It encourages those very things it seeks to overthrow and sows the seeds of future wars.

Means. I am one who believes that evil means produce evil ends, and war I hold is an evil means at any time. The means, in the case of war, are violence, deceit, immorality and bestiality, and they inevitably linger on and affect the ends. However lofty the original ideals may have been, the means employed make them impossible of achievement.

Politics and War. I think that war is an integral part of any economic system in which man exploits man. War, therefore, to my mind is an integral and essential part of the capitalist system. My process of reasoning in this direction commenced while I was very young owing to unfortunate home circumstances. I determined that, as far as it was in my power, other children should not be made to suffer as I did. I found that those who most sanctioned the conditions of working and living which made part of my child-life a misery were those who most heartily supported war preparations and war. Therefore I am an advocate of socialism. But support of a socialist system and an opposition to a capitalist one does not indicate, necessarily, a repudiation of all war. This brings me to the essential part of my political reasoning on war. I believe that under the nominal socialist state, as we see in Russia to-day—even if it were world wide—there would still be wars, and just as violent, if not more so, as the one raging at the present moment. I must add though, that personally I feel that the truly international socialist could not take up arms against his fellow workers, and this would rule out war altogether since in all wars, whether national or civil, it is always workers slaughtering workers.

The desire for power, not for wealth, is the driving force behind war. Money gives power, so does political position. The striving after power and the desperate attempts to maintain it lead inevitably to strife. So I do not believe that the changing from a capitalist to a socialist order will end war, and so if we wish to do away with this scourge of war, we must do some fresh thinking. For my part, this fresh thinking has led me to see that, however fine and desirable our goal appears to be, if we employ wrong methods to achieve it the consequences must inevitably be unforeseen and bad. From my study of history, both recent and modern, I am convinced that war has meant retrogression—that progress has not come, as our history books suggest, from constant warfare, which in reality has been but the strivings of the rulers and which has impoverished and divided people from people. Progress has come from political and industrial strivings and from scientific investigation. From all this I have concluded that any release from war can only come by the refusal to use those very methods (warfare) which have enslaved and hypnotised the people of the world to-day. And I am quite convinced that it must be an absolute repudiation of war, otherwise those who control the sources of propaganda will always find justification for war.

Finally modern war is won by the leaders of the side which can most successfully suppress the liberties and individuality of their people. Therefore the people of the winning side have in reality lost the most. The main justification for war is that it is said to be removing an evil. My observation here is that seldom are the real reasons for declaring war revealed, and secondly, can war remove the stated evil in any case? I don't think so, and I have history to back me up. The Great War is a classic example. The war to end war, the war to make the world safe for democracy, the war to end Prussian militarism, etc. These things it has failed to do, and instead it brought disease, poverty, misery, widespread totalitarianism and finally another war.

War decides but one thing—which is the stronger side militarily!

I could say a good deal about the base purposes for which this war is being fought but I feel it would be useless, as all wars have been fought with ulterior motives.

Wickedness of War. There are other considerations which have led me to oppose war. One is its essential wickedness. It is brought about by older people in positions of economic and/or political responsibility and is fought and paid for by the masses of the people, who are guiltless. It is the young men who have had nothing to do with the policies and intrigues that have brought war about, who have always had to fight the wars. War destroys the fittest and the innocent and all that which is best in a people. I agree with the Duke of Wellington who said that "no man with any scruples of conscience is fit to be a soldier.

Men and women have their finer feelings played upon to get them to support the greatest evil in the world. It is not a spontaneous reaction to evil that sets them to support war, otherwise the people of England would long ago have revolted against the wretched conditions in the slums and distressed areas while the King and others lived in luxury. They also would have revolted against the idea of the English Government maintaining a permanent aggression in India and other places. These things have opened my eyes to see that war is not an isolated fact but a symptom of other disorders—which must be remedied.

The Alternative to War. The method of war to make for better things appearing to be a failure, I turn to another method of struggle, the method of persuasion perfected in non-violent resistance and my belief in this complete way of life is based on these conclusions of mine:—

1. The bankruptcy of war.
2. The fundamental unity of man—therefore the taking of life, except as an act of mercy, is wrong and war, or rather mass murder, is a crime against humanity.
3. The inherent goodness of human nature.
4. The power of truth and the infectiousness of the spirit of goodwill.
5. An alternative to armed force to secure and preserve those things worthwhile.
6. The practicability of this method.

The three pre-essentials of this method are:

(a) non-resentment—overcome by friendliness.

(b) non-co-operation—resisting wrong.

(c) non-subjection—refusal to obey wrong laws and accept imposition.

Even in the extreme case where its users are killed non-violent resistance has a far higher probability of weakening the morale of the violent opponents and of promoting the aim sought after than violent resistance would have.

I believe that civilisation with all its treasures will not be maintained by force. There are other ways of resisting encroachment upon its standards without resort to arms, which are, in themselves, the most fatal attack upon them, and which destroys them in the very process of nominally defending them.

These are my views, opinions and beliefs. I will now relate how I came to hold them, and the Board can then judge whether I hold them sincerely. As I stated before, my views on social problems came into being at an early age. This, I suppose, led to an interest in international affairs, and at school, under progressive but non-pacifist teachers, I began to develop internationalist and anti-war views. At one time I was a Bible class leader and assistant secretary of a Bible class union, and in 1932, in my youthful enthusiasm for world peace and international brotherhood, I joined the Youth Peace Crusade and had its speakers to our Bible class. I was delegate from the Bible class union to the Federation Against War in about 1934, and after I left the church I still continued as a member of the federation until it disbanded about 1937 or 1938. It was partly my resentment against the prevailing wicked economic system and my intense desire to put the teachings of the New Testament into practice that led me to become a pacifist and perhaps led to my leaving the church eventually. My beliefs now are not based on any religious grounds. In the Boys' Brigade, of which I was an officer, I was known as a pacifist and to be opposed to the military drilling of the boys.

When about 19 or 20 I began stocktaking, and while not ceasing to be a pacifist for this period, I deliberated on all aspects of the problem for nearly a year and finally decided that war would not stand any examination, and what was more important, that there was an

alternative to it, and that I was prepared for the implications and consequences of renouncing war for all time. I immediately threw myself heart and soul into pacifist propaganda work and formed a branch of the Peace Pledge Union in Wellington, the pledge of this body being "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another," and was its first chairman, later being secretary, organiser and literature secretary in turn. From then until the outbreak of war I was fully engaged in my spare time in pacifist work, and addressed public meetings in Palmerston North, New Plymouth, Napier, Cambridge and Masterton, and for six months prior to the outbreak of war I spoke at street meetings in Wellington every Friday night.

The outbreak of hostilities saw no lessening of activities. On the first day of war, in company with the Rev. O. E. Burton, and Mr. Neil Trail, I was arrested outside Parliament grounds when addressing a meeting. I was prosecuted and fined on several occasions for addressing street meetings here and in Auckland and served a sentence of three weeks in Mount Eden Jail. I left my job and went on a nine months' propaganda tour of New Zealand, addressing outdoor and indoor meetings throughout the country. During that time I did odd jobs of work to keep me going. After a period of study at University I was accepted as a student at the Wellington Teachers' Training College, but a day or two before I was due to commence training at the beginning of this year, I was dismissed by the Wellington Education Board. So much for the desire of those in authority to make use of its citizens in a constructive way.

To-day I am secretary of the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, a body of men who are determined to stand together and not be coerced by the majority into criminal acts of murder. That concludes my record of pacifist activity over the past few years.

Sir, I have in my hand a list of 50 names of people whom I could call as witnesses. This is apart from 500 members of the Peace Pledge Union and some members of the Christian Pacifist Society and the staff of the firm I was with prior to the war, and I have files of correspondence, circulars written by myself and clippings of letters to the papers and reports of public meetings. But I do not intend calling any witnesses or producing evidence of any sort or undergoing cross-examination. I may say that this does not automatically mean that my appeal is dismissed, because the regugations read that **the Board may accept the evidence adduced by the appellant, whether it is corroborated or not,** but I know it is the rule of this board that appellant's evidence must be substantiated, so by its own procedure the Board will be compelled to dismiss the appeal.

The reason for this step on my part is that I have no desire to obtain exemption (if I could in any case) from this Board when it has turned down so many obviously genuine pacifists—men equally as sincere as myself and in some cases known to me for many years and who hold the most downright beliefs about war. I have in my hand now a table giving the figures of appeals allowed and dismissed by the Christchurch Board and this Board, and the great disparity shows that injustices have been committed by this Board. In short, the proceedings all along have been farcical, and so I cannot take this appeal any further.

"18B" MOTION BY DUKE OF BEDFORD

In the House of Lords the Duke of Bedford proposes:

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UNITY OR—?

By ANNESLEY GUY ALDRED

It is, as yet, still too early for any one to forecast when the end of the second World War is likely to be. But there are undoubted signs that the world is growing war-weary; and there has recently been at least a temporary depression in the value of certain armament shares owing to what the financial columns were pleased to call "the increased danger of peace."

In fact the situation is such that in spite of every official attempt to prevent it, an ever increasing number of people have begun to wonder just what sort of a world and just what sort of a Britain we are going to have when peace comes. And so embarrassing have some of the questions become that finally, in the sacred cause of parliamentary vote-catching, Lord Woolton has been shifted from the difficult task of convincing the people of Britain that reconstituted eggs are good for them, to the even more difficult one of convincing them what a wonderful place the post-war "reconstructed" Britain will be, notwithstanding the fact that it will continue, so it is hoped, under the same management.

In other words it has been decided that almost any sacrifice to working class demands will be justified so long as it ensures that the danger period immediately following the war is weathered without any serious weakening of the present system of private ownership and private exploitation.

From the working-class viewpoint one would like to believe that the threat to that iniquitous system was as real as the ruling class are afraid it might be, and that it was finally to be wiped off the face of the earth together with its ever attendant evils of war, famine and pestilence.

But, unfortunately, the first essentials for the achievement of this object, a fundamental understanding of each others' needs and a real sense of solidarity, are still but vain ideals; and the schisms and sects are yet too many.

It is difficult to understand this basic lack of unity, though it is easy to pick on many minor causes. Too many leaders, whether self-appointed or chosen by their comrades, get caught up in the vortex of political careerism; too often, such is the irony of life, those who remain true to their ideals are shunned and despised by those whom they seek to help, for their seeming failure to "succeed"; instead of being recognised for their sincerity and integrity, too much time is spent by those who know what they want in vigorous pursuit of minor differences, whilst often the real traitors are attacked, if at all, only with timidity; finally, when accord is sometimes reached by some small group they are apt to spend so much time in self-approbation and in feeling that their task is achieved that they have no time to help the struggling mass of their comrades who have not yet found enlightenment.

All these are, however, really only minor reasons and may, in fact, even be more symptomatic than causal. The plain, sad fact is that in spite of, or should one say because of, forty years of Labour and Trade Union representation in Parliament the overwhelming mass of the workers are still only groping vaguely for the cure to the many evils they know to exist.

They know that it is wrong when they hear, in peace-time, of shiploads of oranges or fish being thrown into the sea in order to keep prices up; what time the people of Jarrow are starving. They realise the fundamental rottenness of capitalistic economics, in war time, when a factory is allowed to continue to make shells for nine months after that particular type of shell has been scrapped as obsolete (ignoring for the moment the fact that it is one of the evils of the system that the manufacture of shells should be necessary). They will admit, if you can make them realise that it is so, that it is wrong for more than seven-eighths of the national budget to be spent, whether at peace or war, on past, present or future wars. But having admitted that all these things are wrong, at that point their understanding fails and they are unable to visualise a state of society in which these things need not be and would not be.

But it is when one commences the task of trying to enlighten them that one encounters the biggest shock of all. For all ones arguments are blocked by fixed concepts and ideas. If one talks of Communism it is impossible to dissociate the idea from the vacillations of the Communist Party; the mention of Anarchism at least raises a picture of chaos—where it does not, still, picture a man with a beard, a black cloak and a round bomb with smouldering fuse; whilst the vaguest hint of Socialism brings up a vision of millions of robots all wearing identical clothes, eating the same food, doing the same job and, horror of horrors, all robbed of that mystic quality called "initiative" or "enterprise" with which they are so richly endowed under capitalism!

It is, indeed, astonishing to find how greatly some individuals who are otherwise reasonably intelligent, are affected by this latter idea. They seem to visualise a complete cessation of all human endeavour, and the thought just appalls. It is of no avail to point out the number of inventors who have, literally, starved to death. Nor does it help to point out that, as far as one can see, by far the greatest endeavour, under capitalism, seems to be concentrated on the production of bigger and more "beautiful" bombs and their safe conveyance to that point from which, when released, they will wreak the maximum of destruction on the greatest number of workers.

Nevertheless, however difficult the task of achieving working-class understanding **and** working-class unity may be, it must be achieved and achieved quickly. For the plainest fact of all is that if the next war starts off where this one ends it can only result in slaughter of untold millions and, for the survivors, complete degradation and the destruction of everything that can make life worth living.

The logic of the position is clear and unanswerable. There must not be another war. Therefore the system which must inevitably, result in another war must be overthrown before it can do so. This can be done—of that there is no doubt. But it will be done only if there is a real closing of the ranks. Individual jealousies, academic differences, must be swept aside. Even more fundamental differences must somehow be composed if the main object is to be achieved.

It is no longer sufficient to bury one's head ostrich-like in the sands of "Party Lines." The fundamental understanding that the bombings of Guernica, Rotterdam, Warsaw, Coventry and Hamburg all spring from the same cause; the knowledge that the dole queues on the Clyde arise from the same cause as the famine in Bengal; these must be the spurs to action.

Comrades! there is nothing new in this article, nothing which has not been often expressed before. But that does not detract from the truth of the message nor make the need for unity less urgent.

Time presses. What are **you** going to do?

NOT BY MIGHT.

Last month we headed the review of the pamphlet by B. A. S. Brunskill "NOT BY NIGHT." Comrade Brunskill considers this an excellent title. It remains an error. The pamphlet is entitled "NOT BY MIGHT." The price is 6d., post-free 7d. It can be obtained from The Strickland Press, or direct from the author, B. A. S. BRUNSKILL, STEDHAM, MIDHURST, SUSSEX.

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DUKE OF BEDFORD

LANARKSHIRE MEETINGS' IMPRESSIONS

By J. TAYLOR CALDWELL

(Concluded from page 57)

II. Burnbank Meeting

About seven hundred people were present at the meeting in Burnbank. The opening speeches of both speakers were listened to without interruption, but at question and discussion time it became evident that a considerable number of the audience were members of the "Communist Party." In his desire to be fair the chairman allowed these critics more than a proportionate share of the meeting's time; and they made full use of the opportunity afforded them. No sooner did one of their number conclude his contribution to discussion than another rose to his feet and continued the attack. Whether deliberate or not this had the effect of suppressing those with more democratic views, and those whose criticism was original and not dictated by the exigencies of a Party. There were, however, a number of participants in discussion who spoke freely, stating their points of agreement and disagreement with the speakers.

The "Communist" Party spokesmen set out to be disagreeable and several dispensed with any pretence at reasoned argument, and were simply abusive. The least annoying of these people was probably the one most extravagant in his abuse. The Duke, he said, had bribed Aldred to speak on the same platform, because, continued this worthy dialection, in the advance of the glorious Red Army the Duke saw the handwriting on the wall and knew what would happen to all Dukes once the workers came to power.

If this individual had been more intelligent he would have known why the audience advised him loudly to "sit down." The Red Army's advance is comparatively recent, and the Duke's association with Aldred dates back some time. To the time when the Red Army was fraternising with its Nazi ally on the border they had cut for themselves across war-torn Poland. To the time when the Stalinists were busy persecuting the Jewish Socialists in Poland to please their Hitlerite friends; when Erlich and Alter were imprisoned—only to be assassinated later—for their violent anti-Nazi propaganda. When Fascism was **not** a world menace and Germany "the poor victim of British imperialism"; a poor victim helped by the "Communists" by their deliberate sabotage of the British war effort. Apart from that: if the Duke were clever enough to be the only Duke in the country to see the menace to dukes in Marshal Stalin's victories, why should he be foolish enough to associate himself with so unimportant a person as Aldred—especially as Aldred is also "doomed"? Why doesn't the Duke remain an ordinary orthodox duke and become a member of the Anglo-Soviet Unity Association like the near-fascist, Tory, Sir Thomas Moore?

Then he could have spoken—not with insignificant doomed Aldred—but with Willie Gallacher! Why not? Lady Glen-Coates can do it—why not the Duke of Bedford?

One woman "Communist" drew applause by rhetorical references to the swift advance of the victorious Red Army which would sweep Fascism from the face of the earth. Possibly she thought that a eulogy of the Russian soldiers was a good substitute for a logical, sensible criticism of the anti-militarist position. Certanly it was much easier. But with usual C.P. contempt for history she dragged James Connelly into her spirited peroration—quite heedless of the fact that Connelly was opposed to the 1914 war and would certainly have favoured his country's neutrality if he were still alive. Then with naive impertinence she quoted Connelly's reference to the lowly: "Love to the Lowly; hatred to the Great."

Can it be that this woman never reads (even the "Daily Worker") or listens to the wireless? Does she not know that Stalin has but recently dined with the great statesmen of the world's leading capitalist Powers? That he partook of a 26-course dinner in honour of these exalted ones? There is no suggestion that he missed any of the courses, or failed to raise his glass to any of the twenty toasts. In fact he proposed a few—to Churchill (who once called him "a bloody baboon"), and to Roosevelt. Stalin, representing the lowly, now wears jewels, according to "Comrade" second-front Beaverbrook!

If such a dinner had taken place in Britain the most pale-pink member of the Labour Party would have protested. How dare the government dine so sumptuously—he might ask—when the people are so carefully rationed? In Russia there were no protests. How dare the State-slaves criticise their masters!

What a mockery it is. In war-torn Russia with its wheatfields destroyed, its cities ruined, its people subsisting on the barest rations, death and mourning the lot of millions, the Grand-Master of Socialism, of Equality, of World Brotherhood, the Man of the Future sits down to dine—not on the food of Russia, and not with the lowly who alone can impel emancipation and who speak the language of the future, but with representatives of world reaction and vested interest. And what a vulgar display of gluttony! Like a Roman Tyrant of antiquity—a Ruler of slaves, expressing Power in ridiculous ceremony.

This brings us to the crux of the matter. This is why there were so many dissentient voices at the Burnbank meting. It was not a quarrel between Socialists with a common enemy and a common ideal, differing only in methods of consumating that ideal. It was not the century-old quarrel between reformers, gradualists and parliamentarians on one side and revolutionaries, direct actionists and anti-parliamentarians on the other. It was a conflict between two entirely different concepts—not only of the manner of pursuit of the struggle, but of its purpose—its object and very nature.

Socialism used to mean (and **still** means) a state of freedom and democracy with economic security. Lenin evolved the doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat because he thought it suited the needs of the Russian Revolution. He also established the dictatorship of a Party, which ultimately meant the dictatorship of the Party Leader. Then, once more to suit the peculiar needs of Russia, he introduced a restricted capitalism.

Neither he nor any other well-informed Socialist regarded these innovations as Socialistic. At best they were expedients to overcome certain difficulties. Some apologists contended that when conditions became more settled these reactionary measures and practices would be abolished and the Union of Soviets march forward to Socialism. The State would "wither away" and the "classless society of Communism" would evolve.

With the aid of the Third International these views were spread throughout the world, and Parties formed to further the Revolution in their own countries and to protect the newly established Soviet Republic on its way towards Socialism. It was not always easy to justify the actions of the new Republic, nor to see how the entrenchment of the Party Machine as the apparatus of government could lead to Socialism; and gradually it became obvious to all thinking people that the Revolution had ended—and it has stopped very far short of Socialism.

The Party consolidated its position by widening its powers, and suppressing all critical organisations, until it was the only Party, the only Organisation, and the only Power. State capitalism and wage differentiation were no longer temporary expedients; they became established institutions. The Executive became a Bureaucracy, the Party Secretary became the Party Leader, and the Party Leader became the Dictator of Russia.

It became convenient to forget that the country had only been **on its way** to Socialism, and that the State was intended to "wither away." Those who would not forget it were labelled traitors, or, to make it easier for the mass-mind, simply called Trotskyists, and destroyed. Ambassador Joe Davis speaks truthfully when he says that Stalin saved Russia from Communism. Not because he destroyed Trotskyists, but because he stamped out every breath of socialist utterance in the whole Soviet Union. And he did so to consolidate himself in power. It may have been in the interests of the Russian people, but it was with a cynical disregard for the interests of the common people in other parts of the world. For with the aid of hirelings and fools he foisted upon the world the idea that this was Socialism and Russia the Fatherland of Socialism and the hope of the world. That the machinery of State control in Russia was the machinery of Socialism in operation. The "withering State" has been forgotten The regret of Lenin at the reactionary measures forced upon Russia has been forgotten. The temporary nature of the Proletarian Dictatorship has been forgotten. The proletariat itself has been forgotten, and only the Dictatorship remains.

The proletariat has been forgotten. It is no longer the most important class in society. A new class has arisen; a class, rich, not only in power, but in money. Even Lenin would be appalled to hear of Marshal Stalin in his bejewelled uniform, the Patriarch in his costly pagan vestments—and Soviet millionaires!

A new generation has grown since the Revolution, and many of its members accept this amazing new concept of Socialism. **They** may be able to read the "Communist" pamphlet defending Soviet millionaires without either amusement or anger. But those who remember the propaganda of Socialists before the "Communists" corrupted it will not look to Russia for the emancipation of the people from political or economic slavery.

For Socialism means freedom, and all-power to the People; not to a Party, or a Party Leader. It means justice; not the maintenance of secret police to spy and lie and to spread mistrust; to arrest secretly and imprison and murder without even the pretence of justice. Where the Judiciary is the tool and servant of the State, a mere weapon of the ruling clique, justice is non-existent. Socialism means equality. There can be no equality where there are rich and poor; where there is an acute differentiation in wages, and where a junior officer is paid ten times more than the private soldier. Reginald Bishop in his pamphlet "Soviet Millionaires," admits that a private soldier is not likely to become a millionaire, but he neglects to remind us that Cadet Schools have been established in Russia for the training of army officers. Is it not likely that a millionaire's son will be sent to one of these and become an officer with a pay at least ten times greater than that of the common soldier? Whilst on this point we may perhaps express our astonishment that a common soldier's pay should be described as a mere pittance and millionaires excused in the ground that "they have put more into society than they have taken out." What person, speaking his own mind honestly, would dare assert that any man can give more than the soldier who gives his life, or asks less than the man who endures the privations of the front line?

Where are the ideals of democracy, freedom, justice, equality, which formed our concept of Socialism not so long ago? This "Communism" of the strike-breaker, the dungeon-keeper, the executioner and the hired apologist is **not** the Communism our fathers preached and suffered to propagate. It resembles more that other form of bastard socialism, born in similar circumstances in war-exhausted Germany—the creed of the Nazi. There are differences, but it is the great resemblance that alarms us. Mr. Churchill once referred to these two doctrines as "twin evils." He may have been correct when he spoke, but now one twin has grown pale and sickly and is near death's door; the other waxes fat and strong.

and is held up—with Mr. Churchill's aid—for the adulation of the world. We may live to regret our foolishness.

One speaker in the audience referred to Aldred and his supporters as "dreamers walking with their heads in the clouds." Who is the more bewildered: we who keep the object of our struggle clear in our minds and will not subvert it to the claims of passing circumstances, or they who have become so lost in the morass of compromise and expediency that they have forgotten where they intended to go or what they were trying to escape when they set out on their journey.

Those who attended the meeting should realise the real significance of the "Communist" Party antagonism. The quarrel was **not** between political factions but between two different creeds that eventually must split the country in two in a stern social conflict. Democracy and Socialism on the one side, as against Dictatorship and "Communism." The people of Lanarkshire have been asked to decide questions like this before—though not on so great a scale—and they have always supported Democracy. They should remember their traditions.

If the meeting stirred up independent thought it was of great value. And there is no doubt that it did. Certainly it nailed the lie that the Duke is pro-Nazi, or that Aldred has relinquished his socialist position to make room for the pacifist duke on the same platform.

It would be difficult to imagine two men able to face so mixed an audience more successfully. And surely it is an unique situation that has two men so contrasted in every respect speaking together under the common inspiration of human well-being. The Duke, head of a long-established noble household, with his austere and unhurried logic and his clear unimpassioned voice, constructing his argument so skilfully that every piece falls securely into its proper place, and the edifice stands complete and perfect; and Guy Aldred, anarchist of the city streets and tenements and the prison cell, with, to change the metaphor, his sledge-hammer blows, crushing his enemies and standing unaffected by the thousand badly-aimed poison darts with which they assail him.

Burnbank has had many meetings—dreary political meetings where would-be politicians came to solicit the support of the people; but at this meeting the speakers asked for nothing but that they should be heard, and their hearers exercise their own intelligence. It was not a meeting of ephemeral value but one which dealt with matters of historical importance.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters Office (first floor), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

Many Methodists who are Pacifists have not linked up with the M.P.F. It is the business of members to bring such friends into contact with the Fellowship and the literature of the Movement.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

1 Adelaide Street, W.C.2.

Chairman: The Venerable Archdeacon Hartill; General Secretary: The Rev. Martin Tupper; Membership Secretary: Miss Margaret Travers; Hon. Treas.: Harry Dice.

PAX.

Chairman: Dr. Cecil Gill; Hon. Secretary: Stormont Murray, Green End, Radnage, High Wycombe, Bucks.

"Pax" is a Peace Society open to members of any faith who can subscribe to the "Pax" Statement.

In U.S.A. a new Catholic pacifist publication has appeared, issued by the American counterpart of "Pax." It is called "The Catholic C.O." Copies have already reached England.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY.

190 West George Street, Glasgow.

Secretary: Rev. Hugh Erskine Fraser, M.A.
Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Dorothy Moncrieff.

Members of the Churches mentioned who believe that Christianity implies pacifism should join the pacifist organisation of the Church to which they are attached.

CATHOLIC PEACE SOCIETY

Membership open to practising Catholics over the age of 15 of any nationality. Full details later. Particulars from and suggestions to the Provisional Secretary: Henry Coldham, 30 St. Margaret's Street, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.

JESUS AND THE TRIBUNAL

Jesus of Nazareth, Conscientious Objector, Appears Before the Tribunal.

REPORTED BY CHARLES A. EARL

MEMBERS OF TRIBUNAL—His Grace the Archbishop, a Roman Catholic Cardinal, Moderator of Free Churches, Chief Rabbi.

The Clerk to the Tribunal calls the conscientious objector, "Jesus of Nazareth" ! ! !

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP—"Jesus of Nazareth, I understand that you claim to have a conscientious objection to military service. Upon what grounds is your objection based?"

JESUS—"Upon the two great commandments: To love God with all my heart, with all my soul and with all my mind, and to love my neighbour as myself. I must do unto others as I would they should do unto me."

THE CARDINAL—"But surely if you love your neighbour as yourself, you would be willing to help in overcoming brutal aggression!"

JESUS—"Who are the brutal aggressors? Those who attacked Poland and Finland? Those who attacked the Scandinavian countries? Those who keep India and other coloured peoples in subjection?"

THE CHIEF RABBI—"The aggressors are the oppressors of the Jews, the French, and all the inhabitants of the Nazi and Fascist occupied countries. You know of this oppression and the violent perverting of justice and judgment in these territories. Will you not help to end this oppression?"

JESUS—"By destroying the oppressors?"

THE MODERATOR OF THE FREE CHURCHES—"Yes, by bombing their homes, workshops, factories, schools, hospitals and churches, and totally destroying them."

JESUS (*after a few moments silence*)—"Will that end oppression?" "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you that ye resist not evil. The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them. Evil cannot be overcome by evil."

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP—"Young man, you seem very sure of yourself. From whom do you get your authority?"

JESUS—"From my Father who is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. Therefore I say we must love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them which despitefully use us and prosecute us."

THE CARDINAL—"Do you seriously suggest that the sort of behaviour you describe, should be adopted by everyone?"

JESUS—"Certainly, for if you forgive men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will forgive us. Non-violence means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved. He who believes in non-violence believes in a living God. Non-violence cannot be taught by word of mouth. It is kindled in our heart by the grace of God in answer to earnest prayer. It requires true humility for it is reliance not on self but on God alone. Non-violence is the most active force in the world. It is the weapon not of the weak, but of the strongest and bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God. All humanity is one undivided and indivisible family, and each one of us is, in some measure, responsible for the misdeeds of others. Human nature is in its essence one, and therefore the aggressor unfailingly responds (that is, in the end) to the advances of love. Dictators are not beyond redemption. No power on earth can stand before the march of peaceful, determined and God-fearing people. Non-violence is more powerful than all the armaments in the world. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man."

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP—"That is nonsense. It has long been decided by the Church that it may be lawful for a Christian to take part in war, and the only answer that can be given to the German menace is a massing of might on the side of right. If we attempted to follow your teaching we should soon be involved in tremendous suffering and death."

JESUS—"That may be so, but war most certainly involves millions in suffering and death. I have an implicit faith, a faith that to-day burns brighter than war, that mankind can only be saved through non-violence, which is the central teaching of the Bible, as I have understood the Bible. God has chosen me as one of His instruments for presenting non-violence to the world for dealing with its many ills. I am quite sure that non-violence properly applied would prevent bloodshed everywhere. For peace will not come out of a clash of arms, but out of justice, lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds."

THE MODERATOR OF THE FREE CHURCHES—"But if we adopt this extraordinary method of yours, Hitler and his armies will assuredly destroy us all."

JESUS—"You say you believe in an almighy God. Well, if you do truly believe that God is almighty, why not put your whole heart in Him? You sing in your churches: 'Sufficient is thine arm alone, and our defence is sure,' but it is quite obvious that you do not really believe that to be the case, you would sooner rely on bombing aeroplanes, battleships and guns. You say that you believe God to be the Father of all Mankind, and that all men are brothers, yet you support the killing of your German, Italian and Japanese brothers. There seems to be little chance of any one nation taking a lead in this matter and risking something for its faith in God. For there is not a single great nation which really believes in God as their protector of national life. If there were it would be interesting to speculate what would happen in the world's life, when a great people took the way of a suffering servant of God and dispensed with the other forms of protection in which the majority of people so vehemently believe. I wish there was some chance of the Church putting God to the test in the practical affairs of life. Here is a distracted and disturbed world clamouring for securities and guarantees and the Church has no lead to give. For the most part the Church in every land just meekly follows the prevalent national policy, and when you think of the faith in God which the Church professes, the situation is rather a pathetic one."

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP (*after consulting with his colleagues*)—"You give the impression that you understand these matters better than we do. You are an impractical, obstinate visionary, and the decision of the Tribunal is that you be removed from the register of conscientious objectors, and put on the military register."

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street, Sunday, January 2, 1944.

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

MARXISM: IS IT SCIENTIFIC? by Max Eastman.

This wonderful work of 344 pages, stiff covers, has been purchased by us from the publishers. Published at 8s. 6d., it can be secured new for 5s., post free, 5s. 6d. Supply limited. Order now direct from The Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

COUNCILLOR EARL'S PAMPHLET

Councillor Earl's Impressions of Wandsworth Prison with Rev. Sidney Spencer's views of Walton Prison, and the Rev. Thomas Pickering's views of Barlinnie, have been issued by Comrade Earl in pamphlet form, post-free, 4d., special terms for quantities. This pamphlet will be noticed next month. Address orders to The Strickland Press, or direct to: COUNCILLOR CHARLES A. EARL, 3 MOLYNEAUX ROAD, FARNCOMBE, SURREY.

David Berkingoff, 315 East 209 Street, Bronx (67), New York, U.S.A., is forming a U.S.M. Group. Local comrades please note.

AFTER THE WAR—WORK FOR ALL?

By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Mr. Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the U.S.A., is reported to have said recently that more than ten million workers would be unemployed after the war unless the U.S. could produce forty per cent. more peace-time goods than it did before. It would take more ingenuity to prevent general unemployment than it required to overthrow Hitler.

This is a characteristic example of political stupidity on the question of unemployment, but Mr. Wallace is not alone in his folly. In this country, apart from Social Creditors and a very small percentage of other monetary reformers, all the political leaders—and agitators—are promising work for all; or trying to devise a plan to provide work for all; or accusing the other fellow because **his** plan will not, in their opinion, provide work for all. The people, too, are either hoping for work for all, or feeling despondent because they doubt whether there **will** be work for all!

Well, there can't be paid work for all, especially in highly industrialised countries like Britain where the position is different from what it is in Russia where the process of industrialisation and mechanised development is of recent origin and by no means yet completed. At the present time in Britain our essential needs are, after a fashion, being met with only about half the population usefully employed, the other half being engaged, in one way or another, in the work of destruction.

The man who pretends that paid work for all is a lasting possibility in Britain or America is either a fool or a rogue. This may sound rather a sweping statement in view of the enormous number of individuals who do think that paid work for all can be secured if we have the right social and industrial organisation. Seeing, however, the number of people throughout the world at present busily engaged in killing, or helping to kill, their fellow mortals; and seeing that a fraction of the courage and endurance they are displaying in the effort to destroy those against whom they have no personal grievance would produce far greater comfort and happiness if it were directed into channels of wise resistance to their rulers who drive them to war, is it not obvious that there must be a considerable number of fools and rogues about somewhere?

The following figures may help to show why paid work for all is not an attainable, and therefore not a sensible, objective.

One craftsman takes 5½ days to make one pair of boots. Modern plant in a boot-making factory can turn out 595,000 pairs of boots in 5½ days, the total number of employees sustained being 7,200.

In Rummelburg is a power plant capable of producing 240,000 kilowatts; 200 workmen and 50 clerks can keep it going. It displaces previous plant which gave employment to 3000 workmen and 700 clerks to produce the same power.

Before the power age, 450 bricks per day per man was the average. To-day a brick plant will produce 400,000 per man per day.

In Milwaukee, U.S.A., one power plant can turn out 10,000 chassis frames per day, and 34 miles of pipe line, employing only 208 persons.

A few years ago a plant turning out 600 cigarettes a minute was displaced by one which now turns out 2,600 a minute. Each machine employs three operators and disemployed 697 men.

A plant for making incandescent lamps was built in 6 weeks by 37 men a year or two ago. It enables one man to do in a single hour what would have taken him 9,000 hours in 1914.

73,000 electric light bulbs can be produced in 24 hours by a machine which by so doing disemploys 2000 hand-workers.

The Boston Railroad Company uses a freight car handling device which takes charge of 1,000,000 cars per year. One man directs the whole operation and saves the labour costs of 400 men.

The "New Leader" quotes: "A new multiple automatic drilling machine with 8 men is estimated to do the work of 2000 men each operating a single drilling machine." (January 6th, 1933).

A man-less plough has been tried in the U.S.A. After the first furrow, this machine guides and turns itself without a conductor. It is calculated that by modern machine methods a man can produce 1300 per cent. more than by the methods of the past. Plough outfits working with a width of 60 feet are being used in place of the old two-horse single-furrow plough, the increased efficiency in ploughing being 5900 per cent. and, in spite of huge extensions in farming, disemployed 2½ million men from 1918 to 1927.

At the Stratford printing works of the L. & N.E. Railway, 100,000 tickets can be cut and printed in one hour by a machine attended by one operator. Roughly 100,000,000 tickets, weighing 120 tons, are printed yearly thereby.

3,600 socks per day can be produced by one man tending 25 machines.

The Wade Mechanical Woodman enables one operator to do the work of 30 men.

A machine can strip currants off a bush, disemploying 40 women, and does the work in less than half the time. These currants, when machines have made them into jam, are put into cans, 1000 of which can be produced in a day by one man.

When a crane armed with an electric magnet is put to work, 128 men out of 130 lose their jobs.

At St. Louis, Australia, where sewerage work was being carried out, 33 machine operators, assisted by 37 labourers, were doing the work of 7000 pick and shovel men.

Mr. Caulwell, a farmer of Weston, sprayed his potatoes against disease by aeroplane, with complete success. The field of 40 acres, which by ordinary methods took 2 days to disinfect, was sprayed in 25 minutes.

Until 1922, the U.S.A. fought the dreaded boll-weevil (a pest which used to destroy half the cotton crop of the world) with a mule-drawn drenching machine which did 30 acres a day. Aeroplanes now drench 300 acres in one hour.

Feeble efforts are sometimes made to refute the obvious conclusion to which these figures point. It is said that new inventions create new employment. Of course they do, but the labour-destruction due to labour-saving inventions and discoveries far outweighs, in its total effect, the increase in employment due to new inventions.

It is said that employment can be "spread" by shortening hours and taking on more workpeople; also that holidays can be lengthened and the age for retirement on a pension reduced. Of course employment can be "spread" as suggested—under a sensible money system—and hours of work ought to be reduced perhaps to four or even to two hours a day in some of the more exhausting and unhealthy industries. But whatever the right and reasonable reduction of hours may be, a point is inevitably reached when still further reduction must involve inconvenience and absurdity. Two hours a day may be right and proper; two minutes could only be ridiculous!

Some people feel that mechanisation is in itself an evil; that it can, and should, be forbidden by law; and that we should return to the age of handicrafts. Such individuals are social and economic King Canutes, trying to hold back the advance of the tide of scientific progress. Society as a whole will never listen to them. There is nothing wrong with mechanisation and labour-saving inventions, which could free mankind from a life of toil for a life of creative leisure. What is wrong is the bad judgment, due to folly and bad character, which puts mechanisation to evil uses; the callousness which does not regard the welfare of those who tend machines; and the stupidity which does not allow adequate incomes to those whom the machines, or new scientific discoveries, have put out of employment.

If work for all is a fool's aim, what post-war aim might be regarded as both attainable and sensible? Well, in the first place, work under proper conditions and for proper hours for all whose labour **is** still required in producing desirable goods and services, the necessary materials for which exist in the country or can be imported from abroad. In the second place, for those for whom paid work does not exist, money-incomes sufficient to enable them to claim their fair share of the country's goods and services. In a "fair" share of the country's goods and services must be included a share in the equipment needed for **unpaid** creative work—arts, crafts, hobbies, research, etc.—in which those who are technically unemployed can profitably occupy their leisure hours and find in them happiness and opportunity instead of the misery and boredom of "unendowed" unemployment under the old system.

The question might be asked: "Upon what factors would a 'fair' share of the country's wealth depend?" The two most important would be the number of the population and the total output and import of goods and services. The greater this latter total, the greater would be the share available for each individual citizen, whether unemployed or engaged in paid work.

A big country like America with immense internal resources could provide a high and steadily rising standard of living for all her people without the slightest difficulty and with little or no delay.

For reasons to which I have alluded in another article, the position in a small and thickly-populated country like Britain may not be so good, especially if we persist in wasting our resources and losing still more of our foreign trade by further prolongation of the war. This point is well worth consideration by those selfish and short-sighted idiots who, just because their war jobs give them temporary prosperity, are content to allow the struggle to continue with no thought for the future and no heart for those to whom the war is bringing death, wounds, misery and despair.

Although it would be wrong to ignore the possibility of grave post-war economic problems, there is, however, no reason to be unduly gloomy about our future if only we reform our money system so that we are able to buy all that we desire of what we can produce or import. The productive resources of modern civilisation are enormous and ever-increasing, and even if one could not honestly promise every war-worker that his money-income might not have to suffer some temporary reduction, taking one thing with another, there is no reason why life in general should be less pleasant for him. After a possible first readjustment of his income in the wrong direction, he could, morever, look forward with reasonable certainty to a steady improvement in his financial position as new inventions and discoveries increased man's power throughout the world to exploit the vast resources of Nature and Britain secured her share of the general increase in real wealth.

Two things, however, would be necessary. There must be a complete breakaway from the error of Mr. Henry Wallace who, like thousands of other people, cannot yet begin to envisage any source of income but the wage or salary. As already indicated, a direct relation **must** be established between the country's total output and import of goods and the "National Dividend," paid as a right and not as a dole involving a Means Test inquisition, either to every citizen, or to every citizen in need of it. There must also be a politically-conscious and politically-active electorate ready to force M.P.s, if they refuse to do it of their own free will, either to liquidate, or to impose effective

control over, all cartels and monopolies which seek to limit output or sabotage new inventions which appear to threaten their particular interests.

In conclusion I should perhaps add one qualification to my original statement that there cannot be paid work for all in peace-time. If, directly this war ends, we start preparing for the next war by developing gigantic armed forces for what militarists call "defence" and for holding down our former enemies, then there **may** still be work for all. This, however, would not alter the truth of the assertion that work for all is an objective of fools or rogues. On the contrary it would confirm that truth!

The Trade Cycle and the Socialist Note

A Reply to the Duke of Bedford

By J. I. CRAIG

Firstly I wish to make it clear that this criticism of the Duke of Bedford's plans for monetary reform and of his answer to my article on Socialism and Money in the October issue of the "Word," is qualified by my clear recognition of the Duke's sincere desire to come to grips with the problem of poverty amid potential plenty and my appreciation of the high ideal of social service by which he is moved. If the majority of the working people had a similar outlook, commonweal would be within our grasp. Disagreement on facts and theories in economics or divergence of aim, do not affect complete agreement on the major issues of peace and liberty for the individual.

The Trade Cycle

The Duke states that "Slumps and booms are certainly caused by the deliberate action of the banks in conjunction with a foolish money system which makes no systematic provision for making up the shortage of consumer purchasing power indirectly due to investment."

Saving and investment constitute a single process and saving is a voluntary cut in consumption. If investment reduces purchasing power, we are assuming that the money invested, when expended as capital on buildings, plant, raw materials and labour, is not completely redistributed to consumers in the form of wages, etc., or we are assuming that, when new goods are produced, the purchasing power distributed in the process is not sufficient to cover all the industrial costs incurred. The reverse is the case. If the volume of consumption goods increased without a reduction in prices, or if credit (and therefore the volume of money in circulation) did not expand when production is expanding, it might be true that investment reduces overall purchasing power. The assertion under discussion is one of the main planks in the theories of Major C. H. Douglas, the author of Social Credit. If the Duke were to conduct a campaign to discourage saving and advocate the continuous spending of the whole of one's income, I would support him. This would mean, of course, the collapse of banking and insurance and the arrestment of all new projects. New savings are **perpetually** being transmuted into invested capital. How does this result in **periodic** crises?

Trade cycle theories fall roughly into four categories. The fundamental division of opinion is between causes that are—

(a) Inherent in the economic system; or

(b) Arbitrary interferences not part of the normal mechanism of the system.

My original criticism of the Duke's position was that the causes must be inherent in the system and not due to "the deliberate action of the banks." This is proved by the fact that the alternation of prosperity and depression takes place continuously, and regularly, like the swing of a pendulum. Incidentally, the period of "swing" is shortening and the amplitude is increasing. The Duke has not attempted to answer the argument. No juggling with the two meanings of the word "natural" will help. Are we to believe that the cunning bankers work to the calendar, just to provide themselves with an alibi?

The secondary division of opinion is between

(a) Monetary theories, and

(b) Non-monetary theories.

The Marxian explanation is non-monetary, but there is no reason why the monetary and non-monetary causes should not be complementary. This is my own view. The economic system is self-regulating. The motive force is profit, and the direction of production is controlled by the expectation of profit as indicated by ruling prices. The price mechanism in turn exactly equates supply and demand at all stages of manufacture between raw material and finished article. Where then is the factor which upsets the proportion between the production of capital (intermediate) and consumption goods and thus causes the trade cycle? The factor is the volume of money in circulation. Only the supply and demand for money are not self-equating. The immediate cause of the trade cycle is variation in the rate of interest (price of money) away from the equilibrium rate, that is, the rate at which the demand for credit would equal the supply of new savings. This causes swings in the amount of money in use, upsets the price mechanism and causes misdirection of production.

In a period of expansion, the volume of loans granted exceeds the amount of new savings, not by design, but through the normal technique of banking, and the several commercial banks are not themselves aware of the cumulative effect. Banks retain a certain proportion between loans and deposits. When a loan is granted, the amount is deposited with the same bank. This does not upset the proportion. But the use of this credit to finance production gives rise to new deposits in other banks and enables them to further increase their loans. In this way the demand for credit can be satisfied to an extent not justified by the level of new savings.

Marx's analysis of capitalism is perfectly reconcilable with the latest developments in monetary theory as expounded by Dr. F. A. Hayek of Vienna. I suggest that Marx's thesis that there is a general tendency for the average rate of profit to fall, provides the explanation of the further disturbing factor from the demand side in the loan market. It is the effort to defeat the falling average rate of profit which causes this extraordinary demand for capital and leads to over-capitalisation. Over-investment means a shift in demand from consumers' goods to producers' goods. Non-specific goods, for example, unskilled labour, move to the higher stages, such as the manufacture of machinery, and more roundabout methods of production develop which eventually become unprofitable.

Profits are made by the employer appropriating surplus labour value. New inventions and technological progress generally, reduce the proportion of capital expenditure on labour, and only an increase in capital can prevent a fall in the **amount** of profit. I therefore advance, tentatively, the theory that the underlying cause of the trade cycle is the basic fact of the exploitation of labour, coupled with the continual introduction of new labour-saving methods, and that this cause operates as an extraordinary demand for capital during upward swings in the cycle. The banks comply with this demand and do not raise the rate of interest, due to the good prospects of profit which exist at that phase of the cycle. Competition between the banks for business also prevents a rise in the rate of interest. They would have to raise it together if at all.

The return of the interest rate to the equilibrium rate will only take place when the increased cash requirements of business due to increased prices of consumption goods and increased wages, deplete the cash reserves of the banks, and they are compelled to raise the interest to protect these reserves. Prior to this stage being reached, the rate of credit expansion will have grealy out-run the rate of saving. The banks will now stop granting new credits and may have to reduce existing loans. This will aggravate the crisis but is not necessary to bring it about. It is sufficient that the banks should cease to increase the volume of credit. Only when the volume of money is increasing, can the money rate of interest be kept below the equilibrium rate. The longer this check is in coming, the greater will be the misdirection of activity to the manufacture of producers' goods at the expense of goods for immediate consumption, and the greater the resulting disorganisation of industry. The higher the peak, the deeper the trough.

The Duke implies that no check should be applied to credit expansion at boom periods. In actual fact, if the check could be applied sooner, the worst effects of the slump would be mitigated. It is the fact that entrepreneurs see great prospects of profit at the prices ruling at the peak periods, and are checked by the refusal of credit which, I suspect, gives rise to the Duke's belief that industrialists would support credit reform. The more important industrialists are too inextricably linked with financial interests to have leanings in this direction. The Duke writes: "In the ensuing slump the money-creating money-lender reasserts himself, when at length he again decides to bestow his favours on his subdued and disciplined clients." This may be effective dramatisation of the process, but it does not assist accurate factual analysis.

"Mr. Craig makes the common mistake of the orthodox economist (strange company, surely, for a Socialist reformer?) . . ." The Socialist is not a reformer, and it is precisely for this reason that he will find himself agreeing with the orthodox economist on questions of fact and diagnosis. It is when we come to remedy that they will part company. The honest economist will admit that the system cannot be radically reformed. The Socialist agrees but seeks to supplant the existing system, root and branch, and build a new economy, having as its motive, production for use, not profit. This can only be achieved through the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Money Reform

The Duke proposes that money should be created and issued to consumers on the Social Credit National Dividend plan and that the unemployed should be paid a living wage. Why should some work that others, either rich or poor, may live in idleness? Why should all not work a shorter day? What would be the effect of the second proposal on the labour market, an essential part of capitalism?

The injection of new money in the form of credits to consumers, would mean that it would be more profitable to produce goods for immediate consumption than to produce capital goods. The price of consumers' goods would rise and there would be an alteration in the price margins and expectation of profit **in favour** of those stages of production nearer the consumption level. The structure of industry would therefore contract. Employees in the basic industries would be thrown out of work, many enterprises would come to a standstill and a crisis would ensue. The effect of the measure proposed, would therefore be the reverse of what was intended.

The overthrow of the power of the financiers would require an assertion and enforcement of the will of the people. If this was achieved, why retain capitalism?

I regret that my proposed solution of the problem of distribution in a socialist economy should have become linked with the problem of the Trade Cycle, because the former is as simple as the latter is involved. The Duke states that the Socialist Note (a general purpose ration coupon bearing a fixed expiry date) would be a form of money with new qualifications. I disagree. Money is defined as the

medium of exchange and has a secondary or derived use as the **measure of value.** The Socialist Note would perform neither of these functions. The only function it would have in common with money would be that of **distribution,** and money only performs that function incidentally, **by accident,** we might even say. Instead of the rationing of war-time scarcity, we must have the rationing of peace-time plenty, a plenty which is socially produced and should therefore be socially owned.

The further development of this proposal must await another occasion, but the writer would welcome criticism of the Socialist Note as elaborated in "The Word" for October.

The forces of education and religion which the Duke believes will eliminate corruption and its kindred evils will not, it seems to me, achieve much direct success, so long as the present economic basis remains. In a society where the worth of any activity is judged by whether it yields a profit, what could be more natural than that services, ethical and otherwise, should be recompensed in cash? The attitude expressed in the saying "business is business" has so permeated our life that it paralyses our powers of discrimination. A reduction in the power of the currency alone would not eliminate these evils, but it would have its effect. We say that "money talks." We could reduce it to a whisper.

The profit motive means, in mining, the waste of natural resources; in farming, it means impoverishment of the soil; in housing, it means jerry building; in the countryside, it means slag heaps and neglect of the amenities; in the literature and entertainment world, it means the appeal to the lowest common factor. It means the struggle for export markets and it means war.

We need to substitute for the motive of private profit, the motive of utility, and service to the common good, that is, we need socialism.

"COMMUNISM"

We extract the following paragraphs from "The Hairdressers' Weekly Journal," London, for Saturday, November 13, 1943:—

GEORGE ROSE SAYS: When Teddy Kendall accused me of political ignorance with regard to Russia, I felt he had placed me in a very unenviable position, because, partly from considerations of space, but chiefly because I felt that the Journal was hardly the place to indulge in a long discussion on the question, I could offer no effective reply.

Since then a new book has been published which deals with the subject extensively, and provides a very full justification for everything I said. The book is called "Communism: The Story of the Communist Party," by Guy A. Aldred. Aldred is a great truth-lover, and probably the finest exponent of Communist philosophy in these islands. I would urge all members who would be up to date in the history of man being enacted under our noses to read this book. It is obtainable from the Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1, for 1s. 9d. post free. I recommend this particularly to all those members who wrote to me on the subject. It puts the working-class movements the world over into a new light and is in every way most illuminating.

COMMUNISM
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RHYS DAVIES, M.P.

Some of our readers in the N.U.D.A.W. write to state that our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., has been nominated by several large Branches of the Union for election to the Presidency of that organisation. Branches will be voting on the list of candidates during the early part of 1944.

Comrade Davies has been a permanent official of that Union for 37 years and retired on the age limit recently. He established the National Health Insurance Society for the organisation with 26,000 members when the Lloyd George Scheme was introduced in 1912. When he retired the membership was over 80,000.

He was the first M.P. for the Union and has retained his seat in Parliament without a break since 1921. His courage in advocating the principles of Socialism and Peace, and opposing the aims and folly of war is known to every Socialist working man and woman in the country.

For those readers to whom N.U.D.A.W. sound somewhat confusing, let us state that these marvellous and mysterious initials, for such they have seemed to be always to us, stand for National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE
A PUBLIC MEETING
will be held in
THE COSMO CINEMA
(Rose St., off Sauchiehall St.)
SUNDAY, JANUARY 23rd, 1943, at 2.30 p.m.
Speaker—
RHYS DAVIES, M.P.
Subject "Has Conscription Come to Stay?"
Chairman—Bailie ALEX. PORTER.

RHYS DAVIES, M.P., TO VISIT SOUTH WALES, JANUARY 1944.

Our Comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., will address the following meetings in South Wales during January:—

In English

Sunday afternoon, January 9th, 1944.—Carmarthen Fellowship.
Monday evening, January 10th.—Ystradgynlais.

In Welsh.

Tuesday evening.—Cwmgiedd, Swansea Valley.
Wednesday evenng,.—Ynyshir, Rhondda.
Thursday evening.—Llanharran, Glamorgan.

Questions and Discussion invited at all meetings as time permits.

We hope that our readers in the towns and districts mentioned will make these meetings known widely. All who can do so should make a point of attending themselves.

Welsh Anti-War Literature

In spite of the censorship and shortage of paper several small volumes have been published in the Welsh language against the War since 1939, and some journals printed in Welsh have been equally outspoken. Indeed, it is gathered that one such weekly has increased its circulation considerably merely because of its stand against the ghastly slaughter that is now proceeding all over the world.

The biggest attempt yet made, however, in that direction is the forthcoming publication of a substantial Welsh volume entitled "Gair y Cymod" (Word of Reconciliation); published by Lewis, Gwasg Gomer, Llandyssul, Carmarthenshire; 5/- per copy post free.

It will contain twenty articles by a similar number of the leading literary men of the Principality and twenty poems composed by another twenty of the most famous Welsh poets.

It is hoped to review the book in "The Word" in due course. It is understood that orders are well in hand already to secure the success of the venture; it will be on sale just before Christmas.

BOLSHEVIK BOGEY IN BRITAIN.
By EMRYS HUGHES (Editor, "The Forward").

Price 1/- Post Free, 1/3

The Story of British Government Policy Towards Russia from the Bolshevik Revolution to the Anglo-Russian Treaty.

80 Pages of Facts, Figures, Quotations.

A wonder factual exposure. Every Socialist should read this splendid work. Obtainable at and from The Strickland Press. We hope to review this work at an early date.

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS

Dr. Brook's book on "Carlile and The Surgeons" has been reviewed widely in the press. Many of the reviews have appeared in these columns.

"The Lancet," in its issue for July 10, 1943 published the following notice:—

CARLILE AND THE SURGEONS

Richard Carlile died a hundred years ago, but is still remembered for his struggle to secure the freedom of the press. He spent a good many years of his life in prison because he consistently refused to pay any of the numerous fines inflicted on him for his efforts to secure liberty of opinion at a period when the politicians of the day were seriously disturbed by the spread of republican and atheistical doctrines. In the course of his lifelong efforts to secure free expression of his opinions he became associated in a curious fashion with the distinguished surgeon who was later known as Sir William Lawrence. Dr. Brook has recalled this episode, and what it led to as his contribution to the memory of Richard Carlile. Lawrence had at one time, as professor of anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons, published a lecture which was considered by some of the seniors of the profession to be of an atheistical tendency; and though it is difficult now to see why his position and eventually withdrew the offending there should have been an outcry, he was deprived of lecture. A few years later Carlile saw fit to republish the lecture in spite of Lawrence's efforts to prevent it. There is evidence that at one time Lawrence and Carlile were closely associated in literary publications, and when in 1824 Wakley founded "The Lancet" and attacked the College of Surgeons Lawrence was his ardent assistant, and Carlile also took a large share in the conflict. In after years Lawrence took an opposite view of these activities, and even entered into violent proceedings against Wakley and the reforming party. In exploring the available records of this quarrel, in which much is still obscure, Dr. Brook throws some sidelight on Wakley, Joseph Hume, Robert Taylor and Abernethy; but Carlile remains his principal figure and his connection with the medical reformers of the time is interesting.

"St. Thomas's Hospital Gazette," for December, 1943, says:—

Richard Carlile, the centenary of whose death falls this year, was one of the most prominent members of the Reform movement at the beginning of last century, for his pains serving several long periods of imprisonment. In this interesting little pamphlet Dr. Brook has traced Carlile's association with sir William Lawrence, the distinguished surgeon from St. Bartholomew's Hospital, who ultimately became President of his College, Sergeant-Surgeon to Queen Victoria, and a baronet. In 1819 Lawrence published a work entitled Lectures on Physiology, Zoology and the Natural History of Man which he was subsequently persuaded to withdraw from circulation on account of his rather unorthodox views. Four years later Carlile republished the book under a new title, without Lawrence's permission. Such is the basis of the interesting piece of history which is recounted in this pamphlet. St. Thomas's, however, has more than passing interest in this nineteenth century agitator and friend of Thomas Wakley, founder of the Lancet. Carlile bequeathed his body to Lawrence for dissection, but Lawrence refused to have anything to do with it. Apparently largely on the instigation of Richard Dugard Grainger, F.R.S., just appointed "Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology" to the Hospital, the body was handed over to St. Thomas's for dissection. A description of the post-mortem examination was published inthe Lancet, according to which "a numerous assemblage of the friends of the deceased and members of the medical profession" attended "in the anatomical theatre to witness his post-mortem examination." It was proposed that Carlile's skeleton should be placed in our Museum, but to this his family would not consent.

Dr. Brook's booklet can be obtained from this office, post-free, for 2s. 3d. It should be read and circulated widely in conjunction with the editor's "Richard Carlile," post-free, 1 9d., and Carlile's "Jail Journal," 2s. 3d.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

Vol. V. No. 7 FEBRUARY 1944 Price: TWOPENCE

TWO CONFERENCES

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Among the diseases common in war, mental and moral paralysis of the temporarily insane seems one of the commonest and most infectious.

The pronouncement following the meeting of President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and President Chiang Kai-Shek has provided one of the worst examples of this ailment in a very acute form.

Japan, it is announced, is to be deprived of all the territory she has "stolen" since 1895. (Nothing, it will be noted, is said about the restoration of territory "stolen" from weaker peoples by the U.S.A. and Britain since 1895, or before that year. Victorious Powers, of course, are never guilty of aggression; aggression is a sin that can only be brought home to the vanquished).

If the Japanese have a sense of humour, they must be highly entertained by the time and circumstances which were selected for the publication of these formidable threats, especially if their claim recently to have inflicted further losses on the American Navy should be founded on fact.

Had President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill possessed **any** diplomatic skill, coupled with **any** desire to reduce the casualties suffered by their Forces to the unavoidable minimum, they would, in dealing with a proud and warlike people, have been careful to keep their intention of inflicting a humiliating and economically disastrous peace settlement carefully hidden **until after they had won their war.** To announce their intentions now is the best possible way of keeping the Japanese fighting—and killing British and Americans—to the very last.

I have spoken of a peace settlement "economically disastrous" for Japan, because it is clear that less than nothing is to be done to deal with the root cause of Japan's aggressiveness, i.e., the fact that her small and barren islands are greatly over-populated and her people have not been allowed access to a fair share of the world's economic resources, nor permitted to emigrate without more or less insuperable barriers being put in their way.

The U.S.A., by the Monroe doctrine, virtually declared that the American Continent was her private trading preserve from which the Japanese were very largely excluded. The Japanese, by the same argument, considered that eastern Asia should be **their** trading preserve—quite a logical argument if **any** Great Power is to be considered to have a monopoly of the trading and colonising rights in one large area of the world. This, however, did not suit the U.S.A. who, in addition to Monroe privileges, wanted trading rights in China as well. These trading rights Japan interfered with. The U.S.A. replied by economic war. Japan replied by a shooting war and that was that!

Certainly the behaviour of many Japanese towards the native inhabitants of some of the territories they have occupied in China has been anything but good and if Britain and the U.S.A. had not had **quite** so much glass in their own houses, they might reasonably have offered some strong criticisms and laid down certain conditions as essential to a just peace. Such criticism and such conditions (even leaving the present military situation out of account), would, however, be quite futile if not accompanied by a reasonable plan for the satisfaction of Japan's legitimate economic needs.

There is a very interesting passage in an article which appeared recently in "Reality," which refers to another article by Harry Paxton Howard in the September number of the American publication "Common Sense." In reply to the question "Is Japan Winning?" Mr. Howard argues in the affirmative, bringing forward many facts and figures in support of his contentions. He says there is no such thing as a united China fighting for the Atlantic Powers. There are now two Chinas, one of which is fighting for Japan. Again, there is no such thing as a Japan with her industrial strength concentrated in a couple of islands off the mainland, but a Japan in the process of transplanting her industries to the mainland and dispersing them throughout the territories under her occupational domination; nor does the occupation contain a greater element of repressive coercion than is the case with the Atlantic Powers' relations with the so-called "Free Nations" in South America and Europe. On the contrary, Japan is using Roosevelt's "good neighbour" strategy with conspicuous success. The slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" really works, despite the derisive attitude of Atlantic propagandists towards it. The so-called puppet governments concerned take it as serjously as those in the Western hemisphere do the Monroe Doctrine, which means "America for the Americans." If it be said that "Asiatics" is camouflage for Japan, what is "Americans" but camouflage for the United States? Mr. Howard's arguments recall a remark of Macaulay's that if there is long delay in liberating conquered nations, they are likely to turn on their liberators!

To the first announcement following the Cairo meeting, the second following the Teheran meeting has proved a worthy(?) successor; it is so cocky, so gushing, and so extremely vague! It is vague, save in one respect only, that it warns the Germans that an attack is to be delivered from East, West and South. Of course, this **may** be a cunning device to mislead the enemy, but, if otherwise, one would have thought that it would be better military tactics to have left the Germans guessing about the quarter, or quarters, from which the attack was to come and therefore to have left them; to some extent, unprepared. However, I suppose the sacrifice of several extra thousands of men meeting a forewarned opponent is not thought to matter at this stage of the war, every day of the prolongation of which makes the political leaders more accustomed to regard Service men, not as sentient human beings, but as mere pieces on a chessboard.

THE FIGHTING SCOT

Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

"The Scot is the finest fighter in the worr-ld."—David Kirkwood, M.P., at Glasgow, December, 1943.

It is nice to know that Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill mean to "seek the co-operation and the active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are their own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance"; also to know that "they will welcome them, as they may choose to come into a world-family of democratic nations."

It would have been reassuring, however, if we could have been supplied with some clearer proof that the Allied leopards have really changed their spots. Information from Stalin as to the exact date on which he began to set a high value on "democracy" as found in Britain and America would have been interesting; while a promise from him that, after the war, the whole of Poland, Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania and Bessarabia were to be entirely free from Soviet domination, together with a similar undertaking from Mr. Churchill in respect of India, would have been thought-provoking and arresting, if also somewhat provocative of Dominie Sampson's interjection "Prodigious"!

I suppose I am a very cynical and uncharitable person, but for me the invitation to the freedom-loving peoples has about it just the suspicion of a hint of "Will you walk into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly. Axis Governments are not the only Governments who break pledges. I remember the fate of our own war-time pledges to Montenegro and Italy after victory had been secured. I would, therefore, rather base my hopes of a better world on a negotiated peace in which there are no victors and no vanquished, but in which all agree to withdraw from the territory of peoples who desire freedom to run their own affairs. Neither side would then be tempted to forget war-time promises of liberal conduct by the dangerous power that absolute victory bestows; but each side would, as it were, be kept up to the mark by the searching and wholesome scrutiny of former opponents and by the danger of unpleasantness if undertakings were not properly observed.

CONCHIE COMMENT

Press-cuttings relating to conscientious objectors have accumulated on our desk for over a year. Reports and comments make interesting reading.

Many tribunals stump objectors by asking them if they believe in the police force. But Thomas Milestone (42), 175 Summergangs-road, Hull, received conditional exemption at the North of England Appeal Tribunal at York, on September 22, 1943, precisely because he insisted on his belief in the police force. Milestone is an ex-policeman. After being rejected by the tribunals he refused medical examination and was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. On his third appeal he said that he resigned from the Hull City Police Force, after 16 years, "under pressure." He was a policeman at heart and detested crime and criminals. War, to him, was a crime, and ought to be outlawed. Statesmen and military leaders were criminals. As a policeman he detested them and their work.

The Tribunal recognised him as a conscientious objector and made the condition land-work.

On May 15, 1942, Margaret Elizabeth Backhouse (20), shop assistant, of High Street, Kippax, near Leeds, was refused exemption. Her mother, Mrs. Backhouse, made the following protest to the Tribunal in support of her daughter's claim:—

I object to my daughter doing any war work whatever. My son is a prisoner of war in Germany. He volunteered to fight for his King and country, but not for another king and country. He was sent to Norway, and was captured by the Germans, who looked after him and nursed him back to health.

All Germans are not wrong. All the British are not right. My husband was left lying on the road after a motor accident, and I had to beg for Public Assistance, and was looked upon as a criminal. What are all you people? Why are you not doing war work? What are you women doing up there? Why are you not on hospital os some other work?

The Tribunal to whom these remarks were addressed consisted of Judge Stewart, Professor McCandlish (Leeds), Mr. Walter Dodgson (Sheffield), Miss Beatrice Kitson (Leeds) and Miss Amy Wild (Bradford).

The Chairman (Judge Stewart) said:

You seem to have taken this opportunity of making a statement on matters which are of no interest to the court at aall.

This rebuke was correct. Still, Judge Stewart, at the same Tribunal, has taken the opportunity of commenting on many matters that were not the concern of the Court. Mrs. Backhouse spoke a great deal of good commonsense even though she may have chosen the wrong place. Still, it was her only opportunity of being heard. Is it not sound legal approach to be over-ruled and to have the Court object but to leave your impression on the public?

Judge Stewart's rebuke to Mrs. Backhouse would be supported enthusiastically by Sir Albert Ball, Lord of the Manors of Lynby, Bunny and Bradmore; Mayor of Nottingham, 1909-10, 1920; and Lord Mayor, 1935-36. He is father of the V.C. airman.

On August 6, 1943, Sir Albert presided over the Court at Nottingham and sentenced Victor Paul Hewitt, an 18-years-old conscientious objector, who refused medical examination.

Said the pompous Sir Albert:—

You are a good-for-nothing coward; go to prison for three months, with hard labour.

This opinion was as irrelevant as the remarks of Mrs. Backhouse and less to the point. Even the father of a V.C. has no right to utter such opinions from the bench. It is an offence against every canon of justice. Such simple elemental truth will be beyond the understanding of this stupid fire-eating power-loving lay magistrate?

Sir Albert Ball could have passed the sentence required by law and have held his peace as to his private prejudice. He should have taken a lesson from the behaviour of the Kingston Borough Magistrates on Tuesday, May 11, 1943.

Bruce Stuart Beaugard, 16 Oliver Road, New Malden, was sentenced to £5 or one month's imprisonment for committing the same offence as the Nottingham objector, Hewitt.

Beaugard told the court that he refused to go for medical examination because he believed that this was a war between capitalist countries to maintain their fields of exploitation.

"I am a pacifist and an anarchist," he added.

The chairman of the Bench said that he could not discuss Beaugard's opinions in that court and must conviet on the fact of his failure to undergo medical examination.

This statement was dignified and correct.

On Wednesday, February 24, 1943, at a meeting of the Wiltshire County Council, Lt.-Col. William Cory Heward Bell, D.S.O., 67-year-old retired professional soldier, magistrate, county councillor and ex-M.P., had a field day planning to penalise conscientious objectors. He embodied his methods in a resolution, that was passed by the Council by 31 votes to 14. The resolution read:—

That in every case where employees of the Wiltshire County Council succeed in evading military service or service in the Home Guard on conscientious grounds, the committee concerned shall take every means in its power to ensure that such individuals spend in their spare time as many hours in some work of national importance as they would have been obliged to spend in Home Guard duties had they been conscripted for that force;

And for no greater remuneration than they would have received for such Home Guard duties.

This is an absolutely illegal resolution.

Colonel Bell was M.P. for Devizes, 1918-1923. In other words he won the seat on the Khaki election.

The Colonel said that he moved the resolution because the headmaster of an elementary school at Pewsey, Wiltshire, who was granted exemption from military service as a conscientious objector, refused to do Home Guard duties. This refusal was causing great indignation among members of the Pewsey Home Guard. Colonel Bell added:.

"Some people object to sending their children to that school, which is under the auspices of a man who, in their opinion, holds unpatriotic, disloyal and abominable opinions."

Colonel Bell was supported by another D.S.O. colonel—Lieut.-Col. W. F. Fuller.

Colonel Fuller is 77, a bachelor and an ex-M.F.H.

Councillor F. J. King, of Swindon, rightly challenged the legality of the resolution.

He averred that he was a conscientious objector in the last war. He had two sons who had been granted exemption on conscientious grounds in this war.

The resolution was illegal. The spirit behind it was the spirit of Goebbels and Corporal Adolf Hitler.

This Wiltshire resolution is a kind of bad date sandwish between a decision of the Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh, given on January 28, 1943, and an address to the Birmingham N.F.S. made by Divisional Officer Walters of Central Birmingham on March 3, 1943.

The Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal modified, to suit the wishes of the appellant, the conditional exemption granted by the local Tribunal to an honours graduate of Glasgow University, John M. Aitenhead, Kilquharisty House, Castle Douglas, founder of an "unorthodox" non-punishment, children-responsibility school. The local tribunal made the condition full-time work in agriculture or forestry. The Appellate Tribunal agreed that he should carry on his present educational work, and part-time agricultural work—as he had been doing.

Conscientious objectors in the N.F.S. have done extremely good work, said Divisional Officer Walters, of Central Birmingham Division, at a meeting, in Birmingham, on March 3, 1943, of members of the former Birmingham Fire Brigade, who were instructors to thousands of Auxiliary Fire Service men.

They have pulled their weight with the rest and are interested and capable in actual fire work.

Ann S. Chalkley, an actress, appeared before a London Tribunal, on March 2, 1943.

She had been playing in Shakespeare for a considerable time, and acted throughout the raids. She was a strict vegetarian and believed that no one had the right to take human life.

The Chairman (Judge Hargreaves) said the tribunal thought applicant had a sincere conscientious objection and directed her to continue her work in serious drama. If the work ended, she must do either hospital, Civil Defence, or land work.

On June 23, 1943, the South-East Conscientious Objector's Tribunal in Edinburgh registered Dr. Philippa M. Ludlam, Tyne Lodge, Grange Loan, Edinburgh, as a conscientious objector on condition that she remained in her work in the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary Maternity Pavilion.

Dr. Ludlam is 26 years of age. She qualified when she was 24.

Questioned about work in the R.A.M.C., she replied:

If I joined that Corps I would be an accessory to what I feel to be wrong—namely, taking part in an Army organisation.

The Duke of Bedford made a splendid factual speech on the position of C.O.s in the House of Lords on January 18. An excellent summary of the Duke's speech and Lord Croft's reply appears in the C.B.C.O. *Bulletin* for January 1944. Obtainable from this office. The Duke's speech is being produced in pamphlet form and will be on sale this month. Post Free, price 3d.

"COMMUNISTS" AND THE WAR

(Concluded from page 65).

On July 29, 1943, Douglas Frank Springhall (62), described as an organiser, who had been committed from Bow Street, London, earlier in the month, was sentenced at the Old Bailey to seven years penal servitude after a trial in camera.

The *Daily Worker* published the following report of this case:—

Douglas Frank Springhall, 42, was sentenced at the Old Bailey yesterday to seven years' penal servitude after a trial in camera.

The Charge against him was of obtaining from Olive Sheehan, an Air Ministry employee, information in respect to munitions of war; and obtaining from her for a purpose prejudicial to the interests and safety of the State information calculated to be useful to the enemy.

Passing sentence in public, Mr. Justice Oliver said that on the basis of Springhall's record it was not likely that his purpose to communicate these things to Germany.

The capitalist press gave the judge's address, when passing sentence, in great detail. We quote from the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*:—

Mr. Justice Oliver, passing sentence in public, said:

"The jury has convicted you on the most detestable offence of worming vital secrets for the protection of our own fighting men from a Government department by means of a little woman clerk.

"I do not think on your record that it is likely that your purpose was to communicate these things to Germany, but to communicate them to some one I have no doubt whatever was your purpose."

But if the information was not to be communicated to the Nazi Government or the Axis Powers to whom was it to be communicated? And what was Springhall's record?

Mr. Frankel (Labour) raised the question in the House of Commons on Thursday, August 5, when he referred to "*the sentence of seven years' imprisonment on a national organiser of the Communist Party for espionage.*"

In his reply, Herbert Morrison stated:—

At the time of his arrest at the Communist Party headquarters in London Mr. D. F. Springhall was national organiser of the Communist Party. He had been a member of the Central Committee since 1932 and of the Political Bureau since 1930. He was therefore prominently associated with the leadership of the party. . . .

Pressed to state whether he accepted Harry Pollitt's statement that the Communist Party had no knowledge of Springhall's activities, Herbert Morrison replied correctly that the Communist Party would not admit complicity in any case. This caused Gallacher to denounce Frankel as "*the disreputable stooge*" and to refer to Morrison's "*own mouldy character.*" All of which was irrelevant abuse, a manifestation of mental unquiet, and no reply to the accurate commentary made on this case by the Home Secretary.

Shinwell asked if the Home Secretary had evidence to justify the suggestion *that the Communist Party was responsible officially for acts of espionage*, Morrison replied that the facts spoke for themselves. This brought Gallacher to life again with the statement that the case was tried in camera, and that, if tried in public, the sentence could not have been passed.

Gallacher said: "*They would never have got away with the sentence. It is a dirty bit of business.*"

It is obvious for whom the information was wanted. The "*dirty bit of business*" describes, not the trial in camera, and the sentence in public, but the entire career, history, and present activity of the Communist Party. By boycott and contempt, the workers should destroy this nefarious and disgraceful subsidised criminal conspiracy against the liberties of mankind and the decencies of the social struggle—the Communist Party. It s Pollitts and Gallachers, these kind defenders of the criminal Moscow trials, these apologists for the assassination of Socialists and Anarchists, should be swept into oblivion.

This was the obvious deduction from the Springhall trial in July 1943. Emphasis was given to this conclusion on Monday, November 8, 1943, when the daily press published the following official report of the sequel to the Springhall trial and conviction:—

CAPTAIN JAILED FOR SEVEN YEARS

TOLD SECRETS "TO SHOW FAITH"

For betraying secrets to the former national organiser of the Communist Party in Britain, Lieut. (temporary Captain) Ormond Leyton Uren has been cashiered by sentence of a general court-martial and sent to seven years' penal servitude.

The War Office, announcing this last night, said that the court-martial was held secretly on October 21.

Captain Uren betrayed the secrets to Springhall. The charge against Uren was that:—

Between April 9 and September 24, 1942, for a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interest of the State, he communicated to Springhall information of a highly secret character which he had acquired in the course of his official duties, and which was calculated to be or might be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy.

Uren joined the army in November, 1939, and was commissioned in May 1940. He served in an infantry unit until May, 1942, when he was posted to special duties.

At his trial Uren described how he was attracted by the activities of the Communist Party. He told a friend how he regretted being isolated from the opportunity of co-operating or doing anything practical to give concrete expression to his sympathy with the party's aims. This friend introduced him to Springhall who was national organiser of the Communist Party of Britain.

Uren had several meetings with Springhall who asked him to prepare a written report of his life history, education and political and social background. This Uren did.

During these meetings Springhall questioned Uren about his work, and asked him to produce a written description of the lay-out of the establishment in which he was working.

Uren gave Springhall a typewritten document containing this and other highly-secret information.

Springhall questioned Uren about his work and also about future military operations. Uren was unable to give him information about operations.

At his trial, replying to the defending officer Uren said:

I disclosed the information to Springhall to show him I had complete faith in him and that he could have complete trust in me as a sincere believer in Communism.

A meeting between Uren and Springhall was to have taken place on the evening of June 17, 1943. Springhall did not keep that appointment because he was arrested on the morning of that day and charged under the Official Secrets Act of 1911 with obtaining information from Olive Sheenan, as stated above.

On the same day, November 8, 1943, as it published the report of Captain Uren's conviction and sentence, the "Scottish Daily Express" published the following paragraph concerning Stalin:—

STALIN NOW WEARS JEWELS.

MOSCOW, Sunday.—A half-page photograph of Marshal Stalin, published in the anniversary number of Pravda, shows him wearing two stars.

One is the gold encrusted with diamonds and other jewels. The other is silver.

He has shoulder stripes and a collar embroidered with gold.

This is probably the first time he has worn jewels.—B.U.P.

All of which the Communist Party admires and defends.

On Monday, December 20, 1943, an official Soviet Government Broadcast from Moscow stated:—

The Council of People's Commissars has decided that the present words do not reflect the basic changes that have taken place in our country as the result of the victories of the Soviet system, and do not express the Socialist content of the Soviet State.

Accordingly, the council has decided on a new text which corresponds to the spirit and content of the Soviet system.

A translation of the International substitute was published in Comrade Beaverbrook's organ on Tuesday, December 21, 1943. It read:—

ANTHEM OF THE SOVIET UNION.

An indestructible union of free republics,
Russia the great has forged forever;
Long live the Soviet Union, indivisible and powerful,
Created by the will of its peoples.

REFRAIN

Glory to our Free Fatherland,
The trusty bulwark of the People's Banner,
Will lead us on from victory to victory.
The sun of liberty shone upon us;

The great Lenin lit up our way.
Stalin has brought us up in faithfulness to the people,
And has inspired us for work and great deeds.

We have brought up an army in battles,
We will sweep the treacherous invaders from our path
We decide in battles the fate of generations,
We will lead our country on to glory.

The music for this Soviet State anthem is by Alexandrov and the words are by Sargi Mikhalkov and I. Registan. This anthem is to come into general use on March 15. It is merely a bad parody of the British—or is it only English?—"Land of Hope and Glory." The words of this refrain may be patriotic stupidity, but at least the music has a swing and it has rhythm.

On that day, musing on the studied betrayal of the working class struggle alike in capitalist peace-time and capitalist war-time, the consciously libertarian workers of the world will rejoice to have "The International" freed from the contamination that has belonged to it during the years of Soviet counter-revolution and dictatorial reaction that it has been deemed the Russian National Anthem. Once more it will become the hymn of revolutionary Socialism and proletarian challenge and world liberation. Once more at our Socialist meetings we may sing, in Britain and America and all English speaking countries, our translation of the bold words written in 1874 by Eugene Pothier, who fought in the Paris Commune, and set to brave music by Pierre Degeyter, the blacksmith of Lille:—

Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers,
Arise, ye criminals of want,
For reason in revolt now thunders,
And at last ends the age of cant.

Then away will all superstitions,
Servile masses arise, arise;
We'll change forthwith the old conditions,
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

REFRAIN

Then comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face,
The Internationale unites the human race.

To do this is to oppose Socialism and proletarian struggle against the graft and corruption of National "Communism," and dictatorial careerist opportunism. "Communism," as represented by the Communist Party, is but the cowardly irresponsible self-seeking exploitation of the energies and wrongs of the proletariat seeking emancipation from the sorrow, anguish, starvation and sudden deaths of class society. "Communism" is Socialism transformed into a social iniquity one degree lower than normal capitalist superstition, hypocrisy profit-mongering and blood-letting. It is the devil fascinated by a mockery of revolution into a charlatanism of majesty and a realism of human sacrifice. It is the world's night of sadist delight. And it must be opposed by every Socialist libertarian and every true citizen of the world, every humanist wishing to redeem mankind from war and error and corruption.

COMMUNISM

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WHAT I BELIEVE

By Rev. CHARLES H. COLE

(Minister, High Street Unitarian Christian Church, Portsmouth; Chairman, Portsmouth P.P.U.; Minister, Humanist Society of Friends.)

I would like to preface this article by acknowledging the courtesy of the Editor in permitting me to express myself in this way in "The Word," and his kindness in introducing me to the American Humanist Society of Friends; and to the latter for adding my name to its ministerial list—a recognition which is greatly appreciated.

It seemed fitting to me, and the Editor readily agreed, that I should take this opportunity to present an outline of my present beliefs to my friends here and overseas, and I can only hope that this account of my philosophy of Life will be of some interest to those who may read it, and help in promoting a friendly understanding between us.

It is not claimed that there is anything very original in what follows—"There **is** no new thing under the sun." It summarises simply the conclusions arrived at about Religion and Life in general after some thirty years of reading and reflection. Need I add that these beliefs are not stated as final Dogmas, but as to-day's tentative, though sincerely held convictions. In this respect I hope I shall be always willing to try to follow Emerson's dictum in speech and writing: "Say to-day what you now think in hard words, and to-morrow speak about what to-morrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you say to-day." In this spirit, then, I offer the following account of what I believe:

I believe in Life: My conviction is that the most important discovery we can make about ourselves is—that we are **alive,** so that we can say with Longfellow:

"Through every nerve, through every vein,
Through every fibre of my brain
I feel the electric thrill—the Touch of LIFE."

and with Bergson:

"I feel myself to be one of the million centres of energy in that one vast stream of energy—LIFE."

I believe in Life—that Life in which I live and move and have my being and which lives and moves in me; that Power which, throughout the centuries has enabled man to grow and develop **"in co-operation with the spirit of evolutionary progress."**

The world it seems, was made for one purpose—for Life. Maybe it often appears to be laden with evil and sorrow; none the less it sustains also, all that is best in the world—human brotherhood, Love and Hope.

And I believe that this vital energy, Life, is the only creative power in the Universe. I know of no other Power which has made **me** and which sustains me. As H. G. Wells has written:

"Age by age, through gulfs of time at which imagination reels, Life has been growing from a mere striving in the intertidal slime towards freedom, power and consciousness."

Of the origin of Life I know nothing—nor do I believe I can know anything. But of this I am convinced; that Life does not appear to have happened suddenly upon earth. What records there are, and what we now know, shows that "Life **grew** and—**grows."** And myself and all the children of men, and all that lives, are the product of this ceaseless, creative, vital energy—life.

From which it follows:—

I believe in the universality of Life: The essential Oneness of all mankind—the Brotherhood of all living things. The sharers of this Life are—**One.** Next to the importance of the discovery that we are alive is the conviction **that we are a part of the Universal Life;** which conviction compels us to accept the obligation of co-operating with all that Lives. I belong to the Fellowship of Life. And Life, in its upward surging, is compelling men to replace an evil individualism with this communal ethic. The forces stirring within man, which are the elemental forces of Life itself, arising from the very depths of his cosmic nature are forever urging him on to reach "Life's final star—Brotherhood."

I believe in the evolutionary conception of Life: We came hither, trailing not clouds of glory from Heaven, but from the lowest orders of Life. We are the result of an orderly evolution; and I believe that in the evolutionary process we will progress, continue to change and grow until we become quite literally—a new creation. I have said I know nothing about the origin of Life; neither do I know anything about its ending—if indeed there will be an end at all. I know simply that Life evolves and I believe its one increasing purpose is to change Life's Winter into Spring. But as A. H. Clough has aptly put it:

"Where lies the land to which the ships would go?
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from? Away,
Far, far behind, is all that they can say."

All we can do is to observe, and to find and play our part in the evolutionary process, and watch "the foaming wake far widening as we go."

I believe in the immortality of Life: Beyond stating the belief I do not care to venture. Life appears to me to be eternal—"a never ebbing sea." And so belief in immortality is therefore a reasonable belief; but I do not think it wise for us to spend too much time in guessing about what happens to us after death. Said Spinoza: "The proper study of the wise man is not how to die, but how to live"; and my Religion is a religion of Life and **for** Life. I hope neither for the traditional Heaven nor fear the traditional hell; and yet I believe "that Life is ever lord of death," and I have a conviction that will not be denied, which affirms:

"If my bark sink, 'tis to another sea."

I believe in God: But not in a personal God possessing human attributes. I have said I believe in Life, that Life is the one compellingly, creative, co-operative, eternal Power of which I know anything; and that Life is evolutionary in its working and progressive in its purpose; and for me, that Life **is** God—"God's Life," which is working in and through the universe for the development of an ever-broadening channel bringing a more abundant Life to all. For me, that is enough—Life—the Universe— God if you will allow me—"some call it Evolution and others call it God"—is with me and for me and means well by me. That beneficial Life-force I choose to call God and my faith and service is centred in that "Power—not ourselves—that makes for Righteousness.

I believe that Jesus was one of the greatest Religious leaders who has ever lived; and that his message is still a Gospel of good news for those who have ears to hear and minds to understand. So far as his teaching is concerned I know how difficult it is to separate the wheat from the chaff; I know as has been well said that "there were Christs before him and Christs after him"; I know that he was altogether a **human** being; I know we shall have to rescue him from his friends in whose households he has been sadly wounded; and yet I believe, so far at least as our Western world is concerned which is steeped in the Christian tradition, that if we could but "find him, understand him and follow him," we would discover a way of life that would transform our society. I am not interested in Christianity as a theological system, but I do believe that if we had more of the spirit of the Great Galilean in our hearts, we would vastly improve conditions in the affairs of our National and International life.

I believe that the individual reason and conscience are the most reliable authorities for human conduct; and that their authority provides a better guide and a truer sanction than any Church or Creed—any Bible or Priest—any external authority at all. Which is not to say that these lesser authorities are rejected out of hand and entirely disregarded. "I seek the Truth by which no man was ever injured." But I find no external infallibility. The Church has often been wrong, the world's Bible are of human origin, and although their writings contain much that is wise and true, they contain also a great deal that is foolish and false; traditional creeds are often found to be untenable in the light of modern knowledge; and Priests and Parsons are not always reliable guides. We do not say anything against the proper use and enjoyment of the deposit of goodness and truth that is to be found in all these agencies—but we do say that that only has final authority for a man in the sphere of morals which is certified by his own mind as being reasonable and true and approved by his conscience as being right and good. As Sir R. P. Paranjpye has said: "The realisation of our highest ideals will be brought nearer if more and more citizens allow themselves the free use of their reason, unfettered by dogmas, prescription or the fiats of priests or ministers of religion and follow the dictates of their rational faculty in action." I would only add that if their reasoned decisions are endorsed by conscience, they have all the justification they need for their behaviour. When reason allows and conscience affirms human conduct a man can afford to declare of all lesser authorities—"They say; what do they say? Let them say!"

I believe in Democracy—and by Democracy I mean a political and social order wherein men, by real co-operation with one another are enabled to attain to the fullest and freest development possible of their various capacities and powers for the good life—so that a full, free and happy life is made possible for each and all. The political and economic machinery necessary for the building of a Democracy will be devised when the inward will of individual men and women desires it shall, when the inward urge of the Democratic spirit and temper has created a sufficient number of free and humane persons to demand it. Such men and women will devise the methods required for the attainment of the Democratic Ideal, and the forms in which to embody and express it. Broadly speaking, the choice before men to-day is Democracy or Despotism—Fellowship or Death. My choice is for Democracy, and I believe that Life, as has already been said, in its upward striving is compelling us to make that same decision.

I believe in World Peace through World War Resistance; and the maintenance of World Peace by the removal of the causes of war, and the re-organisation of the world's social economy as the basis of justice, goodwill and co-operation. The determination of the people of the world to refuse to fight, and their equal determination to establish a new World Order will finally vanquish the greatest of all evils—war.

I believe in freedom of speech, writing and assembly: with Wendell Phillips I assert that

"the community which does not protect its worst and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

This freedom is essential to human progress, for only by free discussion do we arrive at the truth upon which progress is built. Besides, no man is wise enough or good enough to exercise the power of censorship over another, and to say what another shall see or hear or think. All censorship laws, and all regulations which are designed to limit a man in the free expression of his opinions, should be repealed—or we confess ourselves to be a nation of slaves.

Well, these are some of the beliefs I hold. I have not always held them and I may yet be compelled to exchange them for others. You may agree with all of them, with some of them or with none of them. But that does not matter—I am content to have told you about some of those convictions which move and control me in my life to-day and shall be encouraged if this recital of them urges you to make an inventory of **your** beliefs and to clarify the ideas by which **you** live.

So, like Professor T. V. Smith:

"I lapse again into silence leaving you alone, pondering, if it be so the major moral of the best wise men—the moral that in the conduct of life there is no guide like oneself."

Which, as you will have observed from all I have written, is what I believe.

CATHOLICS AND THE WAR

CATHOLIC PEACE SOCIETY.

Provisional Suggestions.
(Official title of Society is under consideration)

The increasing savagery of this war and in particular the brutality of the air war, has convinced many Catholics of the need for a Catholic Peace Society. It is hoped that such a society may shortly be formed with objects broadly as indicated below:—

1. To work for a peace founded on justice, reconciliation and charity such as has so often been urged by Pope Pius XII and to try to prevent the outbreak of another war after this one has ended.
2. Because it is particularly evil that Catholics, who are all members of Christ's Body the Church, should make war against each other as they are unhappily doing at present, the Society would hope eventually to co-operate with Catholic Peace Societies abroad.
3. To co-operate as far as possible with other Peace Societies at home without, however, binding the Society to any specific political party or social movement.
4. Arrangements would be made for group meetings to discuss the teaching of Catholic theologians on peace and war, for the interchange of speakers and for the circulation of newsletters and pamphlets.
5. Membership would be open to practising Catholics over the age of 15 of any nationality. Members would be encouraged to be true to their religion and to practise it devoutly. They would be reminded of the power of prayer and of the inestimable value of frequent communion. Members would be exhorted to seek peace in their daily lives, to strive to heal all quarrels and readily to forgive personal injuries.

Provisional Secretary—Henry Coldham, 30 St. Margaret's Street, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.

Further suggestions will be appreciated.

To Mr. Henry Coldham, 30 St. Margaret's Street, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.

I am interested in the proposal for the formation of a Catholic Peace Society and shall ge glad if you will keep me informed regarding this.

Name, ...

Address, ...

CATHOLIC YOUTH AND WAR

The young Catholics distinguish between just and unjust war, though they are not very clear as to where the difference lies. They differ from many non-Catholic young objectors in their motive power. No young man should consider himself superior to his companion, who obeys the call to arms. Yes, he may be very much his inferior for there is a poor, feeble, unmanly Pacifism from bodily weakness or sham Pacifism from cowardice. Such are contemptible and it gives one food for thought that one of the young men of the other camp, Max Boudy, says "I have never found a Pacifist whose Pacifism inspired him with such inner beauty as I have found in several men for whom war, under any circumstances was a reasonable, justifiable, if tragic necessity." Such remarks must be taken seriously. They impose inner and outer obligations. If it is not to be a bloodless intellectualism or a weak, cowardly quietism, or a luxurious epicureanism, Pacifism must lay very great stress on bodily discipline, on culture, on bodily and mental development.

More than all, he who opposes war must be inwardly clean. His passion for justice must not be tainted by hidden uncleanness As long as Pacifists are in the minority let them begin with a steady fight against all that is evil in themselves.

So we see that the Catholic associations of the young against war are based on religious and moral motives.

The spirit of the Gospel is their moving power and it demands a strong spirit of sacrifice. From the negative side it is the conviction that modern warfare, based as it is, on hatred, revenge and greed, is criminal with its brutal methods and terrible results. Its formula in normal theology is the doubtfulness of the cause justa and the intentio recta—that good is furthered and evil hindered—the absence of the debitus modus—of the four conditions stipulated by Suarez and Bellarmin for the justification of war, "that it should be conducted within the limits of justice and love."

This conviction as to war has not been learnt by Catholic youth from ecclesiastical lore, or even from books of moral theology They have learnt it from nature, from their hearts, and from the Sacred Heart itself. But being convinced that both nature and Christ are opposed to modern warfare they seek with their whole soul for the Church's support for their position. "We hope that war will be overcome through the Church and even if, after two thousand years, this hope is unfulfilled we still hope and go on knocking at the door like the importunate man in the Gospel." This knocking at the door of their Church from Love of Peace and love of their fellow man and love of Christ, has something stirring in it. Just as faithful Catholics wait with pious impatience for the definition of dogma, which has long belonged to the "Faith-Consciousness" of the Church, so and more fervently innumerable Catholics are waiting for a moral definition about war, for a decisive word as to its immorality."

—Fr. F. STRATMAN'S
"The Church and War."

WELSH BOOK REVIEW.

A book in Welsh on Peace, "Ffordd Tangnefedd" (The Path of Peace). Edited by Simon B. Jones and E. Lewis Evans; published by the Peace Society of Welsh Congregationalists and printed by J. D. Lewis & Sons, Llandyssul, Garmarthenshire, with a foreword by Professor John Morgan Jones (Bangor). 5/- post free, from the printers.

To those who read Welsh this volume is an inspiration; and to those who, in addition, base their antagonism to War on Christian principles it is one of the most daring, uncompromising and comforting books on Peace published in the vernacular for a decade.

It is arranged in twenty chapters each from the pen of a similar number of divines, preachers and literatteurs who occupy an exalted place in the life of the Welsh people. In addition, it contains more than twenty appropriate efforts in rhyme by the leading Welsh poets, including the present Arch-druid and the ex-Archdruid. One of the chapters, by an authority on the subject, probes into the economic, commercial, financial and territorial causes of modern wars, including the present catastrophe. Each chapter is in the form of a Sermon.

But whatever the argument or method of approach to Peace the background of each of these eminent writers is the same; it is the challenge of the Christian faith. They repel vigorously on every page the use of Force as a weapon to settle either domestic or international quarrels; they cry aloud for ending this War at once by negotiation and compromise.

This, of course, is in the best tradition of the Welsh pulpit; and those who are conversant with the history of this imaginative race feel when reading this publication the agony of War smiting the prophets of the New Evangel and the anguish that comes to them by witnessing some of their own brethren in the battledress of the Old.

There have ben many booklets and pamphlets published on Peace in Welsh during this War, but this is the largest effort and probably the most devastating attack on militarism, jingoism and, indeed, imperialism yet made in that language.

Let it be noted that this is Volume ONE; this would seem to indicate that the publishers intend pursuing the good work on to further Volumes.

Some of the contributors are drawn from other denominations as well; leaders of the Welsh Baptists, Calvinistic Methodists, Wesleyans and Unitarians all find a niche in these pages.

Finally, this is an emphatic declaration for the majesty of Conscience; it is Christianity triumphant!

R. J. D.

RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

During 1943, our comrade, Rhys Davies has been present at every sitting of the House of Commons and has taken part in debates on Man-power; Defence Regulations; Nurses' Bill; Catering Bill; Finance Bill; Pay-as-you-earn Tax Bill; Price Control (Disposal of Stocks) Bill; New House of Commons, directed labour and Peace Aims.

He has protested consistently in the House against the action of the Ministry of Labour in prosecuting more than 17,000 workpeople and imprisoning over 2,000 for offences that were not punishable before the outbreak of this war.

Comrade Davies is Secretary of the House of Commons Trade Union Group; Joint Secretary of the British Group of Lords and Commons of the Inter-Parliamentary Union; Chairman of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group of Labour Members of both Houses of Parliament; and Chairman of the Labour Group of Lancashire M.P's.

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THE LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Dear Comrade,

We the undersigned members of the Executive Committee of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship are desirous of forming a regional group of the Fellowship in the North of England. It is intended that this group shall meet at an agreed place which is central and convenient for all members. Also we hope local groups of the L.P. F. will be established in the big cities at least, and in other districts where possible.

We are anxious to contact all pacifists active in the Labour Movement, and those who have dropped out because of difference with the party policy on the war. Also we wish to get in touch with politically unattached Pacifist Socialists who are willing to join the L.P.F. Pacifist members of the Co-operative Party, Fabian Society, and Trade Unions affiliated to the Labour Party are eligible for full membership, and we hope they will join our ranks and work for the cause of Socialism and Peace.

In days like the present it is desirable and essential that all Pacifist Socialists should be meeting and working together to advance the ideals of Socialist Internationalism throughout the land and to advance the principles of Pacifism inside the Labour Movement.

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship exists to carry out this important work.

JOIN US NOW and help in the march towards democratic Socialism and International Peace.

"Then comrades come rally
The last fight let us face
The International unites the human race."

Yours fraternally,

ARCHER STIRK,
7 Westleigh, Bingley.
RON HUZZARD,
20 Riversdale Road, Hull.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters Office (first floor), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

Many Methodists who are Pacifists have not linked up with the M.P.F. It is the business of members to bring such friends into contact with the Fellowship and the literature of the Movement.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

1 Adelaide Street, W.C.2.

Chairman: The Venerable Archdeacon Hartill; General Secretary: The Rev. Martin Tupper; Membership Secretary: Miss Margaret Travers; Hon. Treas.: Harry Dice.

PAX.

Chairman: Dr. Cecil Gill; Hon. Secretary: Stormont Murray, Green End, Radnage, High Wycombe, Bucks.

"Pax" is a Peace Society open to members of any faith who can subscribe to the "Pax" Statement.

In U.S.A. a new Catholic pacifist publication has appeared, issued by the American counterpart of "Pax." It is called "The Catholic C.O." Copies have already reached England.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY.

190 West George Street, Glasgow.

Secretary: Rev. Hugh Erskine Fraser, M.A.
Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Dorothy Monerieff.

Members of the Churches mentioned who believe that Christianity implies pacifism should join the pacifist organisation of the Church to which they are attached.

CROSS STREET (UNITARIAN) CHAPEL
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Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
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Certificate of Ordination

of the Humanist Society of Friends

This is to Certify that -----CHARLES H. COLE-----

HAS BEEN ORDAINED A MINISTER BY THE HUMANIST SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

By virtue of the Power and Authority vested in us by the Articles of Incorporation and by the Laws of the State of California he is hereby duly Empowered and Authorized to Officiate at Wedding Ceremonies and Funeral Services, and to Perform all other Duties which may devolve upon him in his Capacity as a Minister. As a Humanist Friends Minister he is Entitled to the same Courtesy, Respect and Consideration which is customarily accorded to Ministers of other similar Religious Organizations.

We hereunto place our Hands and the Seal of this Society at Los Angeles, California, this 15th day of October, 1943.

Lowell H. Coate — General Director

Harold L. Orr — General Secretary

Hugh E. Macbeth — General Treasurer

Director of Credentials

FROM SOLDIER TO PACIFIST

CHARLES H. COLE

Portrait taken in Cairo in 1916.

THE HUMANIST SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Telephone: ROchester 0052
2405 West 23rd Street,
Los Angeles, California.

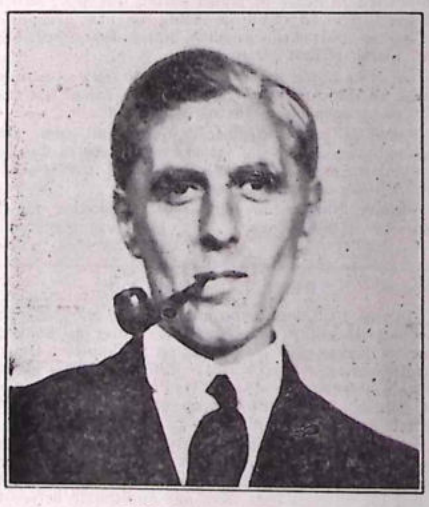
October 15, 1943.

My dear Friend Aldred,

It is indeed a genuine delight to receive your letter of September 9th relative to the Unitarian, Humanist, and Pacifist activity at Portsmouth of our good ministerial friend, Rev. Charles H. Cole. It begins to look as if the Humanist Society of Friends had come into being "for such a time as this," to paraphrase an old Hebrew expression regarding Queen Esther in the Old Testament.

Brother Cole's training, experience and general background, marks him as exactly the type of man we Humanists welcome as our Ministers. We are proud of the excellent work you are doing. Please accept our most hearty congratulations. More power to you! This makes three Ordained Humanist Friends Ministers in the British Isles. I am enclosing the Official Ordination Certificate for Rev. C. H. Cole.

You will be interested to know that we have just appointed Hon. A. Hall Skelton, of Auckland, New Zealand, as Superintendent of New Zealand. He is proceeding to legally establish our Society in his beautiful country.



CHARLES H. COLE

Unitarian Minister and Pacifist Propagandist.

We note from his letters, and your account of him in "The Word," that the Rev. W. Bottomley, now of Melbourne, Australia, is Humanistically inclined. He belongs to the ranks of the Unitarian Ministers who signed the American Humanist Manifesto in 1933 and work to-day both as Humanist and Unitarian Ministers, identifying Unitarianism with Humanism. Which is rational, logical, and inevitable. Unitarism must redefine itself as Humanism or collapse as an irrational concept of Theism, too closely governed by the traditions of the Trinitarian Churches. The Humanist Society of Friends proposes to contact Mr. Bottomley, with a view to his ordination as a Humanist Minister. Perhaps Brother Bottomley, with his great and consistent activity, his radio services to Humanism and Unitarianism, his repudiation by the more orthodox and narrow war-minded Unitarian body in England responsible for "The Inquirer" and its Anti-Christian war tone and commentary, would be the natural and logical person to invite to act as Superintendent for Australia.

In Britain, we feel that the Society ought to recognise the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., now of Coventry, and formerly of your city. Richard Lee has contributed powerful essays to the Humanist magazines in the United States and we have read with appreciation his splendid essays in your paper. We have noted some of his social work as a pacifist, his tireless loyalty to the conscientious objectors' cause, and his uncompromising loyalty to Socialist ideals. He is a very great man indeed. We sympathise with him deeply in his bereavements.

I am glad to know that you have received the corrected copy of my "Conscription of Conscience" and that you have the publication of this work in hand.

Will close now, with every good wish and sicerest regards to you and yours, and to the Duke of Bedford in his magnificent stand for peace and justice and human well-being throughout the world.

Sincerely and fraternally,

LOWELL H. COATE
(Supt. Humanist Society of Friends.)

In becoming a Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends, the Rev. Charles H. Cole joined a distinguished company of Unitarian Ministers and scholars, beginning with William Johnson Fox, M.P.

Comrade Cole has maintained boldly the cause of Pacifism in Portsmouth since early in 1939. He offers the direct contrast to the over-age conscientious objectors who occupy political positions of distinction as directors of warfare in the councils of Government alike in Britain and New Zealand to-day. He served in the last war and from experience in France and Egypt developed a strong opposition to war.

Charles H. Cole's pacifist activities in Britain since the declaration of the present war, has included speaking tours in many parts of England for the Peace Pledge Union. He is now Chairman of the Portsmouth Group (P.P.U.), Secretary of the local Advisory Bureau for C.O.s; and Chairman of the Hampshire District Committee of the Southern Regional Board for C.O.s.

In this issue, for the benefit of new readers, we republish from our columns for September, 1942, a picture of comrade Cole in uniform, taken in Cairo in 1916, whilst "on active service" with the New Zeland Expeditionary Force.

In 1935, comrade Cole was the unsuccessful L.L.P. candidate for the City Council, at Christchurch, and polled nearly 5000 votes. One local paper summarised his career at the time of his canditature as follows:—

C. H. COLE: Mr. Cole, the eldest of the four nominees, is a returned soldier, having seen service both in Egypt and France. He was educated for the ministry, but after serving four years as minister of the Baptist Church in St. Albans, he resigned to take up the position of secretary to the "No More War Movement" in Christchurch. Mr. Cole is President of the Canterbury International Relations Club, secretary to the Free Religious Movement, and also the secretary to the Canterbury Unemployment Workers' Association.

Another Christchurch paper described the work attempted and achieved by comrade Cole on behalf of the relief workers in Christchurch. It related an incident when he led a deputation of relief workers and their wives to the City Hall. The Rev. J. K. Archer, then Deputy Mayor of Christchurch, left the building without seeing the deputation, and excused himself by declaring: "*Mr. Cole is an irresponsible person.*".

In March, 1929, Mr. H. Ormrod, Secretary of the New Zealand Baptist Young Men's Bible Class Union, put the seal on Mr. Cole's work as a Baptist pastor in a letter that expressed the hearty thanks of the Union to "Pastor C. H. Cole, St. Albans Christchurch."

In February, 1938, as a passport of introduction to Pacifist and Socialist comrades in Britain, comrade Cole received a letter of introduction "To Whom It May Concern" from Mr. N. M. Bell, M.A., B.D., Chairman of the No More War Movement of New Zealand and editor of *Cosmos*, the N.Z. Pacifist Quarterly.

Mr. Bell stated:—

The bearer of this letter is Mr. C. H. Cole, who is a member of the No More War Movement of New Zealand and of the Free Religious Movement of Christchurch. Mr. Cole held the office of secretary in N.M.W.M. and was closely associated with myself in carrying on the F.R.M. Previously he was a Baptist minister. He has had various experience, being at one period closely associated with the unemployed workers' movement in this city. . . . Mr. Cole . . . during the last 15 years . . . has travelled all over New Zeleand on peace work and is fully acquainted with the conditions of the peace movement in the Dominion.

In its issue for March, 1936, *Cosmos* published a full account of the work of the Christchurch Socialist Guild of Youth, founded in May, 1932, of which comrade Cole was the leader. This Guild used the British Socialist Sunday School Hymn Book.

In London, comrade Cole spoke in Lindsey Hall, The Mall, Notting Hill Gate, under the auspices of the Free Religious Movement. The leader of the Movement at that time was the Rev. William Hayes, now Minister of the Unitarian Church at Maidstone. In its calendar for September to December, 1938, the Free Religious Movement welcomed Mr. Cole in the following note:—

Our visiting speaker, Mr. C. H. Cole, will give addresses on October 9th, November 13th and December 11th. For ten years Mr. Cole has been associated with Mr. N. M. Bell, M.A., B.D., in the Leadership of the Free Religious Movement in New Zealand. And Mr. Bell started with direct inspiration from Dr. Walsh. The teaching of the F.R.M. has girdled the globe!

Dr. Walsh, then well known as Minister of the Free Religious Movement in Dundee, succeeded our friend and one-time Theistic teacher, the late Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., as Minister of the Theistic Church, London. Voysey's Theism and its traditions were impossible to Walter Walsh and actually he ought never to have agreed to succeed him in the pulpit. Voysey's Theism was wholly alien to Walsh's cast of mind. Anyway, Walsh broke with Theistic traditions and established the Free Religious Movement. The Theistic Church, shrunk to complacent dullness with the passing of the years, and the absence of Voysey's dynamic personality, carries on with a kind of timid Unitarian approach Voysey despised. This does not mean to say that we applaud Voysey's Theism. On the contrary, we approve of Unitarian Humanism as being sound philisophy and true Unitarianism.

In the Programme of Subjects of the Free Religious Movement comrade Cole's approach was indicated as follows:—

October 9—SOME PERSONAL CONVICTIONS.

Mr. C. H. Cole, joint Leader of Christchurch (N.Z.) F.R.M., will give an outline of some conclusions about Religion and Life.

November 13—THE REAL REVOLUTION.

Mr. C. H. Cole will show that there is only one Revolution. That Revolution signifies a change of mind. To what?

December 11—THE DIVINE NEED OF THE REBEL.

Mr. C. H. Cole will tell what happens when a devoted soul with high moral purpose allows the currents of the Universal Being to flow through him.

The motto for the Free Religious Movement at this period was taken from the Buddhist Scripture:—

"As a mother so long as she lives watches over her only child, so among all beings let boundless goodwill, unmixed with enmity, prevail throughout the world."

When comrade Cole left New Zealand in 1938, he intended to return in 1940. Instead he passed to the charge, as a lay minister, of the Portsmouth Unitarian Church, early in 1939. With the consent of his congregation, he continues his work as an ordained Humanist Minister.

Comrade Cole's ordination is the direct consequence of the wide circulation in the United States of our Humanist pamphlet, *Why Jesus Wept*, and the growing American interest in *The Word*.

On the outbreak of the present war, on Sunday, September 3 1939, comrade Cole made a personal confession of pacifist faith from the pulpit of this church, in which he quoted at length from Dick Sheppard's pamphlet, *The Christian Attitude to War*. He quoted verses from Canon Stuart Morris denouncing "Conscripting Christianity" and the "old unfaiths."

Stuart Morris's very clear statement on individual Christian testimony and a great part of comrade Cole's pulpit confession, *I Renounce War* appeared in these columns for September, 1942. We make a small excerpt from that address since it bears repetition:—

I had hoped that never again would I have to face a similar issue to that which I faced in 1914; but now, twenty-five years later, the necessity to do is forced upon me and upon us all.

When I definitely became a pacifist, I mentally resolved, that if another war should come and I found myself then in a position of leadership and responsibility, particularly as the minister of a Church and the leader of a congregation, I would immediately make clear my own attitude and position. That resolution I must now honour, as a duty I feel I owe both to myself and to you. . . .

I shall not enter now into the pros and cons of the War. In any case, it is extremely doubtful whether we know enough of the true facts concerning what has led us into it, which would enable us to properly understand and estimate the real situation. Probably, as in the last Great War, the truth will not emerge until long afterwards:—just now we remember Lord Ponsonby's dictum, that "the first casualty in wartime is Truth."

I am one of those who believe that all war, for whatever purpose, is wrong—a crime against humanity and a denial of all true Religion which is based on belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

And I declare I shall not support, nor participate in this or indeed in any war, in any way whatsoever.

My pacifism is based primarily upon my Christian beliefs. . . .

If individual Christians would everywhere make that confession, the churches would be compelled and would have the power, to make it impossible for their Governments to continue to wage war.

In his Armistice Day Address, 1940, comrade Cole again analysed the cause and futility of war, and repeated his Pacifist declaration of faith.

On Sunday, November 9, 1941, Armistice Sunday, the Portsmouth Unitarian Church was crowded out for a United Service of Pacifist Witness which was conducted by comrade Charles Cole, supported by a member of the P.P.U. and of the F.O.R. In the congregation were members of these bodies and of Baptist, Methodist, Congregational and Anglican Churches and the Society of Friends. It was a great demonstration of Religious Unity, as well as an encouraging witness to Pacifist conviction in this "Army and Navy" city.

During 1943, as Chairman of the Portsmouth Group, Peace Pledge Union, comrade Cole addressed the following strong letter of protest against the corruption of education by war propaganda of various kinds to the President of the Board of Education, Members of the Portsmouth Education Committee, Members of the National Union of Teachers, etc:—

We beg to submit our protest as follows against the invasion of our schools by the various campaigns for War Savings which are held from time to time.

In marked contrast with the custom in Germany and Russia, we in Great Britain have always been proud to claim that we would not allow propaganda into our schools. We claimed that our children were given an unbiased education and were encouraged to think out freely their attitude to religion, politics, economics, and international affairs, so that they would become true individuals rather than mass-produced robots.

It must be granted that children are innocent of the crime of causing the present war, but it seems that we are doing our best to let the war injure them in every possible way. Not only do they suffer from air raids, the absence of their fathers, and often of their mothers as well, but also they are being injured psychologically and spiritually by the cruelty and hatred which is produced in them by present-day films and B.B.C. programmes.

Surely, seeing that so much of their life is being ruined by the effects of war and propaganda, we should see to it that at least their school time is free from war propaganda and given entirely to the acquiring of a liberal education? This is the basis of the best civilisation, which can be achieved only if the children are taught to be merciful, sympathetic, understanding, and ready to co-operate with others for the good of mankind as a whole.

To-day, however, we find that our children are being encouraged in our schools to concern themselves with training for war, to hate other nations and rejoice in their destruction, and to give their odd coppers for the purpose of purchasing bombers to mutilate and kill the parents and children of other lands.

The children themselves will have to pay in future years sufficient taxes to raise the interest which is now so glibly offered them — in other words, by refusing to pay for the war by taxes, and relying on loans by the Wings for Victory method, we are ensuring that the adults of to-morrow, the children of to-day, and those as yet unborn, will have to pay for the war for which the adults of to-day are responsible.

By implanting hatred in the minds of our children, we ensure that the future adults will again be subjected to the horrors of war, when we, who encouraged the suspicion and hatred which led to war, have passed out of this life, and away from the consequences of our actions.

Since so much of our children's life is made unpleasant by war let us see that at least their school-life and time is given entirely to education, not to propaganda. The children are not responsible for the war and should be kept as free from its evils as possible. Let taxation cover the whole cost of the war so that the burden may be kept off the backs of our children in the future, and let us prevent hatred and cruelty from perverting our children's minds and creating future insecurity between the nations.

The *Portsmouth Unitarian*, News-Letter of the Portsmouth Unitarian Church, edited by comrade Cole, for Christmas, 1943, contained an open letter from the editor to his friends concerning Christmas.

Declaring that Christmas is a time of melody and mirth, and avowing that he feels justified in wishing his friends a Christmas made happy by hope—*because of the light that once shone and that shines still in the darkness.* Except for this hope, Christmas celebrations are a mockery. Powerfully, he indicts war-time Christmas conventional celebration in these words of sorrowing anger:—

"Christians awake! Salute the happy morn." Yes, but a happy morn for whom? Will December 25th, 1943, bring a happy morn to the fighting men opposing one another in the various war fronts facing the grim possibility of annihilation or mutilation at one another's hands? Or to the millions of oppressed, weary and hungry peoples in the occupied countries of Europe and of India? Or to the hundreds of thousands of men and women in Allied and Enemy cities, towns and villages who, because of "enemy" action may have no home in which to celebrate the anniversary? Or to the millions of mourners bereaved through the insatiable demands which Mars —that merciless destroyer—makes upon human life?

Surely no one will expect any of these people to salute the dawning of this year's Christmas day with melody and mirth! And to suggest to them that they should do so would probably strike them as brutal mockery and cynical jeering.

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(*Continued from page* 54.)

In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the article on Unitarianism does not mention South Place Chapel, nor Fox; yet it was in South Place that the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was founded. Fox was its first Foreign Secretary. The Unitarians first congregation was organised (1774) in Essex Street, London, by Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. Several small associations developed in the course of the next fifty years and there was established the Unitarian Fund for helping weak Societies. When Fox became minister of South Place Society, he established an Auxiliary Fund, June 29, 1817; and between that date and 1830 South Place assisted about fifty small Unitarian congregations. This was in addition to paying £400 per annum to its own minister, and building South Place Chapel, at a cost of £4146, to which the Unitarian Association contributed only £200.

It was on Wednesday, May 25, 1825, that the Unitarians, gathered from their various Association, discussed in South Place, where they usually met, the project submitted by Fox for union "on a more comprehensive basis." It was agreed to, not without some misgivings, and on the following day, at London Tavern, was organised the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

The basis, as we shall see, was Humanist and Comprehensive. The idea was a world religion. Fox defined Christianity as an expression of Unitarianism whereas too many Christians consider Unitarianism but a Christian sect. Fox was right and pioneered the radical progressive Unitarianism.

Only a few Unitarians appreciate the historical significance and honour of the title chosen by Fox. Adoption of the word "Foreign," omission of the word "Christian," denoted a departure in Unitarianism, due not to English but to Indian influences. In the United States this departure is appreciated, not so in Britain. Fox's suggestion had an interesting history. While Fox and others were in agonies of revolution against British idolatry, a Hindu, a really great man, Rammohun Roy, was trying to deliver his countrymen from idolatry. Then he helped to liberate his Christian friends. He inspired the organisation and the title of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

Rammohun Roy's movement was of purely Indian origin. A scholar of ancient and high family, and a man of means, he sought knowledge and education, and had studied oriental lore. He had mastered the Persian language and literature; learned Sanskrit, and translated select passages from the Vedas; he had lived among the Moslems and learned Arabic. From study of Oriental religions, he became a pure Theist. For this he suffered persecution, and left Calcutta for Benares. In 1803 he began to teach his new views, and established the society which developed into the Brahmo-Somaj. Eight years later he started the agitation against widow-burning, which, mainly by his efforts, was abolished eighteen years later. He studied Hebrew and Greek in order to read the Bible intelligently, and in 1820 published his *Precepts of Jesus*.

In that year, when he was instructing his Brahmos in Calcutta, a Baptist missionary, who was teaching him Greek—Mr. Adam—tried to convert him to Trinitarianism, but was himself converted to Unitarianism. Some of Rammohun Roy's adherents had started a society in Madras, and it was this Society which put itself in communication with the Society afterwards known as South Place.

On September 30, 1820, the Parliament Court Society sent five guineas to the native Unitarians of Madras; and soon after South Place Chapel was opened it sent (September 12, 1824) twenty pounds to help to build the Anglo-Indian Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta. In this way Association was established and Fox was persuaded to read the Hindu religious poetry translated by Rammohun Roy into English. This awakened the Englishman to a recognition of a unity larger than Christian Unitarianism. He realised that Unitarianism was the whole and Christianity was only a part. This was a complete revolution of his former concepts and definitions. But it was true Unitarianism, a magnificient liberation. He startled many prejudices, and had to conquer prejudices about "heathenism," before he could obtain an association large enough to include Rammohun Roy. Yet he was standing for a sound philosophical and historical concept. The Hindu teacher had a nobler Unitarian understanding than the Western Unitarians. Indeed, there were then in all the religious world few peers of Rammohun Roy. With him began the reaction of Oriental upon Western thought. Fox learned from the Hindu teacher the need, for truth's case, to enlarge his conception of Unitarianism until it inevitably became to him a universal and human religion. He gave power to the Christian revelation and delevoped Humanism.

Unitarians rejected the best fruit of the "foreign" seed imported in 1825, but rejoiced in its flower. That flower bloomed in South Place Chapel on May 25, 1831, when the sixth anniversary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was held. The Rajah Rammohun Roy himself, now called the "Apostle of the East," had been sent by the Emperor of Delhi as an ambassador to the British Government, and arrived (May 8) just in time to be present at South Place on that great occasion. It was a memorable day in the history of Liberalism. The Rev. Hugh Hutton of Birmingham preached an animated sermon in the morning from the text found in *Mark XII*. 29-31. In the evening came the great meeting. The chapel was thronged with eminent men and women. Among those present were the President of Harvard University, Dr. Kirkland, and deputations from France and Transylvania. The Rev. Robert Aspland presided; Dr. Carpenter, Sir John Bowring, Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Rees, and others made speeches. The Rajah spoke impressively of the opposition he had met in India from Christians when he stood for living vital world-wide Unitarianism.

They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to elude their followers; and the consequence is that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight.

Fox made a very great speech. He pleaded for the establishment of unsectarian Domestic Missions *in England* to improve "the temporal and spiritual condition" of the people, and "illustrate their religion by deeds of love and mercy." The testimony and presence of their Hindu colleagues seemed to show that English foreign missionaries might well be recalled for home work. They were useless abroad. In the conclusion Fox greeted the visitors—Frenchmen, Transylvanians, and the Americans successively; then, turning to the Rajah, he recalled the latter's indignation at a painting of Jesus, giving him a pale European countenance and forgetting that Jesus was an oriental. Fox held that this criticism was just. In the same way, the theologian had robbed Christianity of its rich oriental colouring of fancy and feeling with which the Scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves, not only of the mind, but the heart and soul of man.

It will be seen that, had Unitarianism embraced Fox's concept, it would have developed a rich humanism of understanding and have retained and expanded vitally all the poetry that is Christianity, instead of the theology that has destroyed the Christian message. A living Jesus would have replaced the image of a dead Christ. Service would have meant the redemption of humanity, not hypocritical and senseless rites in the name of God—a God who favoured conventionalism and was conceived in the image of the world of mammon. Unitarianism would have become a world religion instead of being the dull pretension of a narrow Christian sect. Fox was right. He refined Unitarianism. Those who do not understand the urgency of his definition and so reject it as Humanism are betrayers of the Unitarian message—a most vital and important message, offering a live religion to all mankind. Fox stood for service. His theological critics stood for servitude.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE TRADE CYCLE

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Mr. J. I. Craig, like many other people with whom I have discussed this question, still completely fails to grasp how and why money saved and invested in new production, indirectly creates a shortage of consumer purchasing power. This shortage has nothing whatever to do with the complete redistribution of the money when it is expended as capital on buildings, plant, raw materials and labour. Let us assume that the redistribution *is* absolutely complete and that all the money is spent. The trouble does not occur at that stage at all. It only begins when the new industrial plant, resulting from the expenditure of the invested money, is completed and starts putting on the market new goods, additional to all the other goods being put on the market by the rest of industry. If at that moment new money is not created and put into consumers' pockets, it will be impossible for the goods from the new industry to be bought at a fair price and also the whole output of goods from the rest of industry to be bought at an unreduced price.

It is most undesirable that the increased production of goods due to the invested money should force a reduction in prices, since such reduction in prices cause every kind of industrial and economic difficulty. What is needed is an increase in the volume of consumption goods which can *all* be bought *without* a reduction in prices.

It is certainly true that if an increase in production due to investment happens to coincide with the creation of more money by a bank loan for still more production, the new money created by the bank loan may help to provide the extra money needed to finance the consumption of goods from the new industry without robbing other industries of consumer purchasing power for their goods. This is, however, a clumsy and uncertain way of making up the shortage of purchasing power due to investment, and is nothing like so satisfactory as a creation of new non-debt money put straight into the consumers' pockets by way of payment for work done or as a grant apart from work performed. For one thing, the amount of new money created by the bank loan may not equal the amount of money invested or the price of the goods which are the result of the investment. For another, it means that new consumer goods, the result of an increase in capital goods, cannot be bought unless new money is created by a bank loan to finance the production of *still* more capital goods, quite regardless of whether the consumer goods resulting from this last increase in capital goods, are really desired or required. Sooner or later a point must be reached when those goods are not desired or required, and then, through failure to finance the consumer direct in a sensible way, you find yourself in a nice mess!

I myself would be opposed to the discouragement of investment, not because I agree with much of the eulogy of saving, but because I do not wish to bring about "the arrestment of all new projects," to quote Mr. Craig's words.

Trade cycles are certainly "inherent" in the present economic system, but only because they are rendered inevitable by those financial rules and customs which the men in control of the world's Central Banks insist upon.

The periodicity of slumps and booms in the trade cycle is no proof that it is not deliberately caused by the policy of the Big Financiers who control the commercial banks by regulating their cash reserves. (Cash reserves are the coin and notes in a commercial bank, and any cheques it may have which are drawn on the Central Bank. According to banking practice, commercial banks should not create for lending, or for buying Securities, more than nine or ten times the amount of their cash reserves.) For a time, as I explained in a former article, the men in control of the central Banks allow the commercial banks to make a profit by interest on loans made to industry, and to encourage these loans and provide the basis for them, they increase the amount of cash reserves. After a time, they decide that this process has continued long enough. Industrialists are growing too prosperous and independent and are not so ready to come to the banks in order to borrow. Moreover, the top-heavy system just alluded to which does not permit consumer goods resulting from new capital goods to be bought unless new money is created for the erection of still more capital goods, may be causing them some possibly well-founded nervousness as to whether the new goods from the last lot of capital goods, will really be desired and prove a sound commercial proposition. They therefore decide to reverse the process and cause a slump by cutting down the amount of cash reserves. When the commercial banks' cash reserves are reduced, they are not able to lend so freely and, to discourage borrowing from industrialists, they may put up their rates of interest, and soon the slump is well under way, not because the people's desire for goods has decreased, or because the desire of the industrialists for higher rates of profit has increased, but simply and solely by reason of bad and selfish financial policy, not so much on the part of the commercial banks as on the part of the big men who are entrenched at the very hub of the financial system.

It is not true that when a loan is granted the amount is necessarily deposited in the same bank. When a person to whom a bank loan of new money has been granted draws that money out by cheque in favour of someone else, it will very likely be paid into the latter's account at a different bank and increase the deposits there. It is also an error to state that when a loan does indirectly create a deposit in a bank other than the one which makes the loan, it enables the bank in which the deposit has been made itself to increase its lending. Banks do *not* lend their deposits, and it is not their deposits of cheque money but their cash reserves which determine their ability to create new money for lending. Only in the rather rare cases when a deposit is made in the form of notes or a cheque drawn on the Bank of England, is the money-creating and lending power of the bank receiving the deposit increased. If one commercial bank receives a deposit as the indirect result of a loan by another commercial bank, its liabilities are increased (for a deposit is a bank's liability), but not its lending power.

Mr. Craig says that Marx contends that there is a general tendency for the average rate of profit to fall, with various disturbing consequences, including over-investment and over-capitalization, but *why* should the average rate of profit tend to fall? Unless (which is unlikely) people no longer desire the goods produced, the only reason for the fall in the average rate of profit *is lack of an adequate money-supply in the pockets of consumers.*

There is not the slightest reason why new inventions and technological progress generally, should cause a fall in the amount of profit, if consumers, including persons put out of work by the technological progress, *are kept adequately supplied with money.* If they are starved of purchasing power because they are unemployed, or if other people are increasingly burdened for the purpose of supporting them and have their own consuming power reduced, then of course you will get into difficulties and vendors of goods will be unable to make the same amount of profit as before.

If the Social Credit principle of the National Dividend is adopted and people receive incomes not always related to paid toil, then not only does the exploitation of labour become impossible to the extent which has been known in the past, but unemployment does not spoil the market for producers of goods and they are not tempted to make things still worse by cutting down their employees' wages in order to reduce costs and prices.

The increased cash requirements of business do not reduce cash reserves to any appreciable degree, because people receiving wages in paper money do not normally hoard their notes in stockings, and the paper money passes from one bank to another. It is only the Central Banks which actually reduce cash reserves by reducing the amount of paper money in circulation by physically destroying it, and also by restricting credit to their governments and thereby reducing the number of cheques drawn upon them which will be presented to the commercial banks.

People only invest money in the construction of capital goods if they think there is a reasonable likelihood of such capital goods producing consumer goods that people will want. They do not invest in capital goods just for fun. If the consumer goods from the new capital goods *are* desired, then there is no reason to grumble at the investment of money in the capital goods; all you have got to bother about is to see that consumers have enough money to buy the goods and any other goods as well. People stupid enough to invest money in the production of goods which nobody wants, even though they have the money to buy them, are taught such a quick and unpleasant lesson that they are never numerous enough to create an economic problem of any magnitude.

Mr. Craig says that if a check on credit expansion is applied before the peak of the boom is reached, the worst effects of the slump would be mitigated. He does not explain, however, why, under a sensible financial system there need ever be a slump; or why credit expansion should ever be checked unless it is obvious that the rather surprising point has been reached at which everybody has all he wants of everything and no further production of any kind is either desirable or desired.

I used the term "reformer" to include anyone who desires a better order of things brought about either by gradual changes or by methods as radical or rapid as those which Mr. Craig would favour. Even if you had production for use and common-ownership of the means of production and distribution, I still maintain that you would require all the essentials of the reformed money system which I advocate, unless you were prepared to do away with the use of money altogether, which I cannot feel is practical politics by reason of its convenience as a mechanism and the extent to which people have grown accustomed to its use.

Mr. Craig asks why some should work while others live in idleness and why all should not work a shorter day? By all means let all work a shorter day, but, as I have often pointed out, in an age of labour-destroying inventions and discoveries, reduction in hours must inevitably reach a point where a continuation of the process would involve inconvenience and absurdity. Therefore, since it is not right that people unemployed through no fault of their own should suffer hardship, some must work while others are technically idle, unless you are going to scrap, or forbid, labour-saving inventions which, like the abolition of the use of money is, I am convinced, not practical politics.

Mr. Craig says that the injection of new money in the form of credits to consumers would make it more profitable to produce goods for immediate consumption than to produce capital goods, with the result that the price of consumer goods would rise and the expectation of profit would be greater in those stages of production nearer the consumption level. Mr. Craig also thinks that the structure of industry would therefore contract, employees in the basic industries would be thrown out of work and many enterprises come to a standstill. I must say that I profoundly disagree with him in this analysis of what would be likely to take place, which seems to me to be contrary both to reason and experience. The purpose of production is consumption, so why should it be an evil to have an increased demand for consumer goods? How could the output of consumer goods be increased beyond a certain point at times when there is a strong demand for them if there is not also an increased demand for capital goods? Has a really good all-round demand for consumer goods ever been known to have a generally bad effect on the fortunes of industries producing capital goods? Is there not

the closest connection between the prosperity of industries selling consumer goods and their ability to pay their debts punctually to industries making capital goods and to place new orders with them to assist them in the expansion of their own businesses?

Under a sensible money system, which no longer relates incomes solely to employment, would it matter if some employees making capital goods *were* thrown out of work, provided that the output of consumer goods did not decrease? Persons who are engaged, or who have been engaged, in making buildings and machinery satisfy their physical needs with food, clothing, etc., and not by gnawing blocks of concrete or bars of steel!

Certainly the overthrow of the power of the financiers would require an assertion and enforcement of the will of the people. If Mr. Craig wishes to kill two birds with one stone and overthrow the Capitalists as well, there is nothing in any of my monetary reform proposals to prevent him going ahead.

I do not much like Mr. Craig's definition of money as a medium of exchange and a measure of value. I would prefer to define money as a medium of exchange and a claim on goods and services and Mr. Craig's Socialist Note would certainly be the latter. Mr. Arthur Kitson, the pioneer of monetary reform, used to say that it was absurd to speak of a measure of an abstract thing like value and I think there is something to be said for his point of view.

I agree with Mr. Craig that the pursuit of profit has been productive of much evil. Two things, however, should not be lost sight of when we are considering this question. The first is that one can easily discover innumerable cases where profit has been made without exploitation either of employee or customer and where, for all practical purposes, it is indistinguishable from a reasonable remuneration for the vendor's work and service: the second is that there is no special and unique poison associated with the pursuit of profit, so that its mere removal will of itself give us an orderly and brotherly society. The pursuit of profit is merely the primitive acquisitive instinct inherited by all normal human beings from their animal ancestors coupled with that most common and far-reaching of human weaknesses —selfishness. If you really get rid of selfishness and thereby keep the acquisitive instinct within proper bounds, you will automatically get rid of every evil feature of profit-seeking; but if you merely set up an economic system which makes the acquisition of money-profit illegal men will speedily find other outlets just as harmful to society and "profit" may continue to be acquired albeit in a different way and under another name.

In conclusion I should like to express my appreciation of the kindly spirit expressed by Mr. Craig at the beginning of his article and to say that I hope that readers of *The Word* will not find our exchange of views too technical. The consideration of our friendly tussle will, at any rate, be good practice for those who desire to get beyond the more elementary stages in the study of the monetary problem and if I have failed to make myself clear to any interested reader, I hope he will write to me that I may try and give him a fuller explanation. I am sure that Mr. Craig would be both able and willing to do the same.

THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE

And other studies in War Diplomacy, Politics and Economics

By Sir WALTER STRICKLAND, Bart, B.A.

Sir Walter Strickland, famous 9th Baronet, discarded his title because of his Republican views. Anticipating the World War, three years before his death in 1938 he endeavoured to evolve a plan to avert the sacrifice of youth to what he termed "This March of Homicide" or "The Extinction of Mankind." His last letter from the Dutch East Indies, where he settled and died, after living in almost every country in the world, is reproduced, and also some glimpses are given of the romance of his travels. Strickland was a great scholar and linguist. He translated from Russian, Czech, Chinese, Spanish, Italian, Marathi, etc. Read this interesting work of prose and verse, with the translations of Czech "Evening Songs."

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NEW YEAR "HONOURS"

The New Year Honours List for 1944 makes interesting reading for those who would know the worth of Labour Parliamentarism.

The Glasgow Herald for January 1, 1944, stated:—

Among the new barons is Mr. William Westwood, a native of Dundee, who has worked hard in the interests of the shipbuilding workers in Britain for many years. Mr. C. G. Ammon, Labour M.P. for North Camberwell, also becomes a baron, thus causing a by-election.

Below this announcement the paper publishes the following biographies of the new barons:—

Charles George Ammon, Esq., J.P., D.L., M.P., member of Parliament for North Camberwell, February, 1922, to October, 1931, and since November, 1935; Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, 1924, and 1929-1931.—For political and public services.

Westwood's biography is of no immediate moment and is merely a study in Trade Union careerist advancement.

From half-time to the House of Lords may be hardly working-class emancipation.

What studies in parliamentarism and trade unionism the careers and the final elevation to the capitalist peerage of these two men afford us! Both progress to the House of Lords, rendering services to reactionary Capitalism *en route*, through the Socialist and Trades Union Movements.

Ammon's career is dealt with very fully in *Socialism and Parliament*, Part II., appendix VI., devoted to "Potted Biography," pages 51-52. Comrades should study *Socialism and Parliament*, Pts. I. and II. These will be sent post-free for 1s. 3d. At the present moment of attempted revival of interest in parliamentarism, these complete exposures of Parliamentary Socialism should be circulated and read widely by the workers. Although we believe in non-sectarian association and solidarity, and although we do not believe in the dictatorial imposition of our views on the workers' movement, and give credit to every useful remark uttered by M.P's., our opposition to parliamentarism has not ceased. We remain a convinced anti-parliamentarian.

Ammon was a member of the I.L.P., and the U.D.C., that respectable Socialist Pacifist organisation that produced one honest man in the much-abused E. D. Morel and evolved so many traitors to position of trust: Some who to-day believe in 18B internments and learned nothing from the imprisonment and persecution of Morel.

Ammon took an active part in the Leeds Conference of 1917. At one time he was a leader of the Labour Party on the L.C.C., and he was one of 36 signatories who sent a letter to Sir John Simon in January, 1916, expressing "wholehearted appreciation" of Simon's opposition to Conscription, and promising support of themselves and organisations they represented in any further opposition. When the Labour Government arrived, Ammon became Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty!

Facts like these are detailed in *Socialism and Parliament*. We conclude:

A nice study in the economics of navalism and the evolution of an anti-militarist through parliamentary contacts and elevation.

And now Ammon has reached the House of Lords! Labour humbugs, who once hated us for our uncompromising Socialist Anti-Militarism of the streets, and now hate us yet more for our uncompromising Anti-Militarist association with the Duke of Bedford, applaud Ammon's elevation to the House of Lords. He will go there to support his friend, the conscriptionist Lord Chancellor, Simon, whose Anti-Conscriptionist tendencies he applauded in 1916! What a game! Ammon is elevated to the House of Lords and the workers remain in the breadline!

Ammon is mentioned also in our booklet, *At Grips With War*. This was published in 1929. A second edition appeared in 1932. We propose to issue a third edition this year.

Chapter VIII. of this work, headed "Socialism Checking War," summarises the debate that took place in the House of Commons on March 17, 1924, on the question of abolishing the standing army. In this debate Ernest Thurtle stood for the abolition of the standing army, whilst Kedward, a Liberal Member, denounced both Ammon and the ex-conscientious objector, Leach, for defending and serving militarism.

Concerning Ammon we add (p. 75, 1932 edition):—

He voted for the death penalty on soldiers; against a soldier's right to appeal from death sentence by Court-Martial to the Court of Criminal Appeal; against the right of a soldier to refuse to take duty in connection with trade disputes; against a soldier's right to refuse to attend church parades.

During the Great War of 1914-18, Ammon was exempt from Conscription as organising secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers. But he identified himself with the No Conscription Fellowship and boasted of his opposition to the war.

On pages 76-77 we reproduced the interesting ballot paper issued by the N.C.F. in March, 1920, for the election of two Committees, eight members to be elected to each Committee, the Committees being:

(1) Anti-Conscription; (2) Pacifist.

E. E. Hunter, who debated with us in 1912 in Walthamstow that Parliamentary Socialism meant no careerism and working-class emancipation—was secretary of the N.C.F. He was elected to No. 1 Committee with ourself, as was C. E. Ammon. We were 4th, Hunter was 7th, and Ammon was 8th. Clifford Allen, also later Militarist, apologist for the National Government and its ramp, and peer for his "political services," was first. He was first *also* on the Pacifist Committee.

It should be pointed out that we were never invited to one meeting of the Committee and that we were *the only member deliberately uninvited*.

Westwood we have not criticised. His O.B.E., etc., characterises the worth of Trades Unionism. Readers should note these facts in connection with our *Studies in Communism*, which can be obtained post-free for 8d. This consists of 5 pamphlets written and published by us between 1910 and 1938. One pamphlet (1911) is entitled *Trade Unionism and The Class War*. Consider this pamphlet and its reasoning in relation to the career of William Westwood and his life. How can trade unionism emancipate the workers—except one at a time, and then only at the expense of the perpetuated enslavement of the rank and file.

The views we have urged since 1906, when we left the Social Democratic Federation were right. The persons with whom we have came in conflict down the years since then have succeeded in establishing the truth of our contentions by their cynical careerism and advancement under the Capitalist system, in servitude to that system. They have gained the world—and demonstrated their want of soul. Without a soul, without integrity, a human being is dead!

"PAYING FOR THE WAR."

Just as there are pro-war and anti-war Socialists, so there are pro-war and anti-war monetary reformers. Mr. Wilfred Townend, as a member of John Hargrave's Social Credit Party, is a pro-war monetary reformer, for which reason some of the more militarist sentiments expressed in his threepenny pamphlet "Paying for the War" (Obtainable from the Social Credit Party, 2 Fitzroy Street, London, W.1.) will not appeal to anti-militarist readers of "The Word." In the main, however, the pamphlet is a well-written criticism of our defective monetary system and contains the practical and constructive proposals for financial reform which are commonly put forward by Social Credit writers.

There is only one technical criticism I would offer of Mr. Townend's work. On page 11 he suggests that banks lend part of their deposits, keeping a tenth of the latter as a reserve. It would be more accurate to say that banks do not lend their deposits at all. They create NEW money for lending up to about nine times the amount of their "cash reserves," the latter consisting of coin and notes and cheques drawn on the Bank of England.

BEDFORD.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Every Friday at 8 p.m. All invited.

GOD'S MINISTERS AND WAR

BY COUNCILLOR CHARLES A. EARL

"Thou Shalt Not Kill."—Jesus.

"It is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the magistrate to wear weapons and serve in the wars."—37th Article of Religion: Book of Common Prayer.

In the October issue of "The Word" the article "God and War" tried to show in a simple and direct manner, the horrors of war and of bombing in particular, and how many ministers of religion delude themselves and the people generally, that God is on their side and is helping them in the murderous work of destroying His own children. These ministers either lack imagination or refuse to exercise it, and will not picture the "RECEIVING" END OF A BOMB. They speak of the bravery of the airmen, but is it the highest form of bravery to drop murderous destruction on defenceless, helpless and in many cases innocent people, particularly children? The very large majority of men and women are only doing this sort of work because they have been conscripted to do so. The freedom to choose between good and evil, which God's ministers say is given to each one of us, can only be exercised if one is prepared to suffer imprisonment if one chooses the "good." Most of these men and women have had their minds poisoned by propaganda, and even now it is very doubtful whether they really understand what it is all about. Ministers of religion have a large share of the responsibility for all this, as, with few brave exceptions, they have supported their Governments in this crime against God—and humanity. They prefer a pronouncement viz., the 37th Article of Religion, quoted above, and made in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1571, to the simple but quite explicit statement by Jesus, "THOU SHALT NOT KILL." The Bishop of Birmingham, in speaking of this 37th Article, says, "Military service when commanded by the state is obviously lawful. It is not for a Christian lawful AND RIGHT." It is very apparent that ministers lack the courage to "STAND UP FOR JESUS," because they know full well that Governments have a way of suppressing people who resist their decrees. The few brave ministers who have stood up for Jesus have been imprisoned and it is significant that the ordinary lay men and women have in far greater numbers than God's ministers, insisted that Jesus was right and have paid the penalty for their resistance to war. During the last war men were imprisoned for distributing leaflets on which were printed the "SERMON ON THE MOUNT." Another important fact that needs to be emphasised is that the Government quite obviously realises that war is contrary to the Will of God and the Teaching of Jesus because it does not compel ministers of religion to become fighting men, and the ministers are quick to take advantage of this concession, and in return work hard as recruiting agents, persuading the members of their churches that it is a Christian's duty to kill for King and Country, and not to concern themselves with what Jesus said, until after the war. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die." Governments and Religious authorities discourage thinking. They want people to act like SHEEP, because if the people began to think it might dawn on them that Jesus did mean "THOU SHALT NOT KILL." Is there a single instance in our history when God's ministers in a united body refused to support the Government in the bloody business of war? No! and yet after events have shown very conclusively that righteousness was no part of the Government's plan. Ask any minister of religion, why, if our Government was so concerned about the rights of small nations, it helped Japan against China? Why it intrigued with Italy against Abyssinia and refused to go to war with Italy when that country wantonly attacked Abyssinia? Why it was among the first of the nations to acknowledge the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia? Why it has allowed weapons of war to be supplied from this country to every nation in the world including Germany and Italy? Why when Finland was attacked by Russia in the early days of the war, the Government and God's ministers could not find expressions strong enough to express their horror and contempt of the Russians and the "poor little martyr," Finland, was prayed for in every church in the land. A few months later, although Finland was STILL STRUGGLING AGAINST THE SAME AGGRESSOR, she now becomes the villain of the piece and Russia the "poor little martyr." No more must we pray for Finland; godless Russia is now our ally, so we must ask God to SWITCH OVER. The men, women and children of Finland can now be consigned to THE DEVIL, and the help we now give to Russia will quickly send them there. What a blatant case of expediency, and blessed by God's ministers!!! On October 22nd, 1943 a statement calling attention to the dangers of promiscuity and venereal disease, was issued by the two Archbishops and they seemed quite unable to understand that the war which they are supporting and for which they thank God for His support, is the chief cause of these evils; and that is not the whole of it: the UNWANTED BABY is a still GREATER TRAGEDY, and these Archbishops and ministers of religion generally cannot shift the responsibility for these tragedies on to other shoulders: the blame is theirs. They support the war and immorality and prostitution, increase in drunkenness, increase in juvenile crime, and the breaking up of home life, is the result.

Now let us see what individual ministers of religion have to say about war. THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER: "Modern war is a demon that not only kills human lives, but by its awful unreason, its perfection in the technique of mass murder, turns the individual from a person into an unmeaning thing." Yet God's ministers support war and dare to thank God for His assistance in perfecting THE TECHNIQUE OF MASS MURDER.

The Rev. RICHARD LEE of COVENTRY (one of the terribly bombed sites): "The spirit of Christ is utterly opposed to casting out evil by means of doing evil. Paul summed up the whole attitude of Christ's life and death in the words: 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' The Sermon on the Mount is a dead letter, if we are permitted to destroy our enemies by mangling little children and defenceless old men and women."

The Rev. WM. BOTTOMLEY, of MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA: "No disciple of Jesus is entitled to employ the sword. This idea of Christians, whether they speak German or English, bombing cities, raining death and destruction on men, women and children alike. It may be daring. It may be war. It may demonstrate a fearless recklessness, a disregard for one's own life as well as for one's neighbours. It may be audacity. But it is not courage. It is neither Christianity nor humanity."

JOHN WESLEY: "Men in general can never be allowed to be reasonable creatures till they know not war any more, so long as this monster stalks uncontrolled; where is reason, virtue, humanity? They are utterly excluded; they have no place; they are a name and nothing more."

Compare these statements with statements by members of the Government and other prominent people.

The PRIME MINISTER ("Daily Telegraph," 23/10/43): "I have enjoyed the shooting very much." After a visit to a gun site during an attack on London. One wonders whether those who were hurt or bereaved "enjoyed the shooting very much"? This is the head of the Government which God's ministers loyally support, and they thank God for him.

LORD LONDONDERRY (House of Lords, 22/5/35): "In 1932 the Disarmament Conference assembled and almost its earliest discussions centred round the possibility of the total abolition of air forces. I had the utmost difficulty amid the popular outcry IN PRESERVING THE USE OF THE BOMBING AEROPLANE, even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India." London, Coventry, Clydeside, Canterbury, etc., etc., have paid dearly and bitterly for this exhibition of Christian statesmanship and still our ministers thank God that He has blessed our arms.

MAJOR GENERAL TEMPERLEY, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., commenting on Lord Londonderry's statement: "We were actually attaching more importance to preserving the amenities of being bombed for a few Pathan and Iraqui villages and to keeping control of civil aviation in our own hands, **than to joining the rest of the civilised world in a practical attempt to remove the menace of the bombing aeroplane."**

Sir ROBERT HADFIELD ("New York Times," 1/5/34), referring to his new armour piercing shell and prospects of increased business: "We are indeed devoutly thankful for present mercies, but may I add for what we are about to receive may the Lord make us truly thankful."

AND NOW THIS: "A thanksgiving service in connection with the Spitfire Fund is to be held on Sunday. The service will be conducted by the Rev. David Dick, St. Ninian's Old Parish Church." ("Scotsman," 2/10/41).

"PRAISE GOD FROM WHOM ALL SPITFIRES FLOW." !!!

Have I said enough to show how very evil all this business is? Have I said enough to open the eyes of the ordinary decent men and women to the wicked barbarity of war? Have I said enough to show that there is no redeeming feature in the whole ghastly business? Finally have I said enough to show how great is the responsibility of God's ministers, because there cannot be the slightest doubt that if ministers of religion refused to uphold war, and taught all Christians that when Jesus said "THOU SHALT NOT KILL" He meant just that, without any provisos, there WOULD BE NO WAR. It will need courage and self-sacrifice as great if not greater than that displayed by the fighting forces, but the rewards will be infinitely greater and permanent. Then indeed may we thank God with all our hearts that He has blessed our endeavours, for it will be apparent that the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Spirit of Divine Sonship and human brotherhood, is at last being established among all peoples of the world.

THE DUKE AND THE CHANCELLOR

The Duke of Bedford made his sixth speech in the House of Lords on Tuesday, January 25. He neatly turned on the Lord Chancellor the phrase of irresponsible abuse employed against him by Viscount Simon in the House of Lords on Tuesday, November 18, 1941, before the Duke had taken his seat in the gilded chamber. Simon can hand it out but cannot take it. His reply was bitter, absurd, and unworthy of a corner boy politician. A full account of this discussion will appear in our next issue and the Duke's speech will be published in pamphlet form.

The Duke speaks from the Socialist benches.

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U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 6th FEBRUARY,

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**

This paper is heavily in debt. We ask every reader to rally to our deficit fund.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Friend,—According to the "West London Observer," for July 30, 1943, Sir Gervais Rentoul, in sentencing a Jehovah Witness to three months' imprisonment for failing to obey a Ministry of Labour instruction to take up nursing or civil defence work, rebuked the lady, calling her "arrogant" and "impertinent." In another case **on the same day,** in sentencing a lady to six weeks' imprisonment for failing to take up hospital work he said:

"However illogical their attitude may appear to many people there can be no doubt that this prisoner **and others** are sincere."

It is possible for a person to be at the same time sincere, arrogant and impertinent; and is it really necessary for magistrates to deliver homilies to these victims of conscription?

Yours sincerely,
CHARLES MORLEY.

London, S.W.6.

Dear Comrade,—My husband, Michael Young, who is at present serving a two-year sentence for subversion, is anxious to read "The Word" and would like you to send as many back numbers as you can.

I notice that your paper mentions N.Z. C.O.s. There are 700 of them now in Defaulters Detention Camps —where conditions are in some ways worse than in prison. Here in N.Z. there is no Appellate Tribunal—so that the findings of the Appeal Boards are final and these vary a great deal in different centres. The percentage of allowed "sincere C.O.s" is, for example, very much greater here in Christ Church than it is in Wellington.

Yours sincerely,
WINIFRED M. YOUNG.

Cashmere Hills,
Christchurch, New Zealand.

[Michael Young's inspiring letter from prison was published in those columns for August.]

Dear Guy Aldred,—I would like to air my views on the "Beveridge Plan." Whilst to my mind at any rate, the plan is an admirable step forward in the right direction if made law, it still leaves much to be desired. The system that makes for poverty and social injustice would be untouched. It isn't effects against which we must fight but causes.

I believe the British working people are determined to fight this war to a bitter end because Hitler, if victorious would put the clock back a thousand years. But at the same time I think that they are equally determined to put an end to the reactionary anti-social policies of Tory and "Liberal" Capitalists. However, the time hasn't yet come to deal with the latter enemies of social justice. The debate on the plan in the House of Commons should have opened the eyes of those "working-class" conservatives who up to now have been politically and socially asleep. Let us hope that at the first opportunity the British Democracy will show in no uncertain way, its bitter contempt for Carlton Club politics and also for those who betrayed the socialist cause, in the name of "national" unity. Despite my misgivings though I sincerely hope that the Plan becomes law, at last it would be one victory for the common people over vested interests.

Yours fraternally,
WILFRED H. HARBIGE.

Manchester 11.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I wonder whether you remember me. It is about five or six years ago I had an honour of meeting you at Comrade Sidney Kay's house. Since then I have passed through real stormy time, such as arrest under 18B Defence Regulations, detention for six months under civil and military control. Then I had to face Conscription Act after release. Anyway I have been exempted unconditionaly from conscription.

If you are interested I will write you in detail about my experiences. Being an Indian under Defence Regulation was more interesting experience.

I met one of your great admirers here, Comrade Dan Mullen, formerly of Blantyre, who died last year.

Yours fraternally,
M. LALL.

Welwyn Garden City.

Dear Comrade Guy Aldred,—One fact struck me as I perused pages of the September "Word" and that was that one has to read the "Word" to get a message of Christianity.

What an indictment against the churches and their periodicals that Guy Aldred, an avowed atheist, should lead the way in the publication of articles dealing with the real Christian message, i.e., the real purpose of life, the brotherhood of man.

I can't imagine any other paper publishing Mr. Bowyer's anti-bombing sermon except, of course, the contemporary local paper from which the sermon was culled.

I am sick of churches and sermons but that is only because one never hears a real message of love and compassion such as is contained in that sermon and I am more than grateful to you for your kindly understanding of the needs of people that prompts you to make your paper a forum for truth and human inspiration.

A schoolboy of 17, a member of an agricultural camp near here, came in the other evening and in the course of his conversation remarked that he clapped his hands with delight every time he heard our bombers going over to Germany: here is a boy, intelligent and alert, training to be a teacher of other boys with a mentality like that. I found, on questioning him, that he claims a Christian home, parents who are making great sacrifices to send him to a university and tutors of honourable repute and yet this is the mind which is being formed under their influence.

I talked to him of the brotherhood of man and of his own responsibility in helping to form character in the boys he would eventually have in his care but what could I do in a few minutes to undo the evil of years of wrong teaching and thinking.

And in all this welter of hate and murder one looks to the churches for a challenging message to the tortured peoples of every land and, **one looks in vain.**

So thank you, dear atheist and true lover of mankind for the stand you are making and for all that it means to your readers.

Yours fraternally,
MABEL HOWARD.

Boston, Lincs.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I've read all the booklets you sent. I must say that to me they are very expressive besides proving that your reading and study are both deep and extensive; moreover, I am interested by a great deal of what you have written because, years ago, I followed similar research and still possess many of the books which you mention as evidences. I was interested in your "Dogmas Discarded" because I was born in Clerkenwell and lived many years near Goswell Road.

After a strenuous educational career in order to gain professional certificates, I read rare literature, mostly antique, and much of it being of a severely critical type, proved that a very vast amount of scholarship, such as what is styled "modern learning" is not only misleading but untrue; consequently, I had to un-learn much, particularly, statements regarding religion and sociology.

I stress my remarks against the Ministry of Education's scheme for school-teaching after the war, and the Church's endeavour to-day, to make religion compulsory as a subject for teachers and pupils; all of which, if successful, will retard national commonweal.

With kind regards and sincere wishes.

Yours truly,
W. A. VAUGHAN.

Camberley, Surrey.

Dear Guy Aldred,—The article on p. 36 of the October "Word," by H. W. Henderson, and with sub-title, "Should Criticism be Suppressed," itself calls for the severest possible criticism—criticism alike of you as Editor, for allowing such wretched maudlin nonsense to besmirch our paper; and of Henderson for begging-the-question and insulting your readers by speciously essaying to put it across as criticism.

Pritt did not ask the War Minister to take action against an expression of **opinion** with which he (Pritt) disagreed. He desired to know whether the War Minister would put a stop to a certain specified sort of malicious, irresponsible and tendentious **allegations!**

The composition of H. W. Henderson's effort ranks in low-down unscrupulousness with that of the Warner Brothers' film, "Mission to Moscow," so ably exposed in the same issue of the "Word."

I'm not a Communist; and Pritt is well able to defend himself. I am concerned only to uphold the reputation of our paper for honesty of purpose.

CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN.

Stroud, 25/10/43.

Dear Sir,—Every time I read in "The Word" reports of Roman Catholic C.O.s, I feel that they are to be admired more than other C.O.s, because of the attitude adopted towards conscience by the Catholic Church. Not only has the Catholic C.O. to contend with the State. He must oppose also his Church. The members of Pax must have a lot to withstand from priestly fire-eaters.

Replying to a correspondent, in its issue for 16/2/1840, "The Universe" says:—

"We know of no 'Catholic Parifist Society,' and sincerely hope that no such society exists. No Catholic can be an out-and-out pacifist. He is bound to hold that there can be such a thing as a just and lawful war."

The same journal, for June 14, 1940, reported a most objectionable speech made by a priest named Ingram at Burnley, in which he said:—

"No Tom, Dick or Harry who imagines himself a little cleverer than those about him has any right to decide that he is Pope over his own conscience."

The miscalled Catholic Truth Society publishes a pamphlet from the pen of a Jesuit named Henry Davis, in which he denies the assumed Pacifist claim that a conscientious objector has as much right to exemption as a cleric. His pamphlet is a complete denial of all true Christian teaching. Davis says on page 16 of this precious pamphlet:—

He [i.e., the pacifist or conscientious objector] is forgetting that the Church is an independent society and can legislate for itself, a power which the conscientious pacifist has not, and that the clerical state and its obligations are incompatible with the military profession and obligations. Consequently, the State **can oblige the conscientious pacifist to take up arms in a war of self-defence. It is not obliged to pay any attention to his conscience.**

The more one delves into the war-mongering views of the Catholic Church, the more is the truth forced upon one that war is the statesman's game, the priests' delight.

Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM SPEIRS.

Anerum, Roxburghshire.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been reading your splendid "Word" for some years now. Would you grant me a few lines for the following protest.

Everybody knows there is a big strike at Hillington but the action of all these strikers is similar. "Carry on the war so long as we get better wages. As a Socialist I suggest the time is opportune for these dubbs to strike against a continuation of the War, followed by another strike against their "sell out" Trade Union Officials, such heroic behaviour will then merit the sympathy and support of intelligent men.

—Yours fraternally,
D. DUNCAN.

Glasgow, W.2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, 20th January, 1944.

Oral Answers

DEFENCE REGULATION 18B (PUBLICATION, GLASGOW)

Mr. DONALD SCOTT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention had been drawn to the publication printed and published by the Strickland Press of Glasgow, called "It might have Happened to You," which contains serious allegations against the police and others concerned with the arrest and detention of persons detained under Regulation 18B; and what action he intends to take against the authors and printers of this publication.

Mr. H. MORRISON: Yes, Sir, I have seen his publication. It is a hotch-potch of complaints against Defence Regulation 18B and its administration which professes to be factual in its criticism but is in fact a polemic made up of contributions by anonymous persons who have been, or are still, detained under this Regulation. I have neither the wish nor the power to suppress criticism, however misleading or malicious, which is not a danger to this country or its cause, and no action appears to be called for on my part.

Mr. N. MACLEAN: Do the Home Secretary's powers allow him to take action in Scotland or does that come within the purview of the Scottish law officers?

Mr. MORRISON: Under Defence Regulation 18B I am generally responsible for the whole of Great Britain, although the Secretary of State for Scotland does sometimes act.

Major MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Has the right hon. Gentleman drawn the attention of the Paper Controller to the enormous quantity of paper used in the publication of this pamphlet?

Mr. MORRISON: That is a Question which should be addressed to the Minister of Supply.

Mr. McGOVERN: Can the right hon. Gentleman state that in this document, which I have read, there are any lies? Is it not true that people who have been imprisoned or interned are much better able to judge the truth of the allegations than is the Home Secretary?

Robert Taylor Centenary

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press, **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

Vol. V. No. 8. MARCH 1944. Price: TWOPENCE

THE LORDS AND 18B.

(From Our Parliamentary Representative.)

Went to the House on the 25th. It was revolting to sit behind Londonderry and hear him making scathing remarks during the Duke's speech. This man, who has written eulogies of Hitler and enjoyed Goering's hospitality, might have at least have stood up for civil justice for those who have suffered years of imprisonment without trial, either because men like Londonderry deceived them into sympathy with Fascism, or hoped to avert war by pursuing some policy of peace by negotiation.

After I left the House I re-read the Penguin Special, *Ourselves and Germany*, published in 1938. This work was published in Germany in 1938 by the Essener Verlaganstalt under the title *England blikt auf Deutschland* — authorised translation by Dr. F. W. Pick.

I also looked up the *Anglo-German Review* for February, 1939. This issue carried a portrait of the Marquess of Londonderry in full state uniform and an article from his pen defending Hitler and Nazi Germany and complaining of the want of understanding shown towards Italy and Germany in Britain.

The Londonderry family have a place in Ireland a few miles from my home. His mother and mine were great friends. I have followed the history of his family and have noted references to it in Aldred's various Richard Carlile studies. As with the Stewart, first marquess of Londonderry, so with the present Vane-Tempest-Stewart, seventh marquess of Londonderry, his economic interests are more important to him than being in the right with two or three. How different is the record of the Stewart family from that of the Russell family, which has given us the martyred Lord William Russell; Francis, 5th Duke of Bedford, the statesman and agriculturist, defender of civil liberty and opponent of the war on revolutionary France, standing almost alone in a reactionary House of Lords; his brother John Russell, sixth Duke of Bedford, opponent of the suspension of *Habeas Corpus* and persecution of the labourers; John Russell, third son of the sixth Duke, who rebuked Sir Francis Burdett for recanting his radicalism, and became first Earl Russell; his son, the famous Freethinking and high-principled scholar, Viscount Amberley, M.P.; and Amberley's famous son, the second Earl Russell, who defended conscientious objectors in the House of Lords during the last war, and his pacifist brother, Bertrand Russell, the present Earl Russell, who was jailed for his pacifist activity, and forbidden to speak in Glasgow or lecture in Maidstone. Glasgow comrades may remember that Robert Smillie read his forbidden lecture to a large and enthusiastic Glasgow audience.

I recalled this contrast of service to the cause of political freedom, of civil liberty between the Stewarts and the Russells, the Marquess of Londonderry and the Duke of Bedford families, as I watched the proceedings from behind Londonderry, during the Duke's speech.

A friend who was with me said that it impressed her deeply to see the Duke standing there, speaking so quietly and so firmly, not one friendly face to be seen, some people whispering to each other, or walking about, one Government supporter (on the Front Bench) with his feet on the table. The Duke looked so fine speaking in opposition to this complacent entrenched interest, his slightly white hair and very young looking face emphasising the strength of his stand. He was so absolutely alone and so absolutely fearless.

The Archbishop of Canterbury came into the passage before the debate started but did not stay. Obviously, he feels on the 18B issue as he feels on the conscience question. As Primate and head

THE VISITATION

Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

THE SPIRIT OF JUSTICE KNOCKS AT 18B.

of the Capitalist State Church, he has no war-time use for Jesus's injunctions about the oppressed, and is *not* going to ask the Government to put any of the Sermon on the Mount into practice. An excellent cleric—true to State tradition!

One can hardly describe the amazement and delight one felt as soon as the Duke sat down. A young, energetic-looking man got up and supported him with great energy and feeling. He opened his remarks with a slight hit at the length of the Duke's speech, which hit but gave power to remarks in support of the Duke's main contention and protests. He drove home every point and positively flayed the old cronies on the opposition side. His fervour and conviction were inspiring. This speaker was Lord Morris. He is a solicitor and barrister and succeeded his father, the first Baron, in 1935. His father was born in Newfoundland and was a great Newfoundland statesman, lawyer and jurist. He served as a member of the British War Cabinet, 1916-17. He was created a Baron in 1918. Not one of us who believe in libertarian and Socialist ideas had heard of the present Lord Morris.

The Duke's calmness and Lord Morris's intervention were too much for the Lord Chancellor. He was white with rage. He did not answer the Duke's points but simply lost his temper. I have noted since that even some of the reporters for the ordinary press record the fact that the Lord Chancellor went white with anger.

I return to the Marquess of Londonderry. I daresay Gestapo is in his blood. It is the Stewart tradition.

In 1939, Victor Gollancz published a remarkable and interesting book, entitled *Tory M.P.* by Simon Haxey. Herein are listed the active champions of Fascism and Nazism, the friends of Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco. Only one slight reference is to be found in these well-informed pages to the Russell family. There is no reference to the Duke of Bedford. The truth is that the fifth Duke defended the French Revolution in the House of Lords almost alone and the present Duke defended the Soviet Revolution when the press of Britain was denouncing it and the present Prime Minister was praising and supporting, as a member of the British Cabinet, White Russian adventurers, Denikin and Kolchak, against the Soviet. The Stewart family—the Marquesses of Londonderry and Viscount Castlereagh—figure prominently in this vigorous and effective indictment of Fascism and Capitalist Imperialism.

On pages 148-152 the author details the full story of the Londonderry family. No apology is needed for embodying the record in this indictment.

In 1937, Lord Londonderry was President of the Conservative Party Organisation. In 1890 the Londonderrys owned 50,323 acres with an annual rent-roll of £100,118. The family also held 11,560 acrres in Antrim.

Londonderry's ancestors were Scottish landowners. In the reign of James I., they received a grant of forfeited estates in Ireland. Marriage with the laughter and heir of Sir Henry Vane-Templest brought the family large estates in Durham and elsewhere. The family name became Vane-Templest-Stewart.

The most famous, or infamous, member of the family was the Viscount Castlereagh, son of the 1st Marquess, notorious during the Carlile period. He brought about the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. He bought the Irish House of Commons and eulogised his corruption in one of his letters as "*the profligacy of the means by which the Union has been accomplished.*" Castlereagh was returned as M.P. for County Down after an election which cost him £30,000 in bribery and vote-buying. Shelley denounced him in the stern uncompromising lines :—

I met Murder on the way,
He had a mask like Castlereagh.

Byron, who defended the Luddites in his famous House of Lord's speech, attacked Castlereagh in many vigorous epigrams. He wrote of Castlereagh's suicide :—

So Castlereagh has cut his throat; the worst
Of this is that his own was not the first.

Canning, then Foreign Secretary, held Castlereagh responsible for the disastrous expedition against Antwerp in which 40,000 soldiers were landed on the fever-stricken island of Walchehen and there lost their lives; this expedition cost £26,000,000 of public money.

Castlereagh was strongly sympathetic to the so-called "Holy Alliance," a league of the despotic rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia for the better suppression of democratic doctrines throughout Europe. Castlereagh feared the effects of the French Revolution and was the chief promoter of the hated Six Acts, the "Gagging Acts" by which the ruling class Party tried to quash the demand for reform.

News of his suicide was received with wild delight by the people of London. The crowd at his funeral outside Westminster Abbey cheered while the service was proceeding.

Harriet Martineau declared :

There was abundant reason for the rejoicing which spread throughout the world on the death of Lord Londonderry. When a man's acts have proved him the enemy of his race, his race will not desire him to live that he should continue those acts.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LIV., p. 280) gives a similar picture of his brother, the 3rd Marquess :

. . . in England, as a conspicuous opponent of reform, he had incurred so much hostility that he was on one occasion mobbed and dragged off his horse.

It was calculated that he and his immediate relatives received a total of £11,100 a year in places and pensions.

The Durham estates of the Vane-Tempest-Stewarts grew rapidly in value during the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of the exploitation of coal. Lord Londonderry is to-day the Chairman of Londonderry Collieries, Ltd., while his son, Viscount Castlereagh, M.P., is Assistant Managing Director.

The fourth Lord Londonderry issued a manifesto in his dual capacity as mineowner and Lord Lieutenant of Durham County, during the great strike of the miners in 1844 for fairer terms of hiring. He superintended, as Lord Lieutenant, the wholesale eviction of the strikers from their homes, and their supersession by Irishmen specially imported from his Irish estates and peremptorily ordered the resident traders of Seaham not to supply provisions to the workmen on strike.. His manifesto was reprinted in the *Northern Star* for July 27th, 1844. Part of it runs as follows :

Lord Londonderry again warns all the shopkeepers and tradesmen in his town of Seaham that if they still give credit to pitmen who hold off work, and continue in the Union, such men will be marked by his agents and overmen, and will never be employed in his collieries again, and the shopkeepers may be assured that they will never have any custom or dealings from Lord Londonderry's large concerns that he can in any manner prevent.

Lord Londonderry further informs the traders and shopkeepers, that having by his measures increased very largely the last year's trade to Seaham, and if credit is so improperly and so fatally given to his unreasonable pitmen, thereby prolonging thee injurious strike, it is his firm determination to carry back all the outlay of his concerns even to Newcastle.

Because it is neither fair, just, nor equitable that the resident traders in his own town should combine and assist the infatuated workmen, and pitmen, in prolonging their own miseries by continuing an insane strike, and an unjust and senseless warfare against their proprietors and masters.

In the two counties mentioned—County Durham and County Down—in both of which the Vane-Tempest-Stewarts have been landowners and mine-owners, Parliamentary seats were long at their command. Here are the periods during which these two constituencies were actually represented by the Vane-Tempest-Stewarts :

County Down	*County Durham*
1771-83	1675-7
1790-1805	1678-89
	1705
1812-20	1741-54
1826-52	1761
1878-84	1768-90
1931-1944	1794-1800

The present Lord Londonderry gave evidence at the Coal Commission of 1919. (Report of the Coal Commission, 1919, *Daily Telegraph*, May 9th.) At this Commission he said :

That he owned minerals already proved to exist in about 5,808 acres in the county of Durham. He also carried on business as a colliery-owner in that country, being the owner of three collieries situated near Seaham Harbour. . . . He carried on his business as the Londonderry Collieries, Limited. All the shares in that company except four of £100 each belonged to him. As between that company and his estate, the coal-mines were let to the company, the amount of the rents, which averaged 4½d. per ton, being credited and paid to him by the company. The number of men and boys employed at the colliery were 7,000.

Lord Londonderry added that the town and harbour of Seaham were established by his great-grandmother, and that he owned the railway. He then provided statistics :

The total output of coal from all the freehold properties belonging to witness in the years 1913 to 1918 inclusive was 3,280,321 tons, of which 1,569,296 tons were worked by Londonderry Collieries, Limited, and the balance by other lessees. The royalties . . . were fixed tonnage royalties. They varied from . . . 5½d. to 3½d. per ton. Of the average annual output of 546,720 tons, 378,124 tons were worked at an average of about 4½d. per ton. The average annual income received by his father and himself from mineral royalties and way-leaves during these years were:

Mineral royalties	**£9,608**
Way-leaves	**£5,076**
Independent surface way-leaves	**£656**

The witness declared that he was opposed to nationalisation and believed in ownership of private property. The report continues :

Mr. HERBERT SMITH: If the holding of your property were to cause national distress, would you consider changing your views of the rights of property?

Lord LONDONDERRY: If the community became anarchic they would take everyone's property.

The present Viscount Castlereagh, son and heir of Lord Londonderry, sits in Parliament for County Down. His father, the present Marquess of Londonderry, broke the family tradition by sitting for Maidstone as Conservative M.P. from 1906 to 1915. He had also held the following positions : Under Secretary of State for Air, 1920-1 ; Minister of Education and Leader of the Senate (Northern Ireland), 1921-26 ; First Commissioner of Works, 1928-9, 1931 ; Secretary of State for Air, 1931-5 ; Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords, 1935 ; Mayor of Durham, 1936-7. Lord Londonderry was *a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship*. His wife and *son were both members of the Spanish Children's Repatriation Committee, an organisation closely associated with the Friends of National Spain.*

In other words the entire Londonderry family supported Franco against the common people in Spain and their struggle towards a workers' republic.

The front page of the Penguin Special carried these announcements in bold print :—

The Marquess of Londonderry

OURSELVES AND

GERMANY

SHOULD BRITAIN REGARD GERMANY AS HER POTENTIAL ENEMY, OR SEEK HER FRIENDSHIP? LORD LONDONDERRY THINKS WE SHOULD ADOPT A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH HITLER AND A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF GERMANY'S AIMS

The dust-cover explained :—

This book . . . is the clearest exposition so far of the policy of rapprochement with Nazi Germany and a plea for a more sympathetic understanding of Herr Hitler's point of view.

Few men have played such an important part in our diplomatice relations with Germany as Lord Londonderry. During his frequent visits abroad he has spent considerable time with Hitler, Goring, von Neurath and Ribbentrop. This book first appeared early in 1938, summarising his experiences in Germany and expressing his sympathy with the aims of Germany's foreign policy. It is now reprinted with no alteration, except the addition of new material which brings the book up to date.

This study is too long already. I will not quote the author's remarkable preface to this work. One sentence will suffice :

I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my particular gratitude to Herr Hitler, Field Marshal Goring, Herr von Ribbentrop, and Baron von Neurath for their repeated kindnesses and hospitality to me and members of my family, as well as for affording me many interesting sources of information.

The rest of this preface and the wisdom of the Marquess of Londonderry's book I will deal with in a special essay. As also with his *Anglo-German Review* essay. Enough has been cited to establish the nature of the political sympathies expressed by the Marquess down to the very outbreak of war. Does anyone believe that this man should be taken seriously by the working class of Britain, the miners and labourers of field and factory, the soldiers drawn from the ranks of the proletariat, as a patriot and enemy of Fascism? Was not Nazism persecuting the Jews and the Socialists during Londonderry's visits to Hitler and Goering? Is he in a position to pass scathing remarks while the Duke of Bedford pleads now the cause of conscience, and now the cause of jailed ex-service men under 18B, in the House of Lords? When the Service men and women return from their sufferings given and received, when the last conscientious objector to be released from jail takes his place again in society as one day he must, when the last 18B victim has been restored to liberty, who will be upholding the people's right of justice side by side with those Socialists who have not compromised their ideals for the sake of securing place and profit — the most noble the Marquess of Londonderry, or the much despised and ignored defender of civil liberty, the Pacifist Duke of Bedford?

FRED JOWETT

Our veteran comrade, Fred. Jowett, passed away at his Bradford home, on Tuesday afternoon, February 1, the day after his 80th birthday. He read his birthday correspondence before lapsing into the final sleep.

Since October, 1941, Comrade Jowett has been a regular and valuable contributor to these columns. He remained vigorous and active for Socialism to the end. We have a large number of essays from his pen for publication and will release these at an early date. Comrade Jowett was addressing personal letters to us, discussing every phase of Socialist thought and struggle, to within a few days of his death. Every letter revealed his sincerity and greatness.

Much has been said about his work in these columns. We are proud of the tribute paid to the living man and do not need to weep beside his grave. We do intend, however, to collect and publish some of the appreciations that have been expressed concerning his loyal work to the common people during a life of untiring and selfless devotion. A collection of his anti-war essays during this war, and bold questions and utterances in the House of Commons during the last war, will be published by the Strickland Press at an early date.

The tribute we must pay to Jowett's memory is to unite for Socialism and Peace. Let us have a powerful united, genuine Socialist movement, a movement of living pacifism and service to humanity. Let us build now.

The Rationalist Press Association suggests that our readers should write to their M.P.s at the House of Commons, Westminster, London, S.W.1, in opposition to Clause 24 of the Bill which makes it compulsory in every school for the day to begin *"with a collective act of worship on the part of all pupils."* The R.P.A. claims that this is a return, in principle, to the Act of Uniformity. No "conscience clause" would, in practice, be operative.

Readers who hold this view should make known their irrevocable opposition to the infringements of civil liberty inherent in the proposals of the Bill with regard to :—

1. The compulsory act of collective worship.
2. The maintenance of Dual Control.
3. The continuation of denominational religious instruction in any school aided by public funds.
4. Religious tests for any teachers in State-aided schools.

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 5th MARCH,

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

WAR OBJECTORS—
DUKE OF BEDFORD IN ACTION

Under the excellent sub-heading adopted above, Denis Hayes, Editor of the *C.B.C.O. Bulletin*, publishes an interesting summary of the Duke of Bedford's speech in the House of Lords on the "Cat and Mouse" treatment of War Objectors and Lord Croft's weak official reply to the Duke's strong factual and legal indictment.

Denis Hayes treats his readers to an interesting picture of the Duke in action in his opening paragraphs :—

The Duke of Bedford has again raised in the House of Lords the position of C.O.s.

On January 18th there were about fifty peers present in the heavily ornamented chamber in which the Lords now meet. The Lord Chancellor, in full wig and robe, sat on the large red Woolsack, when from the Socialist Benches the tall, gaunt figure of the Duke of Bedford rose to call attention to the continued "cat and mouse" treatment of conscientious objectors with special reference to practices which deprive them of the protection intended under the National Service Acts. Some noble Lords continued to chat to their neighbours amiably, but there was no interruption.

The Friend, for January 28, comments on the Duke's speech in the following paragraphs :—

We appreciatively acknowledge the devotion to the principles for which the Conscientious Objector stands displayed by the Duke of Bedford, who last week once more faced a largely unsympathetic House of Lords when he called attention to repeated prosecutions of objectors, both men and women. Objectors affected include those to whom tribunals have refused the exemption they claimed and also, as the Duke pointed out, those like George Elphick, the local F.O.R. secretary at Lewes, and Laurance Tarr, a 60-year-old member of our own Society, because of their refusal, for conscientious reasons, to fire-watch. . . .

The scandals of the last war have, happily, been largely avoided this time, but constant vigilance is necessary. And no amount of legal or considerate treatment can alter our belief that compulsion for military purposes is in itself an evil which we must continupe to oppose.

With the Duke of Bedford, we remain unconvinced on the very point that *The Friend* takes for granted. Gilbert C. Lane, of Wallington, Surrey, having foolishly taken a medical examination, has been court-martialled six times. Basil W. Cullingford and Jack Boddy of Norwich have been prosecuted repeatedly for refusing to obey directions to part-time Civil Defence under Defence Regulation 29BA. L. G. Bidewell has been prosecuted twice. George Elphick was prosecuted and sentenced for the eighth time for refusing to do fire-watching. In Prisons and Detention Barracks throughout the country a number of conscientious objectors are to be found

And the war office does not scruple about falsifying facts to impress complacent politicians. As witness these two quotations :—

Detention is not in the same category as imprisonment. It is very light. Detention does not take place in a cell; it takes place under camp conditions. —Sir James Grigg, Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons, October 12th, 1943.

. . . while the word "detention" carries less stigma than the word "imprisonment," the treatment of persons sentenced to imprisonment and detention is in the main the same, the only difference being that some of the places of detention are in their environmnt more unpleasant than others.—Report of the Prime Minister's Committee of Enquiry into Detention Barracks, November, 1943.

Every soldier knows that the statement made by Sir James Grigg is false. We were in Devizes Detention Barracks during the last war and both then and since we have served hard labour sentences in different prisons. The Report of the Prime Minister's Committee is correct and the statement made by Sir James Grigg is incorrect accordingly.

The scandals of the last war have not been avoided. The conscientious objector has less vigorous defenders. During the last war, the war resister had powerful defenders in Earl Russell, Lord Parmoor, and Lord Sheffield. These noble Lords are deceased. Their speeches were outstanding and sometimes earned grudging support from other peers. To-day there is no bold spokesman for the right of conscience in the House of Lords other than the Duke of Bedford. He stands completely alone.

The loneliness of the Duke of Bedford in his defence of conscience and his maintainence of civil liberty is a scandal of this war, a grave scandal peculiar to this war. *The Friend* does not assist the struggle for conscience and civil liberty by ignoring facts.

"VOODOO BEAT"
By ROBERT KENNEDY

"Voodoo Beat" was the title of an item of a radio programme on the Forces wavelength at 10.15 one Saturday evening sometime since. The item consisted of a 15-minute gramophone recital of the fear-instilling, blood-chilling music of the Voodoo cult.

The preamble to this item defined Voodooism as a form of black magic still to be found among the natives of the West Indies and some of the southern states of U.S.A. Black magic, superstition, fear, oh, the odium of the thought that such things should exist in this enlightened (?) age! But worse was to come. In a melodramatic voice the announcer went on to impart the incredible information that the high priests of this loathsome practice did, and sometimes still do, demand human sacrifices. These innocent victims of this demand were subjected to cruel and horrible deaths.

Can the reader believe that in this year of grace, nineteen hundred and forty four, such practices still exist? Surely the enlightened doctrines of Capitalism, Imperialism, and Monopoly have permeated every corner of the inhabited world and every strata of the societies inhabiting the globe. Can one imagine the High Priests of Finance, the twentieth-century prophets of a benevolent God of Mammon, demanding a human sacrifice? No! the king-pin of our civilization is to love our neighbour as one's self. The shedding of blood is a thing of the past; no longer do we sacrifice victims in ones or twos from some weird blood-lust rituals; nor do we slaughter thousands in alleged religious crusades. No longer do we seduce the masses from the healthful, creative, progressive purpose of living to that of destruction, by the use of sensuous, soul-destroying rhythm or the paassion-inflaming blare of the march. All this belongs to brutal and bloody past. We are more deliberate, artistic, cold, and scientific in our destructiveness. Should you, gentle reader, entertain for one moment the idea that those wonderful inventions the cinema and the radio have taken the place of the ancient tom-tom and are but the modern expressions of Voodoism and the "Voodoo Beat," give up such unpatriotic, irreligious and barbarous thinking. Rest assured that, wherever militarist society's civilizing influences penetrate, there no longer do the tom-toms roll out their terrorising thunder, rending the stillness of the night, and rousing the savage lust for blood. Should such voices disturb the peacefulness of your repose, remember the closing injunction of the announcer of "Voodoo Beat" "let us hope it is only your imagination"—or the *Sirens*.

DUKE'S WAR AIMS' MOTION

The Duke of Bedford is proposing, in the House of Lords, to call attention to certain disturbing factors, economic and political, likely to prevent the realisation of war aims, and to call attention to the appropriate remedy.

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THE UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

A Very Short Story of its Antecedents and Developments

By J. TAYLOR CALDWELL

A new Group of the U.S.M. has been formed in Lanarkshire—and another in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.! Several others seem to be in the process of being formed. Not by any conscious effort on the part of the Glasgow (Pioneer) Group, for we are not out to "build" Groups; we like to see them form themselves by the natural coming-together of the people concerned. So these new Groups and those which are in promise please us because they show that our propaganda has not been wasted: they also show that the U.S.M. form of Group organisation is that which arises naturally from the people.

Several younger comrades have written us to say that, while they would like to form a U.S.M. Group, they are not sure what we "stand for." Do we not seek power? Don't we want to send members to Parliament? How do they know we won't betray them? This article is intended to help those comrades out of their perplexity.

The U.S.M. does not seek power, nor does it want to send people to Parliament; nor can it betray the workers because it does not aspire to become a Party apart from the workers. Every Group looks after its own affairs with no interference from the Pioneer Group. There is no Central Executive—there's not even an affiliation fee!

The U.S.M. is a very easy-going congregation of Socialists. We meet in Groups and discuss current affairs and methods of propaganda. We convene public meetings, and sell socialist literature on the streets. We propagate Socialism as fully as we can in our private lives by our actions, and by our comments, arguments, and general attitude. We have no "Party line." Our policy doesn't change from day to day. We are Socialists, and we act accordingly.

By "Socialism" we don't mean the Dictatorship of a Party. The dictator-mind is not attracted to so ultra-democratic an organisation as the U.S.M. We mean the social ownership and control of natural resources, of the means of production and the machines of distribution; substituting for their exploitation for profit their organisation as servants of our needs. We believe that politics and political society are an evil and should end, and that in place of the *government of people* by Parliament and the State we should have the *administration of things* by elected, unprivileged Industrial Councils.

Being individual Socialists we do not all agree on all points. Some of us think that coupon-money will be needed in the transitional stage to a money-less society. Some of us are sympathetic to Peace organisations—as well as to the Pacifist activities of the U.S.M. Some of us think the Church *might* be revolutionised. A few, but not many, of us think that Socialists in Parliament are useful for making Socialist propaganda easier outside of Parliament.

We are, as already stated, a congregation of Socialists. We meet to co-ordinate our activities, and help each other in our propaganda. We have no Party discipline. We are opposed to authoritarianism in all its forms.

FORMATION OF THE U.S.M.

The Glasgow (Pioneer) Branch was formed in 1934, but the history of the Group goes back to 1906, and the ideas which it represents are found inspiring men and women away back at the time of the French Revolution, and the very beginning of Socialist propaganda.

When Socialism first began to be preached its message was clear: the overthrow of the middle (Capitalist) class and the establishment of the working-class as the *only* class in ociety. And with memories of the French Revolution in mind the methods seemed clear too: direct action.

But the repeated failure of violent upheaval at the barricades drove Socialist thought into other channels. One school favoured industrial action — the General Strike; non-co-operative, passive resistance—and the other school advocates the attainment of political power. This latter course meant a programme of "reforms," "immediate aims"—the patching up and continuance of the old society, and the delay of the new society.

Then it grew to mean more than that. It finally meant that those who had a litle ability could very soon leave the street corner rostrum for a seat in the legislature. It meant a career for the ambitious. It was a new field and rich in opportunity. It was easy to arouse the poor into a state of self-pity and have them cry for reforms—and have them vote men into Parliament to get these reforms. It was easy to arouse them, and the careerists saw that the poor were aroused. It was good to use up their energies in this futile game of sending men to Parliament.

And, of course, young men—and women—deliberately entered "politics" as a career. And fathers already established made the way easy for the sons to follow. So the game of Labour Parliamentarism was started and played with great gusto. But Socialism was only a pawn in the game; so were the people.

William Morris saw this, and in 1884 he left the Social Democratic Federation and formed the Socialist League in the hope that the League would operate without the charlatanism of place-hunters.

He was unsuccessful, and in 1893 the League was dissolved. Parliamentary Socialism grew in force and influence. It captured the Trade Union movement and in 1904 the Unions formed a political organisation: The Representative Committee. In 1906 this body became the Labour Party.

Guy Aldred—Anti-Parliamentary Pioneer.

In 1904, at the age of 18, Guy Aldred entered the political arena. Not as one looking for a career—he had one in front of him if he cared to pursue it, for he was regarded as a young journalist of outstanding merit—but as one inspired by the ethic of world brotherhood and service that has moved many poets and prophets down the ages. After two years of apprenticeship as a vigorous propagandist for the Social Democratic Federation he left that organisation and began to attack the sham of Parliamentary Socialism (see the *Justice* letter reprinted in *Dogmas Discarded*, Pt. II., chapter 12).

He revived the ideas of industrial direct action and formed Communist groups all over London. By 1914 they were in existence all over the country. And they *were* Communist Groups. Founded eleven years before the Russian Revolution they urged the need for an International—which the Bolshevics later formed and corrupted. In those days the word *Communist* meant a member or sympathizer with one of these Groups. The bastard-communism of the Communist Party was unknown—it had not been invented.

It was quite natural that Aldred should spend the war years in gaol. But the power-hunger Labourites continued their desertion of Socialism. Beginning as an expedient only, the attainment of Parlamentary power had become an end in itself. Parliamentarism meant Nationalism; and Nationalism meant war. So while the orthodox Socialists of the Allies and the Central Powers were shouting for each other's blood in the interests of World Brotherhood Guy Aldred was kept in gaol as a dangerous character.

With the advent of the Russian Revolution many of the Communist Groups, seeing the "New Light" became members of the Communist Party. But Aldred, with his peculiar sense of divining the future development of embryo organisations stayed clear of the new Party and was very soon attacking its bureacratic nature.

In 1921 the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation was founded as a federation of several Communist Groups. Till 1933 the Federation carried on vigorous propaganda and in many districts gained more support than the subsidized Communist Party. Then the betrayal of McDonald and the general collapse of the Labour Party as a serious Socialist body made it so clear to the workers that Parliament was not the way to Socialism that Anti-Parliamentary propaganda seemed superfluous.

Aldred broke away from the A.P.C.F. which declined and died a few years later. With several other comrades he established a Workers' Open Forum. This bridged the gap till the mind of the Movement became more settled; then several comrades, some from the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, some from the I.L.P. and some unattached, came together and formed the United Socialist Movement.

The theme of the inagural speeches was: Parliament, or no Parliament we are Socialists. Let Parliament betray us and "leaders" desert us, Socialism is still the only hope of the workers. We are Socialists. We are the Movement. In this at least we are United Socialists.

BOOKS TO READ—Aldred: Socialism and Parliament, Pts. I. and II., 6d. each. Dogmas Discarded, Pts. I. and II., 10d. complete. Pioneers of Anti-parliamentarism, 1/-.

"CONCHIE" NOTES

The Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Liverpool on October 1, 1943, granted unconditional exemption from military service (Home Guard) to Marco Pallis (48) of Fulwood Park, Liverpool, musician, author and traveller.

Pallis is an ex-Service man of the last war. After living among Hindus and Buddhists in the East in 1933 and 1936 he renounced meat and fish as a step towards non-injuriousness.

In this war he had put in nearly two years of continuous voluntary work at the Liverpool Citizens' Advice Bureau. He was registered for special duties in the event of a revival of air raids, and he was to be placed in charge of the Reception and Advice department of the Emergency Help Centre for South Liverpool.

Mr. J. W. Wheeler, of Greystoke Avenue, Pinner, Middlesex, draws attention in the "Middlesex Advertiser," Uxbridge, for Oct., 22, 1943, to the "Cat and Mouse" treatment of Miss Florence Haynes, of Ruislip, at that time in Holloway Prison serving a sentence of three months (in lieu of a fine of £20) imposed at Uxbridge Police Court on September 20. Her offence was that she had refused to register for fireguard duties under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1942, and she stated that she had a conscientious objection to such registration.

Miss Haynes was prosecuted at Ealing Police Court on April 2, 1942, for failing to carry out fire prevention duties and was fined £5, in lieu of which she served one month's imprisonment.

On June 25, 1943, Miss Haynes was prosecuted at Uxbridge Police Court for failing to register under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, her reason for not registering being the fact that there was no provision for conscientious objection in the Order. She was fined £10 in lieu of which she served two months' imprisonment.

Although the genuineness of Miss Haynes' conscientious convictions has never been challenged, she was sentenced to a third term of imprisonment on account of her principles.

Under the Fire Guard (Local Authority Services) Order 1943, it is no longer an offence to fail to give particulars following conviction, for non-registration. This Order came into force on September 20, the date on which Miss Haynes was last prosecuted.

Neville Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, on May 4, 1939, said:—

I think we found it both a useless and exasperating waste of time and effort to force such people (C.O's) to act in a manner which is contrary to their principles.

The present Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House on March 20, 1941, described anything in the nature of persecution, victimisation, or man-hunting of conscientious objectors as "odious to the British people."

A BALANCE SHEET OF STATESMANSHIP

By C. H. NORMAN

The present state of the ordinary citizen in Britain and Europe is so terrifying (as slavery exists generally except for the buying and selling of the slave market) and the prospect for the future is so gloomy, that it is worth while considering the records of the leaders of the various communities whose activities have brought the citizen to this dreadful condition. As a preliminary, it is worth setting down in simple language what is the position of the ordinary citizen in Britain and Europe as the result of recent wars and revolutions. He has been deprived of the free use of his labour power: he has been deprived of the opportunity of purchasing such food, clothes and other articles that he may desire. He has no right to his own home, as all kinds of people can be billeted upon him. He is denied the opportunity of reading anything about the war except the particular selection of lies that his particular government, British, German, American, or Italian, chooses to permit the newspapers or the wireless to circulate. The only thing that can be said of this news is that 95 per cent. of it is plainly false, the British, Russian and American liars being as clumsy as their German Italian and Japanese counterparts. His home has been broken-up by the conscription of women, which has taken its worst forms in Russia and Britain, though, in due time, other countries will copy these bad examples. His children, male and female, are scattered all over the country doing unpleasant and dangerous war service for most of which civilised human beings are totally unfitted. His wages, poor and scanty in most cases, are heavily eaten into by income tax, purchase tax, and other forms of taxation. The persons who have created this appalling state of things for the most part have contrived that they are largely immune from or can evade the rigorous laws and regulations they impose upon others. The British citizen lives under a regime in which, by a cruel and rediculous fiction, everyone is supposed to know the law. Since 1939, according to Butterworth's handbook of Emergency Legislation over 200 Statutes have been passed through the House of Commons and several thousand statutory rules and orders, mostly carrying heavy penalties have been enacted by various Government Departments! How the King in Council and the judicial body can reconcile this state of things with the oath taken under the Act of Settlement and the Promissory Oaths Act is a matter for their consciences; but never was the British citizen oppressed by such a spate of stupid and tyrannical orders and rules as in the years 1939-1944.

All the belligerent Governments have reached the point in which the more their citizens are engaged in active destruction by bombs, rifle, submarine and aircraft the better they are pleased. The remarkable doctrine of the "scorched earth" (which began in Russia nearly 150 years ago) has been developed in many peculiar and sinister ways by these governments which are supposed to guarantee their citizens liberty, life and property. Indeed, the only excuse for the existence of these governments is no longer valid. The purpose of all these belligerent governments is the destruction of the life, liberty and property of their citizens, whose wives and children share in the common disaster brought upon them. It is true that Mr. Churchill blames Mr. Hitler and Mr. Hitler blames Mr. Stalin and Signor Mussolini blames Mr. Roosevelt and *vice versa*. But that is all part of the game of deceiving the citizens of each state, so that their wrath may not be concentrated upon the real authors of their misfortunes who are within their reach, but upon some mythical devil in human form who is beyond their reach and control. One would have thought this stale device would have been worked out by now, as surely it must be obvious that powerful states like Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia and France cannot produce the calamities of these days without their rulers being willing participants in the crime.

Let us consider the record of some of the rulers whose policies and actions have contributed to the shocking condition of the world. There was Sir Edward Grey, one main architect of Britain's misfortunes, who was engaged in dangerous intrigues the whole time he was Foreign Secretary, about which he spoke nothing but falsehoods when questioned in the House of Commons. This man's wisdom and judgment can be measured by his statement in a considered and careful memorandum prepared by himself as early as February, 1906, four months after taking office as Foreign Secretary. "I hope the French recognise that in a war with Germany British liabilities would be much less than theirs. We shall risk little or nothing on land, and at sea we might shut the German fleet up in Kiel and keep it there without losing a ship or a man or even firing a shot." (*The Coming of the Storm*, J. P. Gooch, page 16.) Considering what did happen when the war that Grey, the alleged peace-lover, was discussing in 1906, did actually come about, these sentences are really beyond the scope of reasonable comment. This man Grey drew from the taxpayers of this country over £50,000 while in office; and that was the kind of self-revealed mentality for which they were paying! Of a similar character was Mr. Winston Churchill's statement in October, 1939, that the U-boat campaign was completely under control and that not a German ship dare to venture on the sea. Over the water, there was Herr Goering's statement that German cities could not be bombed and that no foreign air force could stand against the German Luftwaffe. There have been Mr. Hitler's repeated announcements of the annihilation and complete defeat of the Russian Armies, which may be balanced against the wild statement of Mr. Stalin about the German losses in killed, wounded and prisoners, plus his bold assertion in May, 1942, that the Germans would certainly be "driven out of Russia by the end of 1942." The absurdity of all these statements was apparent to any reflecting mind of the time they were made: but their authors hoped that the public memory would be so short that they would fade from recollection, being substituted by the numerous similar falsehoods which these various persons have uttered since.

Russian statecraft has been so reckless that in forty years the Russian people have been involved in three disastrous wars, in two of which the defeat was heavy, and in the third of which the calamity has been great. Those wars are the Russo-Japanese war, the war of 1914-1918, the main cause of which was the Russian policy in the Balkans, and the unfinished war which began by the partial occupation of Poland in 1939, and the war against Finland in 1939-1940 by the Soviet Armies, though the issue was not really joined till the invasion of Russia by Germany in 1941.

There is little to choose between the policies of France and Germany in the past seventy years. The destruction of both states is a possible result of the calamitous policies for which Bismark, Napoleon III, Von Moltke, Poincare, Delcasse, Deladier, the German Chancellor, Bethman Hollweg, and Herr Hitler and his advisers hold an equal responsibility.

One could develop the theme indefinitely did space allow. There is the final and terrible example of the result of the ambition of Mr. Lloyd George. This man ached to be Prime Minister. His only hope of being Prime Minister was through the exigencies of war (as was the case with Mr. Winston Churchill). When the Liberal Cabinet under Mr. Asquith, appalled at the casualties on the French front, was considering negotiating peace with Germany in 1916, Mr. Lloyd George intrigued against his leader and finally displaced him by the cry of the "knock out blow," so satisfying his ambition of being Prime Minister. The state of Europe at the present time is the handiwork of this Welsh architect of the Treaty of Versailles. He drew from the British taxpayer over £75,000 in salary, and he obtained an additional £100,000 from his book on the war, derived largely from information secured while acting as war Prime Minister. The British citizen had a bad bargain in the case of Mr. Lloyd George, who is supposed to have led the Empire to victory, but in truth largely contributed by his evil policies to the present desperate situation.

How desperately placed the British Empire is as a result of the efforts of British statesmen from 1906 to 1942 can be seen by this summary. Large parts of British Empire are under the domination of a conqueror, Japan. Other large parts are in grave peril from that same enemy. Large sections of the British Empire have been handed over to the control of the United States. Those who appreciate the true war position know that the British Empire could not have gone on against Germany, Italy and Japan, with anything but the certainty of complete defeat. without the assistance to the full extent of the United States. The rulers of the United States are now controlling large parts of the British and French Empires. The defence of Australia and New Zealand is being mainly undertaken by the forces of the United States plus the local forces. Mr. Winston Churchill declared that he had not undertaken the duty of Prime Minister in order to assist in the liquidation of the British Empire: but the present position is nothing but an advanced form of liquidation? The Empire is simply overwhelmed in debt which is mountain high.

The Spanish, Chinese, Italian, American, and Japanese statesmen have brought immeasurable catastrophies upon the peoples of their countries in the last forty years. The state of the United States and Australia in the slump period would be unbelievable to the ordinary British citizen, grave though the unemployment was in Britain during that time. In Sydney, the effective capital of Australia, 85 per cent. of the able-bodied population were without employment at one period.

The facts speak for themselves. What hope is there for the future? The electoral returns during the war show that the same kind of dunderheads and knaves are being returned to the legislative assemblies, from which democratic governments are drawn. The shorthand notes of the treason trials in Russia under Mr. Stalin's rule revealed a terrifying state of public corruption of every kind. The dilemma there is plain! Either the charges against the accused were true, in which case one can only say Communism in Russia has produced a dreadful state of public morality; or else the changes were imaginary, in which case what can one think of a government which invented such a method of destroying its political opponents?

Those who talk so glibly about a new order springing from the war (at a time when the most strenuous effort is required to get a few shillings a week addition to wages) might explain how they reconcile their assertions with the facts reviewed here. Or is this talk merely another variation of the carrot held in front of the donkey Democracy's nose to induce the poor donkey to tread the path of tribulation uncomplainingly to the grave?

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"ALIEN BLACKS"

The Duke of Bedford and His Pro-War Critics

Three Years Press Campaign Reviewed.

When Herbert Morrison mentioned the Duke of Bedford without relevance in the House of Commons on Tuesday, October 21, 1941, the pro-war press decided to make the Duke the subject of untiring attack. In due course, the "Communist" press joined forces with the millionaire press and became a most aggressive co-belligerent. The campaign of abuse augurs well for the Duke's future activity. Even E. D. Morel triumphed over the war-time slanders of the same press and the same journalistic psychology as assailed the Duke. Ramsay Macdonald was threatened with the Tower but Horatio Bottomley became the convict and died a pauper. The press that denounces the Duke of Bedford to-day slandered the miners during the General Strike. The war press is entrenched and corrupt. It is Mammon-eloquent. But it is a fraud and truth will destroy it and its bloody masquerade of pomp, circumstance, and glory.

In this article we do not propose to cover the ground already traversed in these columns. We make a selective study of press attacks not tabulated or discussed hitherto with our readers. They make interesting and instructive and sometimes amusing reading. Slander has a puny aspect largely because its venom is without humour. Unthinkingly, the Duke's enemies portray him as a thinker and a propagandist, a man of public courage and affection, moved by singleness of purpose and a spirit of uncompromising integrity. The abuse presents us with an excellent likeness of the man abused, one who speaks and writes from sanity; a warrior-prophet of peace who uses the word, spoken or written, as a weapon to be employed in loyalty to his fellow-man.

Let us glance at the attacks in order: 1941; 1942; and 1943.

We begin with the year 1941.

Commenting on Morrison's statement that he was watching the Duke of Dedford's activities very closely, the *Scots Daily Express* for October 22 stated :—

We hope Mr. Morrison will read the duke's latest pamphlet "What a Game!"

Labour men, before rejoicing in the *Express* attack on the Duke, ought to pause to consider the type of jingo "Labour Leader" this Beaverbrook organ supported during the last war, men who passed into oblivion with the coming of the Armistice. It supports Will Lawther to-day and denounces the Duke of Bedford. We hope the workers will remember that Will Lawther, the miner, not yet the miner's leader, opposed the last war. Horatio Bottomley was the "hero" of the moment. Workers should look up the *Daily Express* record and reflect: *What a Game!*

The pamphlet was reviewed antagonistically by the chief columnist in *The Evening Standard*, London, for the same date, at some length. We quote all that matters—the significant opening paragraph :—

I have been reading the pamphlet written by the Duke of Bedford entitled "What a Game!" It is marked by that kind of logic which has led His Grace from one political and economic abyss to another.

Setting his name out in big type as the heading, the *Aberdeen Evening Express* for October 28 quoted with joy the following mention of the Duke by the Rome radio :—

The Axis Powers are in no need of peace overtures from the Duke.

Italy's unconditional surrender would seem to give an unexpected emphasis to their 1941 boast of the Rome radio. At the head of the recognised Italian Government is the former war criminal, Badoglio, Marshal of Italy, sometime Duke of Addis Ababa, our co-belligerent against Fascism. Badoglio worked on the theory of poison gas against the Abyssinians. When the Duke of Bedford would have negotiated with the Italian Socialists, Radicals, and Liberals, in exile in London and New York while the fighting was going on, the Duke's critics and enemies, the apostles of unconditional surrender plotted to impose on Italy and Sicily Amgot and Badoglio. Amgot, with its financiers, who had no knowledge of nor interest in living democracy, denies the right of Italian Socialists to agitate and decides that political silence that must prevail in Italy and Sicily lest the people talk, commune, think, revolt and inaugurate a new society. The Rome radio was right. It was anticipating the events of 1943 when it condemned the Duke of Bedford's policy in 1941. Badoglio and his cronies were *not* in need of peace overtures from the Duke of Bedford for he had none to make to them. His message was to the Italian common people. Badoglio was looking hopefully, and not without reason, to the statesmen-dictators of the policy of "unconditional surrender!"

In its issue for October 30, the *News Review*, London, summarised the Duke's situation and reaction in some smart paragraphs from which we quote :—

Earnest but erring Hastings Sackville Russell, 12th Duke of Bedford, says he is a pacifist, but he is seldom at peace. . . .

Once a Labour Party fan, he switched his allegiance to Social Credit, then began promoting his own organisations with the object of obtaining European peace. . . .

The patient Duke was not discouraged. Lately issued by him was a pamphlet entitled "What a Game!" in which he deduced that war is lunacy. . . .

Last week the unfortunate Duke was dragged somewhat unnecessarily into a Commons debate. . . .

At his Scottish mansion at Cairnsmore, Kirkcudbrightshire, the unruffled Duke talked to reporters over a meal which included creamy butter from his own cows.

Two days later, the London *Evening Standard* leading columnist attempted to attack him bitingly in the following paragraph :—

The Duke of Bedford appears in print again to-day. . . . Now when his Grace takes up his pen in the seclusion of his ducal mansion he makes no bones about his opinions on current affairs. How he forms those opinions I do not know, for apparently he doesn't believe anything he reads or hears.

He has "the lowest possible opinion of the intelligence of the average politician," and "an equally low opinion of those who control the Press and B.B.C." From these he only expects "lies and folly."

The workers ought not to accept such a mental approach to the Duke's discredit.

The Glasgow *Evening News*, in an editorial headed *The Duke*, published in its issue for November 5, said :—

The Duke of Bedford seems likely to achieve martyrdom of one kind or another. . . .

It may be the mild martyrdom of the disgusted disapproval of 99 per cent. of his fellow-citizens, or the harsher martyrdom imposed by a Home Secretary who states that he has his eye on the Duke

Denunciations of the Duke made the big headlines in the Capitalist press throughout Great Britain and Ireland on November 19.

The *Belfast Telegraph*, in its leader, described the Duke as

that Peer, who appears from his public statements to be a Pacifist of extreme tendencies.

Taking its cue from Lord Simon, the editorial emphasised the failure of the Duke to take his seat, in the following concluding reference :—

Lord Ponsonby, who was raised to the Upper House as a Labour representative in 1930 but has now severed his connection with the Labour Party, objected strongly to Mr. Morrison's remarks about the Duke's tendencies in the House of Lords on Tuesday. The Home Secretary's attitude was, however, vigorously defended by Lord Crewe and by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor. The latter pointed out that in the Duke of Bedford's case the question of privilege does not arise, since he has not yet taken the steps requisite to obtain admission to the House of Peers.

Glasgow "Evening Times."

DUKE OF BEDFORD WITH GUY ALDRED

The above picture was taken in the Strickland Press Office on Monday, June 28, 1943, and published in the Glasgow "Evening Times" the same evening. Beneath the heading "DUKE OF BEDFORD'S VISIT TO COAL PITS," our contemporary reported the Duke's denunciation of the conditions under which miners of Lanarkshire worked and lived.

The *Nottingham Journal* stated :—

Now it is rumoured that the Pacifists want the Duke to take his seat in the Lords and table a motion in favour of a negotiated peace. It will be all to the good if he does, for it will cook the goose "for all time," as Professor Joad might say.

We wonder if history will record its verdict with the same quaint dogmatism.

The Western Mail, Cardiff, under the heading *Whitewashing The Duke*, said :—

Lord Ponsonby, being himself an impenitent and incorrigible Pacifist, was well qualified to whitewash the Duke of Bedford.

Even the *Manchester Guardian*, in its "Miscellany," edited by "Lucio" had to forget its great Libertarian traditions. In its isue for November 21, under the sub-heading *Dukes and Ducalities*, "Lucio" commented :—

Lord Ponsonby has been telling the House of Lords that in some ways it is easier to defend a dustman than a duke. This does not seem to accord precisely with a view expressed by Lord Houghton in 1878 when the Duke of Sutherland of the period came out strongly in support of the Turks against Russia. Somebody expressed surprise at this attitude. "Oh," said Houghton, "dukes must be allowed their ducalities." It is not perhaps too unfair to say that the present Duke of Bedford has his ducalities in what many regard as a distressing form.

History may reverse this description of the Duke's "ducalities" and assert that the distress was occasioned by his critics, the interested and hireling apologists for war, and the ex-conscientious objectors becoming peers for war-time services—away from the field of battle!

The *Evening Standard, London*, for November 29, outlined the Duke's plans; this time not too unfairly :—

The Duke of Bedford does not often come to London. He prefers to carry on his pacifist campaign from his home in Wigtownshire. . . .

The Duke of Bedford has not yet taken his seat in the Lords: he opposes in principle what he calls a chamber of privilege. But he has stated in a Scottish pacifist journal that it is his intention to go to the Lords should he feel that circumstances were favourable. The "favourable circumstances" he requires before becoming the spokesman of Pacifism in the Upper House consists of an assurance on the part of his readers that he will have their backing "as an avowed enemy of war and poverty." . . .

The duke declares that the "ultimate task" of his movement is the establishment of prosperity and social righteousness, the setting up of a system which removes all barriers to trade, and financial reforms. All this, of course, is dependent upon a negotiated peace.

The "seat campaign" came to a head on December 1, when *The Daily Express*, London, gave big headings to the following very small paragraph :—

PACIFIST DUKE TO SIT IN LORDS.

The Pacifist Duke of Bedford is to take his seat within a month's time in the House of Lords, which he has "boycotted" since he assumed his present title in August, 1940.

Two days later the Duke took his seat and affirmed. This event is described in Appendix IX to Part I of our work *Socialism and Parliament*. The Freethought press made no comment on the Duke's action, but the sensational press jibed at his conduct. One would have thought that the fact that he was the first Duke to affirm would have been worthy of note by Rationalists and Freethinkers. It was an important assertion of a great principle of freedom and integrity and a registration of progress. Consider Charles Bradlaugh's tremendous struggle against the oath. The Duke of Bedford sealed Bradlaugh's House of Commons triumph. But war-mongering pettifogging Freethought could not be bothered to note the fact. What degeneration!

The failure of the Freethought movement to applaud the Duke's simplicity and soundness in affirming and so asserting his conscientious objection to oath-taking—itself a very clear declaration of anti-Fascism—is emphasised by the Rationalist desire to ridicule him on another matter. *The Literary Guide*, organ of the Rational Press Association, in its "Random Jottings" in its December issue stated :—

The Duke of Bedford, who recently startled the country with an apology for Hitler, declares that "God in His mercy has given me, unworthy as I am, some small share of His own divine understanding." It is curious, however, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and other exalted Christians who likewise claim a small measure of divine understanding reach conclusions diametrically opposite to those of the Duke, being convinced that Hitler is the embodiment of evil, that we are engaged in a war for Christian civilization, and that we must, as Christians, fight to a finish. From this conflict among the inspired we may draw the conclusion that man still makes God in his own image.

We raise no objection to this comment. On the contrary we endorse it. The Duke left himself wide open to such criticism. But we suspect the reference to Hitler, which is not correct, and the entire setting of the comment, arose from prejudice rather than reason. Lord Snell knows that many of his associates speak in exactly the same terms of God on the war-side and remain his honoured colleagues. We read the *Literary Guide* and it is passing strange that only the Duke of Bedford has been singled out for attack. Why? In any case, if the Duke had to be criticised for this utterance, because only criticism could appease the conscience of Freethought, he ought to have been applauded for his stand against the oath. Not a comment was made. Why? Was his attitude too sound, too direct, and so not open to criticism or would the Freethought rank-and-file have wanted to applaud? And, of course, that never would have done! For whatever reason, and from whatever angle, the one thing to do in the sacred cause of war is to ridicule the pacifist non-conformist and heretic. That is a war essential. A sacrifice of Truth is another question.

(To be Concluded.)

CHURCH, WAR AND PEACE

Dear Guy Aldred,—With reference to your remarks, as reported in "The Motherwell Times" of 24th Dec., may I just add that it has become very noticeable in recent years that, with a view to self-preservation and continuance of power to decoy the simple and unwary, and to exploit superstition, the several rival "Firms" composing the so-called Church, have been conspiring and manoeuvring for the elimination of competition, by the formation of "Cartels" and "Combines" under such specious slogans as "Reunion of the Churches" and "A New Order AFTER the War." (Truth and War cannot both have priority: and "the Churches" have made their choice.)

As, however, THE Church, of which Christ, the Truth, is Lord, has never been dis-united, all this bother about re-union makes it ever clearer that the miscellany of Corporations participating therein, do not in any sense whatever constitute IT. They, severally and collectively, constitute naught but a wide-spread insidious ersatz.

The War, you spoke of as "spreading death and destruction among the common people." There is an important point in this connection, too often overlooked, namely, that the war-makers are not the war-wagers! The war-makers only arrange fixtures for the matches. They would be utterly stumped if "the common people" were to head Keir Hardie's words to the effect, "Wars will cease when the peoples in all lands refuse to obey their rulers commands to murder one another"; or those of the Baroness von Suttner, "Lay down your Arms." Death and destruction are waged upon the common people, by the common people.

Spokesmen of the various Ministries are continuously haranguing the public that the prosecution of the war is utterly dependent upon the efforts of "the common people." True! ye war-mongers' touts. But, thanks be, whole Peace-waging families like those of John Morley and Charles Earl, as well as thousands of individuals, both men and women, throughout the world, are steadfastly demonstrating how to stop the ghastly holocaust.

The real Church is a Peace-waging Army, composed of people who have entered upon inheritance of that Peace which the world can neither give nor take away. Its members are all on active service, resolutely determined to mete to all mankind just such treatment as they would that mankind mete to one another: to do to all others as they would that all others do to them. For only so, is membership of THE Church to be retained, and concomitant enduring Peace to be known.

CHARLES W. D. NEWMAN.

Stroud, Glos., 15/1/44.

THE EASTER MESSAGE
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PEACE BY NEGOTIATION

A Statement issued by The Northern Peace Board York.

From the 17th century to the 20th the peace testimony has flowed steadily through the life and history of Quakerism. There have always been some Friends who have not recognised it as an essential part of Quakerism, but this has never caused a schism in the Society for we are not a religious order pledged to maintain certain rigid rules but a society of seekers after truth, some seeing a larger measure than others but all united in a common devotion.

The strength of the Society of Friends lies in the recognition that there is no conflict between the claims of the individual and those of the community when these claims are rightly ordered. Our belief in "that of God" in every-man emphasises the supreme importance of human personality and shows us both a means of approach and a goal to be reached. But because individual personality cannot fulfil its divine purpose in isolation, but only in unity with others, emphasis is also laid on the importance of the community ultimately embracing every human being as a child of God in the Family of God. There have been periods in the history of Quakerism when the needs of the individual have been overstressed, but never sufficiently to lead Quakerism into an extreme form of evangelicalism; now, we are sometimes warned that our social activities harbour the danger of our degenerating into a charitable organisation whose whole concern is the welfare of the community.

A healthy religious society must always integrate the spiritual development of the individual and the growth of the world community. It cannot separate right relations between God and man from right relations between man and his neighbour.

THE PEACE TESTIMONY RENEWED

War is a total denial of all that we hold to be the right way of life. In war and in preparation for war, personality is denied and its growth is warped: by conscription all are forced into the same mould, all become implements in the hands of the State, trained and directed towards the same goal, to be used solely for the objects the State has in view. Among the civilian population, liberty of thought, of action, of expression is maintained only within narrow limits and may be completely eliminated if the exigencies of the State demand it.

Between communities, war breaks those bonds of friendship and mutual service which unite the human family under the Fatherhood of Good. It is the breeding ground of hatred, malice and fear, and releases forces which disintegrate mankind into factions knowing no other way of life than that of violence. In begetting hatred, it kills love and so re-crucifies Christ.

Thus in our peace testimony we declare that war is a sin under whatever circumstances and for whatever purpose it may be waged. By this we mean that our peace testimony is not held because it is a traditional creed, however reasonable a creed it may be; if it were that, our acceptance of it would be sincere in normal times, but the deep instincts and emotions aroused by war would usurp the rule of reason and the peace testimony would be temporarily suspended. It is held because it is a living experience shared by generation after generation of those who accept this way of love as the way of life. Thus, in 1938 Yearly Meeting declared: "Out of a living experience of the indwelling presence of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, our forefathers have maintained a testimony for Peace. We re-affirm their testimony and are *determined to make it our own.*" And in 1942 Yearly Meeting again affirms "our sure and certain conviction, *born anew out of the experience of these years,* that all war is contrary to the heart and mind of God as known in Jesus Christ."

If then war is diametrically opposed to the way of life as shown by the ministry of Jesus, it must necessarily raise more problems than it can solve. Trying to run God's world on principles which deny God is doomed to failure as surely as, if not more surely than, trying to develop the natural world by breaking nature's laws lead to disaster.

But the problems which are the occasion of wars and evils arising out of wars change as the world changes, and so it is necessary always to be thinking out anew the application of our peace testimony to the immediate circumstances of the time. In the past it was often possible for Friends to separate themselves from some of the evils of their day. Thus Friends could apply their testimony against slavery by themselves giving up slave-owning and taking no part in the slave-trade. Other channels of less vicious economic activity were open to them. Similarly when wars were fought largely by professional armies and peace-time markets were hardly restricted by war, Friends could be clear of any association with the persecution of war.

Conditions change. Now we are in total war, war that affects every department of life, private and public. No one can dissociate himself entirely from the war. There is little else in our national life but war and activities dependent on and affected by war. It is therefore not surprising that there are wide differences of opinion within the Society regarding the application of the peace testimony to-day, particularly as there is now a wider recognition than ever before of our responsibilities as members of the national community. Total war is not a rootless phenomenon; it has grown out of the system in which and by which we live. In our standard of living we have benefited, directly or indirectly, by British imperialism, by the exploitation of weaker peoples, by the growth of our trade under British prestige, and having benefited we share the responsibility for the evil results this system has produced, a responsibility which has increased by our failure to apply in our individual and communal lives that spirit of brotherhood which would revolutionise the system and make war impossible.

Yet if we have kept our vision clear we have recognised the injustice of our system and have foreseen the dangerous possibilities inherent in it, and in our efforts to bring about changes we have laid stress on the means to be adopted, for the means create the end, the future grows out of the present.

And so in 1939 we stood out as part of a small minority from the general belief that the consummate evil of Nazism, with its doctrines of the natural supremacy of a race and of the glorification of the State, could be abolished by methods of war would intensify rather than mitigate the evils of Nazism, that instead of freedom being restored to Europe the spirit of domination would become more firmly established, that the moral deterioration which always accompanies war would widen the breeding ground of hatred and intolerance.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

What has happened after more than three years of war? Moral degradation is perhaps seen in the growth of callousness to human suffering. We read camly of 300,000 Germans being "liquidated" after being surrounded on the Russian front and we are indifferent to the despair and sorrow that this means in 300,000 German homes, mothers bereft of their sons, children of their fathers. Do we think of a score of virile young men dropping from the clouds as burnt and mangled human flesh when we read that "three of our planes are missing"? Does the expression "mopping up pockets of resistance" call up a picture of half-starved, disease-ridden men, knowing not why they are where they are, hoping against hope that they may be spared the final agony of a painful death? Think what an ocean of human suffering is hidden in the brief announcement that "such and such a "submarine has failed to return to its base. The next of kin have been informed." Killing is spoken of in terms of sport—a "bag" of four planes, "the score was 8-3." Humanity is impersonalised, and we speak of calling up the "1942 class," sending up "reserves," training "troops," knocking out "tanks" or losing "machines."

A vivid light is thrown on this moral degredation by the account of the destruction of a Japanese convoy in the Bismarck Sea. There was at one time a tradition of chivalry at sea, even in war time, which demanded that efforts should be made to save survivors from a destroyed vessel. In this engagement, we were told, the convoy was finally "mopped up" by merciless bombing — note the adjective — of barges, rafts and lifeboats. At one time 500 men were seen struggling in a sea covered with oil and infested by sharks; later there were only 200. No excuses were given for failing to rescue any of these doomed men. Instead there was the concluding comment "We have got another ally." No protest has been raised from any section of the public against the suggestion that we have now descended to the moral standard of sharks. Rather was there general satisfaction that our bombers and their new ally, the sharks, had ensured that there was not a single survivor of the 14,000 men involved.

The moral deterioration resulting from three and a half years of war has been accompanied by the growth of the spirit of intolerance and domination which we call fascism. The persecution of the Jews in Central Europe had become so intense before the war that the appeal for help was responded to, not only by humanitarian organisations, but even by Governments. War has magnified the persecution far beyond what was thought to be possible in 1939, whatever discount may be placed on atrocity stories. The answer of our Government to this untold suffering is to vow retribution on the perpetrators. Promises have been made, under certain conditions, to help those who are able to escape. We welcome these promises and hope the conditions may be interpreted with the utmost generosity, but apparently admission to this country is excluded on the plea that it might lead to the growth of anti-semitism here. That plea is a confession that the war which, we are told, is to establish freedom in Europe is breeding anti-semitism here; it is a spiritual epedemic knowing no frontiers but spreading wherever the conditions are favourable, and the most favourable conditions are those of war.

The spread of anti-semitism is a symptom. Fascism in its other manifestations has invaded all the belligerent countries. We see it in Britain in the progressive regimentation of the people, in the acceptance of the State as the supreme authority and in the denial of freedom of conscience. The recognition of conscientious objection to military service in 1939 was in the tradition of democracy, but later Acts to discipline the whole population to further the war effort override conscientious objection in this sphere. The Trade Unions and Employers' Federations are discussing agreements which, if implemented, will effectively convert Britain into a Corporate State. Can there be any confidence that the grip of fascism will be relaxed after the war, or that in "liberated" countries Governments of a fascist character will not be established and supported?

(To be concluded)

SOCIALIST OPEN FORUM,
In LESSER TOWN HALL, MOTHERWELL,
On Sunday, 5th March, 1944,
At 6-30 p.m. DOORS OPEN 6 p.m.

SPEAKER:

WM. C. McDOUGALL.

QUESTIONS - - - - DISCUSSION
ALL WELCOME.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Every Friday at 8 p.m. All invited.

See Book List for Duke of Bedford's new pamphlet on Pacifism and monetary reform. ... ...

"COMMUNIST" NOTEBOOK.

"Mission to Moscow" was exposed in these columns for October and November. The film whitewashes the infamous Moscow trials. During the actual trial proceedings, when Davies was in Moscow, he described the charges as preposterous and the procedure as a travesty of justice.

Despite the fact that ex-Ambassador Davies recites a prologue to the film, he is not deceived by the slanders he applauds. The main charges in the trials is that the persons accused were plotting with Trotsky and the capitalist powers to re-introduce capitalism into the Soviet Union. In the "New York Times" for August 1, 1943, Davies attacks Trotsky for **endeavouring to maintain Communism in Russia and to spread it throughout the Capitalist world.** Here is an excerpt from Davies' article:—

There can be no doubt that its (the Comintern's) object, in part was to build up a militarist agency to attack their enemies from within, by organising internal strife through class war. It also confirmed the Trotsky programme of world revolution, and Soviet aid to class war outside of Russia, as necessary to successfully maintain a communist state in a single country (the Soviet Union).

By this action (dissolving the Comintern) Stalin put the last finishing touch, so far as the Soviet Union was concerned, to Trotsky's programme of international world revolution through violence and class war . . .

It was the last chapter in Trotsky's battle to commit Russia to a policy of permanent revolution, and to militant and active promotion of subversive class warfare against neighbouring governments in a war against capitalism.

This statement gives the lie to the "Mission to Moscow" film. How could Trotsky have fought to restore capitalism in Russia and have struggled to "wage a war against capitalism" at the same time? Davies' contradictions demonstrate the cynical hypocrisy of Stalinism. These "Communist" hirelings are using capitalist propaganda for their own purposes of power politics and careerist advancement.

We are somewhat surprised at the "Daily Herald" adding to the Stalin anecdotage. In the end this kind of picturesque falsehood will react badly on every section of the Socialist movement. What sense is there in publishing the following item culled from the "Daily Herald" for July 15, 1943:—

STALIN AIDS A ROMANCE

In the midst of war, Stalin has personally intervened on Wendell Willkie's request, to help forward the romance of a Russian girl and an American newspaper correspondent.

Mr. Wilkie confirmed the story yesterday, but kept the names of the principals secret, says Associated Press.

When the correspondent and the girl were seen together in Moscow some Russian officials thought the correspondent might be trying to get information from her, and she was removed from Moscow.

The newspaper man returned to the United States and appealed to Mr. Willkie, who cabled to Stalin: "Anything you can do to facilitate this union I will personally appreciate, for I have absolute confidence and am willing to vouch for X" (the newspaper man).

Stalin replied five days later: "I am glad to tell you your request regarding X will be fulfilled. The decision was made as a special exception on your recommendation and vouching."

The correspondent is returning to Russia to marry the girl.

"Stalin Aids a Romance"! How neatly described, but what does the story mean? That the girl was arrested wrongly. That the newspaper correspondent was lucky to know Wendell Willkie. That terrorism prevails throughout the Soviet Union as in Nazi Germany. Face facts, and consider the hideous picture of life in the Soviet Union this strange story reveals. Romance! What a synonym for oppression!

The true romance story is supposed to reconcile us to the execution in a prison at Kuibishev, one day in December, 1942, of two brave men, Jewish Anti-Fascists and Polish citizens, life-long loyal Socialist propagandists, enemies of Czarism and terrorism, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter. The protest of the Secretary of the Labour Party, Mr. J. S. Middleton, to Maisky, then Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Great Britain ,was published in these columns recently. The "Communist" war criminals responsible for this outrage should be placed on trial before a Polish Jewish Socialist Tribunal or else at the bar of the International Socialist Movement. These criminal executions are rejoiced in by lying stooges of the Communist Party. They belong to the same category as Mussolini's **murder** of Matteoti and the Socialist and Jewish murders of Hitler and his Nazi associates. Murder is not forgiveable because the murderers pose as "Communists."

The "Daily Worker" for October 30, published another canting ranting contribution by Douglas Hyde, dealing with the release of John Beckett, beneath the heading: **"John Beckett, Notorious Ex-Fascist, Released."**

The account opens:—

John Beckett, one of the most notorious of the ex-Fascist leaders, has been released from Brixton Jail. This was announced by the Home Office last night. He had been detained under Regulation 18B since May 1940, when he was arrested along with eight other persons, including Sir Oswald Mosley.

Details of Beckett's career follow. He is accused of being **"viciously Anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi"** and termed **"this would-be Hitler."**

The report concludes, under the heading—**"No Explanation":**

At the time of his arrest, the Minister of Home Security, then Sir John Anderson, stated that the deentions were "because of the danger that the organisations of which the persons concerned were leading members, might be used in the execution of acts prejudicial to the security of the State."

Inquiries at the Home Office last night failed to bring any explanation for Beckett's release.

As recently as last May Beckett applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, saying in affidavit that his views had completely changed since Germany's invasion of Western Europe. But his application, significantly enough, was dismissed by the High Court of Justice.

Readers of this journal know that Professor Haldane, at a "Daily Worker" meeting in Glasgow, **before the Soviet Union was invaded by Hitler,** denounced the regulation 18B, and insisted that **"even Mosley"** ought not to be interned without trial. The "Daily Worker" attacks on Anderson can be recalled. Since when have "Communists" accepted as gospel a decision of the Capitalist High Court of Justice? It is not necessary to agree with Beckett to realise that Communists"—the close friends of the Fascist M.P., Lt.-Col. Sir Thomas Moore, for Ayr—are gangster enemies of human struggle, and apologists for the murder after false arrest of our brave Jewish Socialist comrades, Ehrlich and Alter.

When the Duke of Bedford spoke with us at the Plaza Cinema, Burnbank, on Sunday, 31st October, last, the "Communist Party" issued a leaflet denouncing him as a Fascist. At Motherwell previously they had issued a similar leaflet, but asked for the meeting to be smashed. Their tactics did not take a trick. This time they made no threats. But they endeavoured to take full advantage of the very full freedom of discussion allowed by the I.L.P. to slander the speakers. We believe in free discussion, but certainly the platform ought to be allowed full time to reply.

Leaving the meeting one C.P. stooge said: **"Fancy selling John Maclean's 'life' and speaking with the Duke of Bedford! An aristocrat!"**

We do not object to such comment when it is honest. At that very moment the C.P. was selling tickets for a meeting to be addressed by Lady Glen-Coats. Here is an advertisement culled from the "Evening Times," Glasgow, for Wednesday, November 3, 1943:—

Russia To-Day Society
SOVIET NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS
SUNDAY, 7th NOVEMBER
7 p.m. to 9 p.m.; Doors open 6.30
REGAL CINEMA
LADY GLEN-COATS
WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.
Chairman—Dr. J. Dunlop, O.B.E.
INA DE LA HAYE ..... Russian Songs
IAN MACPHERSON ..... Baritone
TICKETS (1/- each) from Collet's Bookshop . . .

Is there some proletarian difference between the wife of a Baronet and a Duke? What humbug! And notice the Chairman's "O.B.E.," Quite Marxian! Believe in the class war if you will. Narrow its interpretation to war on the aristocrats, on all titles. That is understandable. But be consistent. The baronetage is the lowest order of the peerage. If you accept "Ladies," as comrades, there is no reason why you should not accept "Dukes." The question then becomes one of personal record. And now, "comrades," what is the record, the **Socialist** record, of Lady Glen-Coats? Answer humbugs! Answer, apologists for the murder of our Anti-Fascist Jewish Comrades, Ehrlich and Alter! And incidentally explain the past flirtations with the Tory Duchess of Atholl.

In his most interesting Testament to "Democracy," the late Lord Wedgwood records this incident:—

Once, when I was at Gyor, in Bolshevik Hungary, I got talking to a man—or he got talking to me. My companions sheered off, nervous of my company, for the man was a propaganda agent, a job which has other less attractive titles. He asked me how I liked the country. I said: "Fine, but it is all so peaceful. You might drop the dictatorship business." He said: "Impossible! We could not maintain order without it." It seemed to me the order of dumb animals, so I said: "I prefer rebels to cabbages." Being a man of labels and erudition, he replied: "I see you are a follower of Bakounin. I believe in Karl Marx." I rather hope Stalin believes in himself. These post-mortem loyalties are so cramping.

We accept this dictum of Wedgwood. We believe in ourself and we decline to permit the hired apologists of dictatorship to select either our private companions or our platform associates for us. We object equally to all despotisms.

The "Daily Mirror," for November 1, 1943, among other papers gave an account of the dinner at the Kremlin:—

Marshal Stalin drank toasts to the Allied and Merchant Navies, and to the Army of General Montgomery at the dinner he gave to Mr. Eden and Mr. Cordell Hull at the Kremlin on Saturday night.

The dinner, which began at 8.30 p.m., ended at 2.30 yesterday morning.

There were more than twenty toasts—to President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, to the success of the Conference, and to Victory . . .

There were more than sixty guests.

Stalin sat in the centre as host. Mr. Hull was on his right and the British Ambassador, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, was on his left.

M. Molotov sat across the table from Stalin with Mr. Eden on his right.

Of course, all the guests represented the proletariat, the miners of Burnbank, etc. They had more in common with John Maclean than our murdered comrades, Ehrlich and Alter! What contemptible hypocrisy. Such is "Communism," 1943 brand!

On Monday, February 21, the editor addressed the Cowlairs Literary Society connected with Cowlairs Church of Scotland, Springburn. The minister, the Rev. C. Vincent Williams, M.A., presided. The speaker's subject was: "What Peace Means." Vigorous questioning followed the address. The society hopes to increase its influence in Glasgow and so hasten the establishment of a sane and peaceful society. Mr. Williams is a well-known Pacifist and Labourist and expresses his opinions clearly and vigorously.

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"LABOUR" LORDS

If the reader will turn to Appendix IX of *Socialism and Parliament*, Part I (*The Word Library*, 2nd Series, No. 4) they will read the official report and contemporary press accounts of the manner in which the Duke of Bedford took his seat in the House of Lords on December 3, 1941. The Duke affirmed instead of taking the oath and is the first Duke to affirm.

In the March, 1942, issue of *The Word* we criticised three new "Socialist" peers, created in December, 1941, who took their seats in the House of Lords with the usual ceremony and oaths, and made no protest against the oath-taking: which is an offence against Christian teaching and all Socialist tradition. The tendency of Socialism is to ally itself with Freethought, and the majority of Socialist pioneers, and the rank and file members of the Socialist movement, are Freethinkers. Most Socialists are Atheists. Until they reach the House of Lords few Socialists deny the fact of their Atheist sympathies.

Last month we commented on the new Socialist peers, Ammon and Westwood.

The following account of their seat-taking is culled from the *Official Report, Vol.* 130, *No.* 17 (*Hansard*):—

Wednesday, 2nd February, 1944.

The House met, The LORD CHANCELLOR on the Woolsack.

LORD WESTWOOD.

William Westwood, Esq., O.B.E., having been created Baron Westwood of Gosforth in the County of Northumberland—was (in the usual manner) introduced.

LORD AMMON.

Charles George Ammon, Esq., having been created Baron Ammon of Camberwell in the County of Surrey—was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Reporting these proceedings, the *Daily Sketch* said:—

Baron Ammon of Camberwell and Baron Westwood, of Gosforth, took their seats in House of Lords with the customary ceremony.

Scarlet and ermine robes concealed the identity of two men active in the Socialist world.

If one speaks on the same platform as these poor careerist creatures of capitalist political orthodoxy, and supports a Churchill candidate, one remains in the Labour Party. If one supports the Duke of Bedford in his defence of conscience and civil liberties, and his opposition to war, one is expelled from the "Socialist" movement! What a movement! What respect for integrity and sincerity.

We need Socialism. We need a great "Victory for Socialism" campaign. We need to launch again an intensive propaganda activity in the crusading spirit of the pioneers of the movement. In that campaign not men and women seeking place and conventional honour but persons of worth and integrity must have a place. Such folk will not fear to identify themselves with the Duke of Bedford, who is the outstanding spokesman of the Pacifist movement in Britain to-day, and its most fearless and consistent pamphleteer.

What a contrast! The Duke of Bedford is denounced by the millionaire and militarist press for opposing war and the destruction of mankind. He is ostracised for his stand against injustice and the persecution of conscience. Like the immortal Thomas Jefferson, he upholds freedom of the press and freedom of religion and the right of *Habeas Corpus*. He stands boldly before the world as a heretic. Insists on affirming and declines to take oaths, thereby sealing the great stand made by Charles Bradlaugh in the Commons.

Against him, on the side of the compact reactionary Tory majority are these Labour peers, manufactured to perpetuate war and the capitalist system; tamely taking their seats with alll the trappings of ceremony and all the usual oaths, outraging Truth and the Christian concept of God as the Father of ALL MANKIND, betraying the workers to whom they once uttered semi-class-war words of hatred; the workers whose past support explains their elevation.

With whom should the workers associate? These pensioned off, stupid, reactionary life Labour Peers, elevated because they have no male issue to succeed them, or the Duke of Bedford intent on world well-being, peace, and prosperity.

ON SOME PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

By W. B. CURRY.

[Reprinted from "The Monthly Record" of The South Place Ethical Society, February, 1944. All comrades Should secure this excellent magazine.—Ed.]

I wonder how many readers of *The Monthly Record* noticed in the newspayers two or three months ago an acocunt of some proceedings in the House of Commons that were at once comic and in their implications essentially tragic. I feel that they deserve further comment.

Captain Cunningham-Reid raised the question of the administration of a certain girls' hostel, and as part of his evidence as to the alleged mismanagement, he adduced the startling and horrifying facts, first, that when the matron's room had been cleaned, an empty spirits bottle had been found, and second, that she was known to have entertained a man in her room. As I read the tale of mounting infamy, I began to wonder whether he would not end by announcing that the matron had been seen wearing a pair of slacks, and actually smoking a cigarette. Captain Cunningham-Reid is not, it appears, a popular member of the House, and he was severely attacked, not on the grounds that his charges were trivial but on the ground that he could not substantiate them. Earl Winterton, after a slashing aattack on the gallant Captain, ended by saying that in impugning the matron's chastity he had made the "foulest accusation" that could possibly be made against a woman.

Why is all this nonsense taken seriously? Let u look at it more closely, and as becomes the page of *The Monthly Record*, more rationally than honorable and noble and gallant members seem capable of doing. An empty spirits bottle was found in the lady's room. I infer from this that she was accused of not being a teetotaller, and there exists within its precincts ample opportunities for the slaking of thirst. Most members of the House of Commons who are not teetotallers undoubtedly keep alcoholic refreshments in their own homes, and dispense them to friends. Why then should it be supposed that in mentioning the empty bottle Captain Cunningham-Reid was making a grave accusation against the lady? Couldn't empty bottles be found in most of our homes? Her room is presumably her home. Is it alleged that matrons ought not to drink alcohol, or that if they do, they must only drink in public? What is in fact alleged that is morally opprobrious? I confess that I am entirely at a loss to understand.

Secondly, the matron was alleged to have entertained a man in her room. Think of that! No evidence, so far as I know, was adduced as to what they did there. Apparently his mere presence was sufficiently shocking: Here again what is one supposed to infer? Is a grown-up woman not supposed to have men friends, or if she has them, is she only to see them in public, or if in private, suitably chaperoned? In which decade of which century are we now living?

And then let us suppose the worst. Let us suppose, as was apparently meant to be inferred, that her relations with the man were technically improper. Are grown-up people still expected to believe that what makes a sexual relationship good or bad is its technical propriety? And that this aspect takes precedence over all others? Is there any grown-up person yho has not known of technical improper relationships which had more elements of real value than many properly solemnized marriages?

But what most caused me to rub my eyes in all this was Earl Winterton's outburst about the "foulest accusation." Here is a world in which people are being killed, maimed, and tortured by the million; in which matrons and others maim the minds and bodies of children by cruelty, neglect, or the over-exercise of a moralistic sense of power; in which for the sake of dividends, human beings have been impoverished, degraded and tortured; in which the hopes and happiness of countless ordinary men and women have been treated as mere pawns in vast, cruel contests of power and ambition. And in the midst of all this we are solemnly told that to accuse a woman of unchastity is the worst thing you can say about her. And people still talk as if to be found guilty of one such act of unchastity was to be proved unfit for the exercise of any educational function. Isn't this plain nonsense, and shouldn't we all have the courage and sense to say so openly?

Finally, I should like to add a word about certain educational aspects of all this. The matron was in charge of girls, and they were girls who had got into difficulties. She would need to be a woman of broad human sympathies, with wisdom and kindness and tolerance and charity. She should be a woman capable of giving them affection without demanding any in return. She would need, in short, to be a complete and happy human being, as free as possible from repressions and frustrations in her own life. All this is surely commonplace to any informed educationist or psychologist. Are such people willing to accept the absurd conditions that the honourable members seem to think proper? What happens to grown-up people who are expected to live surrounded by these taboos? They become narrow-minded, warped, irritable, and envious of the happiness of others. They become, in fact, entirely unsuitable for the proper care of the young. Would it not, I suggest, have been more appropriate if members of the House of Commons, instead of being indignant with Captain Cunningham-Reid for making these grave charges unsupported by proper evidence, had howled him down with derisive laughter for thinking them worth making at all?

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THE EDUCATIONAL BILL

By J. W. H. BROWN

(Education Officer of the Rationalist Press Association).

[This statement has been issued by the R.P.A. as a leaflet and also published in "The Literary Guide." We are in favour of complete secular education and the total abolition of denominational schools.—Ed.]

In common with other progressive bodies we give a hearty welcome to the general educational proposals of the Bill which Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, has introduced into Parliament. To mention only two of its main features: we particularly commend the raising of the school leaving age, and the unifying of the elementary and secondary systems of education into one national system. But our satisfaction with the educational and administrative reforms must not blind us to the manifest defects of the proposals relating to religious instruction. These, in our opinion, will rivet more firmly than ever on the schools the fetters of clerical control. Here Mr. Butler has surrendered to the demands of a powerful minority whose vested interests he fortifies.

We find ourselves opposed to him most strongly on his proposals with regard to:

1. The compulsory provision that in every school the day shall begin "with a collective act of worship."
2. Dual Control.
3. Religious tests for teachers.

So far as religion in school is concerned, the most important Clause is 24. This proposes to make it compulsory for every State-aided school to begin each day "with a collective act of worship on the part of all pupils." The intention is obvious, but is foredoomed to failure in the long run. In the days of Queen Elizabeth there was an attempt by legislation to make everyone conform to the established Church, and penalties were imposed for non-attendance. It is difficult to find any difference in principle between the abortive Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and Mr. Butler's proposal. True, in the latter there is provision for the withdrawal of pupils from both religious worship and religious instruction, but in practice this concession, as is probably intended, is likely to be inoperative.

Further, while there are no stated penalties for withdrawal, it would be, to most children, and particularly to the sensitive ones, a very real and cruel penalty to be made to appear different from the general body of their companions. Most parents would shrink from exposing their children to it. In practice, therefore, the children are apparently to be indoctrinated by compulsion. What, then, becomes of the "freedom" of religion promised in the Atlantic Charter?

Few, if any, dispute that Dual Control has been the greatest obstacle to educational advance. It was widely hoped that the new Bill would make a clean sweep of this stumbling-block. The Education Authorities, the principal organizations of teachers, the Workers' Educational Association, the Council for Educational Advance are unanimous in condemning Dual Control; yet the Minister, in defence to Catholic and Church of England minorities, actually extends and entrenches this administrative anachronism. It is very disappointing.

Clause 14 sets up three categories of "auxiliary" (denominational) schools and lays down the conditions under which they are eligible to receive increased grants from public funds. This will still further complicate the administrative machinery, but it does something more fundamentally wrong: it gives larger sums of public money without a corresponding increase in public control. In effect it is using public funds to endow denominationalism.

The new Bill classifies "auxiliary" (i.e., denominational) schools as "aided," "special agreement," and "controlled."

In aided schools the managers will appoint the teachers. Salaries and other maintenance charges will be paid by the local education authority. The managers will receive from the Board of Education a grant of 50 per cent. of the cost of alterations to the school buildings; they will be responsible for external repairs only, and half the cost of these will be met by grants from the Exchequer.

Twothirds of the managers will be appointed by the denomination—"foundation managers"—and the other third by the local education authority. Religious instruction will be given in accordance with the trust deed, or previous practice. It would appear that, though paid from public sources, the teachers in all these schools will be subjected to religious tests.

The special agreement schools are those which are permitted to revive proposals made under the Education Act of 1936. Under this Act teachers are appointed by the local education authority. An agreed number of teachers in each school is "reserved" for the purpose of giving denominational instruction. In the appointment of these teachers the local authority must consult the managers. Obviously, religious tests will be imposed on these teachers.

In controlled schools (i.e., those anxiliary schools where the managers are unable or unwilling to provide half the cost of necessary alterations) the *whole* cost of upkeep falls on the local education authority, who will appoint and dismiss teachers. The number of "reserved" teachers must not exceed one-fifth of the total staff. In the appointment of reserved teachers the authority must "satisfy the foundation managers" of their fitness and competence to give denominational instruction in accordance with the trust deeds. Though the head teacher in these schools is not "reserved," the local authority must "consult" the managers about the appointment. Here we have religious tests for teachers in schools wholly supported from publilc funds. In these schools two-thirds of the managers are to be appointed by the local education authority; the other third are to be foundation managers (i.e., appointed by the denomination).

Clause 25 of the Bill makes provision, under certain conditions, for denominational religious instruction to be given in county secondary schools. These have never been voluntary schools, and therefore have never previously had such instruction. It is difficult to reconcile this uncalledfor extension of the Dual System with the statement of the Board of Education in the White Paper (par. 13) that the Dual System

"is inappropriate to present conditions and inconsistent with educational reconstruction and development."

It is equally difficult to understand why Mr. Butler has unconditionally surrendered to the denominationalists. A considerable and eminent section of the Church of England—for instance, the Modern Churchman's Union—would gladly see the Dual System go. Writing in *The Times* of December 23, Bishop Hensley Henson (Durham, 1920-39):

"It is certain that there is no general demand for denominational teaching among the parents of the children who attend the State schools. Personally, I much regret that Mr. Butler did not 'grasp the nettle' by making an end of the Dual System."

Even at this eleventh hour it is not too late. The Bill can be amended. But nothing will be done unless the opponents of Dual Control exert themselves. Members of Parliament react in proportion to the influence brought to bear on them by their own constituents. There has been much pressure exerted on them by supporters of the Churches. Rationalists have an opportunity to make their influence felt. If, in their thousands, they write to their representatives in Parliament the objectionable clauses of the Bill may be appropriately amended.

The opposition of the teaching profession to the subjection of its members to religious tests has repeatedly been expressed. Something might have been said for such tests in the days when the denominations found the greater part of the cost of upkeep of their schools; but since teachers have been paid entirely from public funds (i.e., since 1902) these tests are indefensible. Yet in more than half of the country's schools nearly all the teachers are directly or indirectly subjected to them.

The Bill does little to remove this infringement of the civil liberty of teachers. Clause 23 confers on the managers of "aided" schools the right to appoint teachers. This means that if, in all voluntary schools, the managers can find half the cost of new buildings or necessary alterations, all the teachers in the 12,900 departments of denominational schools will be appointed by the managers and therefore subject to religious tests. That is, public servants paid from public funds could not, whatever their academic and professional qualifications, obtain appointment in these schools unless they conform to the doctrines of the denomination concerned. This is a return to the long-discarded principles of the notorious Test Act of 1673. The effect on the promotion prospects of teachers is obvious. Unless they are practising members of the Church of England or of the Roman Catholic Church, teachers are ineligible for the headships of more than half the schools in the country. For be it noted that, even in "controlled" schools, Clause 26 provides that

"before appointing any person to be the head teacher of such a school the local education authority shall inform the managers or governors of the school as to the person whom they propose to appoint and shall consider any representations made by the managers or governors with respect to the proposed appointment."

That is likely to make inoperative, with regard to religious tests, the provision in the same clause that "the head teacher of a controlled school shall not be a reserved teacher." Here again a great opportunity has been lost by Mr. Butler.

All who value civil liberty must recognize their duty to oppose its infringement wherever and whenever it is threatened. They should take every available means of influencing their representatives in Parliament to support such amendment of the clauses of the Bill dealing with religious education as will (1) relieve the schools of the imposition of the proposed compulsory act of collective worship, (2) secure the abolition of Dual Control, (3) free teachers from religious tests.

PRAYER FOR WARRING NATIONS.

O Fierce God of Empire and Nation and State,
Proudly and gladly we sacrifice make.
Our young men are tortured and blinded and killed;
Their bodies lie rotting, for Thy Holy Sake.

The blood of our children is shed in their homes,
Our young girls are ravished and treated with shame,
The Years of our aged are bitter with grief,
And all to the glory of Thy Holy Name.

In return, thou shalt grant us the favours we ask,
Prestige, honour, victory, rule of the seas,
Profits and trade routes—above all, the power
To treat all the rest of the world as we please.

Our danghters' respect, the lives of our sons,
Compared to such riches we deem little worth.
Great God, we will sacrifice tenfold again
If thou wilt but help us to own the whole earth!

IVAN BEUTLER.

Our comrade, Councillor Edward Hunter, has sent us a beautiful volume for review, entitled "WHEN SLEEPS THE TIDE." This is a collection of music, songs and poems from his pen—all urging forward the Socialist struggle. We have promised to review this work at an early date and will do so. Meantime we suggest that our comrades might purchase this volume direct from the author: EDWARD HUNTER, 172 BRAIDCRAFT ROAD, POLLOK, NITSHILL, GLASGOW, S.3. The price is 7s 6d. Say, with postage, 8s. 0d. post free.

LANARKSHIRE U.S.M.

An account of the activity of the Lanarkshire group to date, and the splendid propaganda and practical work of their organising secretary, our comrade W. E. Currie, will appear in the April "Word." Meantime we ask all comrades who wish to assist in building and developing a sound working organisation, standing for Socialism and Pacifism, and seeking to redeem civilization by united working-class action, should Communicate with: W. E. CURRIE, 178 MUIR ST., MOTHERWELL, LANARKSHIRE.

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PACIFISM IN LIVERPOOL

Unity Hall, Liverpool, was crowded on Saturday, January 29th, when a very representative gathering of welfare workers came together to hear the story of the actual experiences of members of the Pacifist Service Units. Mrs. Irene Barclay (Housing Manager), London, dealt with the issues raised in the new book "Our Towns," and Mr. Michael Lee, M.A., spoke of the activities of the Unit working on Merseyside.

Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P. (Chairman), congratulated those conscientious objectors who were not satisfied with adopting a mere negative attitude to war and killing but who proved to the community by actual devotion to social problems that they were builders, and willing to sacrifice as much in the effort to save human life as the soldier did on the battlefield in destroying his foe. He had lived long enough to see the emergence of all our Social Insurance Schemes; and with some experience in administering cash benefits he had no hesitation in saying that there were still persons who fell between every stool provided by those schemes. He gave, as an example the awful consequences to the family and especially the children when the parents quarrelled and parted. The law, as yet, had not been able to deal effectively with this type of case. That fell to be dealt with by the social expert.

Mrs. Barclay said that better housing would go a long way to solve family difficulties; slums bred a slum mind and she blamed the owners of such dwellings for many of the calamities that befell the people living in them. The reactionary argument against better housing by telling the story of coal in the bath. It was time those who made that statement were asked to prove the assertion. In all her wide experience she had never yet seen that done.

Mr. Lee said that the Unit lived together in a hostel and fended for themselves. It was the custom for those in distress to go in search for help from the various societies catering for them. Members of the Unit, however, resersed the order; they went into the highways and byways to offer assistance to "problem" families and were always welcomed. Asked whether he had found opposition because they were C.O.s he replied "None; these poor people never bother about labels." One person, when told that the caller was a Pacifist retorted "I don't care; there is some good even in those Fascist chaps." She was obviously not concerned about the many "isms" that are current in politics.

PARLIAMENTARY PEACE AIMS GROUP

The Liverpool City authorities refused, when the first application was made, to lease the Hall and allow the meeting referred to in what follows; according to Press reports the City fathers feared a breah of the peace.

Further efforts were made and the Picton Hall, in the centre of the capital city on the Merseyside, witnessed an excellent gathering on Sunday afternoon, January 30th, 1944, when Mrs. Rosalind Rusbridge, B.A., L.R.A.M., occupied the chair, and Messrs. Rhys Davies, M.P., and R. R. Stokes, M.P., Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, were the speakers.

Incidentally, the Picton Hall was refused early on in the present war when Sir Hugh Roberton, Mr. Stuart Morris and Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., were to speak against Bombing. That meeting, however, held on the outskirts of the City, was quite a successful gathering and did not create any disturbance.

The meeting on January 30th, did not, as apprehended by the authorities give the slightest indication of rowdyism. Indeed, unless we are mistaken, we are more likely to see a breach of the peace in this country, not because speakers want to bring the war to a close but because those in authority are determined to drag it on unto what they call "Unconditional Surrender."

Comrade Rhys Davies, who spoke first, mentioned his travels in Europe. He had verified by experience what he had always believed, that the working class everywhere was the same. The workers do not make wars, the Governments of the countries make wars. He stood for the working man everywhere. He knew him to be basically decent in other countries in other countries as in this.

The present official policy of unconditional surrender could have no other outcome than to estrange those in the enemy countries, who, given the hope of a better world, would help to destroy fascism.

Mr. Stokes followed. He drew attention to the necessarily belligerent character of capitalist society. That is not its only evil, however. Why should men make a living out of "owning" the land which God gave to all men? In advocating change, he was not blind to the antipathy towards change felt by most people. They wanted change, but when the change pinched them somewhere, they wanted some change other than that one. "Change without change" is their motto.

When the speakers at the Picton Hall concluded their remarks and questions answered a man in the audience, quite spontaneously, asked if he could move a Resolution in favour of a Negotiated Peace. The platform interrupted and suggested that they must keep faith with the public; the meeting had been called to deal with Peace Aims and an appropriate resolution on that issue which ran as follows was carried with two dissentients:—

"That this meeting regrets that the maximum use is not made by His Majesty's Government and its allies of political and economic pronouncements to the peoples of the world in order to bring the present conflict, with its incalculable misery, destruction and waste, to an end at the earliest possible moment."

The resolution was carried without opposition.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH

We have received the following interesting letter from Charles Bradlaugh's grandson, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh Bonner:—

92 Fleet Street.
London, E.C.4.
Jan. 19, 1944.

Dear Sir,—I read with great interest Mr. Micklewright's article on my grandfather in your January issue. There was, however, one statement in it which indicated that the author was not well acquainted with one facet of Bradlaugh's expressed opinion, viz., "he was opposed to unionism and co-operation." My grandfather was not an individualist in the narrow sense of the label, otherwise his views on the land problem, labour problems, etc., would have been very different. He was opposed to Communism (the Socialism of to-day has moved multiform away from that position), to which his answer was "union and co-operation," as expressed in addresses to the Northampton electors and elsewhere.

I thank you and Mr. Micklewright for the sympathetic and generally excellent article.

Yours truly,
CHARLES BRADLAUGH BONNER.

PAYING FOR THE WAR

125 Church Lane,
Leeds, 6.
29th January, 1944.

To the Editor.

Dear Sir,—May I through your columns first thank His Grace the Duke of Bedford for his favourable review of my pamphlet "Paying for the War," and then reply to the technical criticism of my explanation of bank loans on page 11. The second paragraph on page 11 states:—

"The banks create the credit just as effectively as if they printed new notes or minted new coins. This is not generally realised, because the banks encouraged the belief that bank loans are like loans by individuals. The fallacy of this belief can be easily exposed. When an individual lends money he parts with the money and his pocket book or bank balance is reduced by that amount. When a bank lends credit no account is reduced but a new account is opened. The bank actually does not part with anything, but gives the borrower permission to write cheques up to the limit of the loan."

This I contend is technically more correct then His Grace's statement:—

"They (the banks) create new money for lending," and does not call for his comment that "banks do not lend their deposits at all."

The above paragraph is in itself not sufficient explanation of bank procedure for the ordinary reader, who might be granted a bank loan of £100, and take some of it away with him in used notes; therefore further down page 11 I show how deposits, reserves and loans increase step by step. I believe that this explanation is technically sound and of vital importance as propaganda. The banks do not lend their deposits, but they do lend the money deposited. That is the point I emphasised on page 11, and I am afraid that that is the point His Grace missed.

Yours faithfully,
WILFRED TOWNEND.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

MAN STUDIES LIFE by G. N. Ridley.

THE OUTLINES OF MYTHOLOGY by Lewis Spence. Watts & Co. 2/6d. each. Postage 2d. extra.

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THE LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship seeks to associate those members of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations whose convictions preclude their endorsement of War and who endeavour in consistency with their Socialist Faith to encourage elements of social and international sanity essential to constructive Peace; to safeguard and improve the well-being of the working class; and to seek the achievement of a Socialist Commonwealth.

We believe that social structures incorporating traditions or assumptions of exploitation, aggression and tyranny as predominant characteristics of humanity are false to true human fulfilment and that Man can and must transform his society, so that democracy, social justice and fraternal co-operation prevail.

We hold that modern war endangers even those high principles for which this war is allegedly waged, involves incalculable destruction, waste and misery, perverts the capacity for creative effort and stimulates perilous, impulsive, cynical or reactionary tendencies.

We fully recognise that any alternative to war demands drastic exemplary social and economic change, persistent promotion of international equity and co-operation, profound confidence in the ultimate triumph of resolute goodwill and the necessity of disciplined non-violent resistance to recognised iniquity. We appreciate that as yet only a small minority can accept this conviction, but we desire whenever possible to work with other Labour Party comrades in loyal service to common purposes that will secure peace, justice and dignity for mankind.

PRESIDENT:—Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

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Every reader of "The Word" who wishes to become a member of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship should make out a slip like the following (if they do not wish to spoil the valuable pages of this journal) and post it to MISS ETHEL WATTS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, L.P.F., MANTLES HOUSE, HYDE HEATH, AMERSHAM, BUCKS.

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CORRECTION. Last issue. Page 84, line 13, for "Is it possible" line reads "It is possible."

Rev. CHARLES COLE.

Our Unitarian contemporary, "the Inquirer," in its issue for February 26, notes ordination of our comrade, Charles H. Cole, as minister of the Humanist Society of Friends:—

PORTSMOUTH.—The American Humanist Society of Friends has added the name of Mr. C. H. Cole, lay pastor in charge at Portsmouth, to its ministerial list. Mr. Cole has received the congratulations of the congregation.

Mr. Cole's career as a minister and pacifist propagandist was detailed in our last issue. Next month he will contribute a further article on Humanism to these columns.

The Duke of Bedford has written a review of Wilfred Wellock's new pamphlet, "A Mechanistic or a Human Society?" This will appear next month. The Book is published by the author at 12 VICTORIA AVENUE, QUINTON, BIRMINGHAM, 32. Post Free, 1s. 2d.

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WAR AIMS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

[The speech to which this article refers was made in the House of Lords on Wednesday, March 8, as the Government reply to the Duke of Bedford's War Aims motion. Lord Bruntisfield will be better known as Sir Victor Warrender, Tory M.P. Grandson of the 8th Earl of Shaftesbury, and nephew of the 9th Earl, he represents the influence of the aristocracy in politics. Although born in 1899, he remains a typical hide-bound Tory and has a Primrose League outlook. Unlike many of his colleagues, he has never shown any enthusiasm for Fascism or Nazism, but has been a consistent Tory anti-Socialist of the old Imperialist school. He has no message for the working class and is opposed to their struggle towards social emancipation. But not more so than the careerist Labour Leaders and ex-Trade Union champions who now sit in the Upper House as his war-time colleagues. On the other hand, unlike many members of the Tory Party, he has never flirted with Hitler or Mussolini.—Ed.]

Lord Bruntisfield was of opinion that if my advice had been followed the Government would not now occupy a position on the hilltop on which he believes it to be standing. This is undoubtedly true, for the "hill-top" appears to me to be one of the summits of cloud cuckoo-land, or the kind of mountain which one climbs on one side by a gradual slope to find oneself confronted by a sheer precipice on the other.

Lord Bruntisfield's repeated emphasising of the devotion of the Allied nations to the principles of the Atlantic Charter is too palpably ridiculous to deserve more than a very brief comment. The attitude of the Soviet Government and its Press towards Poland and the Baltic States and those economic "straws in the wind" to which I made reference in my speech, and with which Lord Bruntisfield, in his ignorance of financial matters, made not the slightest attempt to deal, show how much is likely to be left of the moral principles of the Atlantic Charter in the event of complete military victory being secured for the Allies. Moreover, I am by no means alone in my views as to the fate which the Atlantic Charter has already suffered. Some members even of the House of Commons appear to realise it almost as plainly as I do.

Lord Bruntisfield suggested that, when I was dealing with economic matters, I had in mind, for the post-war world, an "expansionist" policy. This is not the case. I had in mind something much newer, more fundamental and infinitely more useful. An "expansionist" policy is the old familiar dodge whereby Orthodox Finance prevents the demise of the industrial goose which lays for it golden eggs. It is the temporary palliative which prevents the complete breakdown of its rotten system and the awakening of the long-suffering and ignorant public to the racket which has exploited them for so many years. An expansionist policy means that considerable sums of new money are created by bank loans for production, on which interest is paid; and by bank purchases of securities, the process being started by the Bank of England, which increases the supply of those kinds of money which are known as "cash reserves" and which enable the commercial banks to create still further sums of money. The creation of this new money, albeit carried out in a clumsy and unsatisfactory manner, gives a certain fillip to industry and brings about a modification in slump conditions which is honoured by the name of a trade 'boom.' Such a trade boom, it will be remembered, occurred for a short period after the last war, and it is not surprising to learn that the financiers of Britain and America, fearing open rebellion on the part of the returning members of the Services if they are immediately condemned to too serious a degree of poverty, have decided to repeat the experiment. Under the existing financial system, however, a slump sooner or later follows a boom, as surely as night follows day. A continuation of boom conditions is only possible under a system where the money-supply is adjusted to the maximum output and import of real wealth in the form of desired goods and services and where money is created not in the form of debt, and to finance consumption as well as production. Under the orthodox system which Lord Bruntisfield and his colleagues in the Government desire to preserve, the climax to the boom is reached in one of two ways, or, it may be, by a combination of both. A system which enables the greater part of the existing output of goods to be bought at a fair price only so long as new money is being created to finance a still further extension of industry, breaks down when the point is reached when it is felt to be doubtful whether the goods resulting from this further extension of industry will be desired and therefore saleable. Alternatively, the financiers may decide that industrialists are getting too prosperous and too independent and no longer come to them with sufficient frequency to borrow money at interest. In either case steps are taken to put the financial system into reverse. The Bank of England reduces the amount of those kinds of money which are known as cash reserves, and the commercial banks begin calling in loans and destroying the money represented by the principal, while few new loans are granted. The result of all this destruction of money is to knock the bottom out of the market and spread poverty and unemployment in every direction, just as happened after the last war in conjunction with a return to the Gold Standard.

Lord Bruntisfied went on to deliver an attack on Social Credit, under the belief that I had been advocating Social Credit measures. Had he been less profoundly ignorant on the whole question of monetary reform, he would have been aware that the two policies are distinctive of Social Credit —the Price Discount (a kind of subsidy paid to

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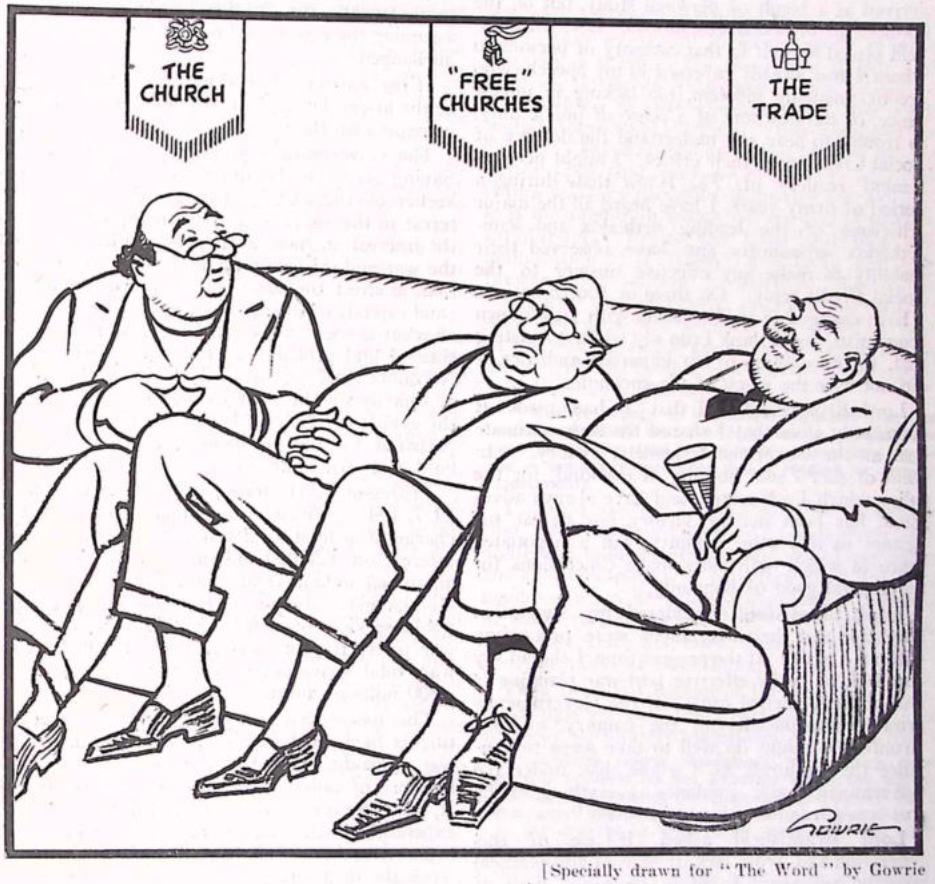

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by Gowrie

"Everything I meet with seems to carry this voice with it: 'Go thou and preach the Gospel; be a pilgrim on earth; have no certain dwelling place.'

"My heart echoes back: 'Lord Jesus, help me to do or suffer Thy Will. When Thou seest me in danger of nestling,—in pity, in tender pity, put a thorn in my nest to prevent me from it.'"

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (Dissenter), 1714—1770.

The Brotherhood of Creed and Greed in Council. The Spirit Divine and The Spirit of Wine. Consider the call of the War Profits.

retailers who have reduced their prices to consumers, with new, non-debt and non-taxation money), and the National Dividend (a kind of pension made with non-debt and non-taxation money, either to all citizens or to all citizens in a certain category). To neither of these proposals of Social Credit, excellent as they are, have I as yet made any reference in the House of Lords and I have been careful to confine myself to the advocacy of general measures and principles which have the support of *all* enlightened monetary reform movements, including the London Chamber of Commerce. The vicious attack delivered on Social Credit by Government spokesmen was, however, an excellent tribute to the merits of Major Douglas's scheme, and, by basing his criticism, not on any opinions at which he had arrived as a result of personal study, but on the opinions of orthodox economists,* Lord Bruntisfield placed himself in that category of persons to whom I had already referred in my speech, who are too mentally indolent, too lacking in intelligence, or too destitute of a sense of public duty, to trouble to hear and understand the defence of Social Creditors to their critics. I might perhaps remind readers of *The Word* that, during a period of many years, I have heard all the major criticisms of the leading orthodox and semi-orthodox economists and have observed their inability to make any effective answer to the Social Credit reply. On three or four occasions I have engaged in public debate with well-known economists, and I think I can say without boasting that, in the opinion of an impartial audience, I did not have the worst of the encounter.

Lord Bruntisfield said that I had made it abundantly clear that I shared the same ultimate goal as the Government, namely, victory. In point of fact I said nothing of the kind, for the policy which I advocated, and have always advocated, has been neither victory nor defeat for Britain or any other country, but a negotiated peace in which both sides make concessions for the general good of humanity.

Lord Bruntisfield considered my suggestion laughable that the Government were proceeding without a plan. At the present time, I should say that lack of really effective post-war planning is one of the principal causes of the Government's growing unpopularity in the country, so Lord Bruntisfield might do well to take steps to convince the electorate as a whole that, under the Government's able guidance, everything in the post-war garden is going to be lovely!

Lord Bruntisfield asked, if we of this generation fail, from lack of realism and political sagacity, yet again to profit from the fruit of bitter experience, what hope there is that civilisation can progress or even survive. A most admirable sentiment! But it is precisely this lack of realism and political sagacity which the Government have been displaying to an outstanding degree, and the whole object of my speech was to make a final, and urgent, appeal that this blindness should not continue.

***The universal hostility of orthodox and semi-orthodox economists to monetary reform is due to the fact that those interested in the preservation of the existing system take care to see that no one is appointed to a post which will give him the name of an economist of national repute unless, either he is in sympathy with the existing system, or, from a "Left" approach, can be relied upon to keep people barking up, what is largely the wrong tree, at "private ownership" and "industrial profit." Most economists, also have pet remedies of their own for existing evils and, until they have seen these tried without success, they will not look at anyone else's suggestions, even when these are superior to their own and go more to the very root of the trouble.**

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MONEY MATTERS

By PAUL D. ABBOTT.

In a recent legal case, "Re Eumorfopoulos," heard in the Chancery Division on 29th October last, a testator died in 1939 leaving certain works of art valued by expert valuers for probate at just under £10,000. In June, 1940, these articles were sold and realised more than £29,000 in excess of the valuation. Evidence was given that the difference was due to the fact that the value of works of art had greatly appreciated by June, 1940, owing to fears of inflation.

The degree of inflation then anticipated was roughly that the value of the £ would be about 5/-. If the buyers held on to the works of art until after the war, are they likely to be the losers, assuming the relative value of the articles remains unchanged?

If the war were to end now I think they would be the losers, but the ratio of inflation is bound to increase with the duration.

The Government's policy in stimulating War Saving seems to be designed to make people keener on the war, by giving them a vested interest in the survival of British capitalism. But the interest on these savings has to be paid after the war and this can only be done by inflation, so that, in effect, the purchasing power of the income (and capital) of the savings will only be a fraction of what it was. This will lead to people feeling cheated and probably, at least, a financial crisis. No doubt the capitalists will then load the burden of remedy on the Socialists and try and repeat the events of 1926/31. It is up to Socialists to be prepared for this occasion and to meet it with bold and wise changes of financial policy.

Professor J. H. Jones, in "The Accountant," 24/7/1943, estimates an annual post-war debt charge of at least £1,200 millions. This includes interest on £20,000 millions at 3 per cent. and an annual sinking fund charge of nearly as much. He also estimates an average annual charge for public services of at least £1,000 millions at pre-war prices if promises are to be fulfilled. Pre-war total Government expenditure was about £800 millions annually.

This means that post-war government expenditure is likely to be 2½ times as much as pre-war expenditure, and if this is taken to be the measure of inflation the £ would be worth 7/3. It must, however, be realised that the increased expenditure will raise the national income, but in order that there shall be a financial incentive to work the debt charge must only be a small proportion of the national income, hence the need for inflation. It is unlikely that a sterner treatment of unearned income for taxation could altogether solve the matter, as there would remain the problem of capital repayment.

A distinguished accountant some months ago saw an advertisement: "Buy National Savings Certificates. A rattling good profit free of Income Tax." His remark was, "the future Chancellor that is called upon to produce the profit will certainly be rattled."

And, in fact, Lord Kindersley, head of the National Savings Committee said that inflation was always round the corner.

In addition to this problem, the country's real wealth has diminished as a result of the war and it has lost its unearned increment from abroad in the shape of interest on investments (which means free imports). The average age of the population is also tending to rise and its incentive to work consequently diminishing. Under a sane system there would be little about which to be concerned in these facts, and in any case it is doubtful whether Britain is justified in maintaining a heavy population which she does only by exploiting the rest of the world. But the decline of Britain is liable to be a very painful business, perhaps involving starvation, and we have a duty to foresee the troubles lying ahead and to minimise these difficulties by putting our house in order by increasing equality both internally and internationally.

This can only be done by realising the wisdom of adopting Christian principles and by being willing to give and help while we have the chance. Already the lack of faith between the United Nations has been demonstrated by their failure to co-operate in an international monetary scheme such as the White or Keynes plan, and it is hardly surprising that Christian principles do have hard work to enter into capitalist agreements, especially when these are the proposed outcome of a war.

CATHOLICISM & CONSCIENCE

Dear Mr. Aldred,—As the four-times great grand nephew of a Sicilian Cardinal Archbishop on the distaff side but myself neither a Christian nor a Catholic, I must I think point out that your excellent correspondent, Mr. William Speirs is not quite fair to the Church. The "Universe" cuts very little ice with educated and cultivated Catholics whom I have heard say very—and justly—severe things about it. Journals such as "The Tablet" are quite admirable for their sanity balance and fairness, not to mention "The Catholic Herald" and "Catholic Times," which are both coats of very much another colour from the "Universe." Indeed one of these latter a short while ago—I think it was the "Catholic Herald"—gave a long series of quotations from recognised Doctors, Fathers and theologians of the Church on the subject of War and just as many were absolute and total in their condemnation of it as not, and further a number declared that a Catholic was guilty of mortal sin if he was convinced that his Government was waging an unjust war and he took part in it himself. The article concluded by saying that the Church did not lay down the law about the matter either one way or the other.

As for the "patriotic" mouthings of local-national clergy one has only to contrast these with the utterances of the reigning Pontiffs of the two "Wars for Freedom and Democracy." How different is the attitude of the supreme authority in the Church upon the matter.

Of course no one would or could deny that the average member of the various local-national Catholic clergy is the same unscrupulous time-server and toady to the Governmental powers that be as all the rest of them. The cream of the jest is the fact that the utterances of those on either side cancel each other out as authoritative "spiritual" guidance to their flocks in the war-mongering matter. Thus: a priest (a) in England declares that the war is a "just" war and that it is the duty of the members of his flock to accept his ruling; and priest (b) on the other side, declares the same thing to HIS flock, as he certainly will (vide the patriotic-chauvinistic attitude of some of the Italian clergy in the infamous Abyssinian "empire-building" business). Obviously the two rulings of the opposing priests make nonsense of each other.

But, as there are better and truer Christian and Catholic priests in the Catholic Church than blasphemous blood-maniacs like those two choice specimen described by Mr. Speirs, so too in the English Church are to be found, in contrast to the bloodthirsty Archbishops, such admirable and noble priests and humane Christians as the Rev. H. L. Le Mesurier and "Dick" Sheppard.

To turn to quite a different topic, I wonder if you Sir, and your readers, noticed the priceless "give-away" by His Excellency Monsieur Molotoff in the "Telegraph" of February 2nd?

In the course of an address to the various Presidents of the constituent States of the U.S.S.R., this person actually had the impudence to adduce it as evidence of how much better things were to-day under Czar Stalin than under the other older Czars, that the Asiatic nationalities who under the latter were exempt from the conscription infamy were now conscripted as all the rest of the serfs of the present Czar, adding that no discrimination on the score of nationality was made in the U.S.S.R.

That is to say, that, whereas the old regime preserved some small modicum of decency, and realised the gross impropriety of coercing its Asiatic subjects into fighting for it, the new one had so far "improved" things that this small concession to human decency had been abolished and ALL the wretched subjects of the present Czar brought equally under the thumb of Moscow.

As a specimen of combined humourlessness and shameless impudence this contention would be hard to beat in any Imperialistic country. Mr. Churchill could hardly surpass it.

Yours very cordially,

K. S. SORABJI.

London, N.W.1.

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HUMANITY, ART AND WAR

An Enquiry into the Sanctity of Human Life as opposed to the sanctity of Monasteries, Cathedrals and other works of art.

BY COUNCILLOR CHARLES A. EARL

On Wednesday, the 16th February, 1944, in the House of Lords, Lord Lang of Lambeth had the following Notice on Paper:—

"To call attention to the importance of preserving objects of special historical or cultural value within the theatres of war and to ask His Majesty's Government what measures they have taken or propose to take for this purpose."

The noble Lord opened his speech by saying:

My Lords, I rise to call attention to the importance of preserving objects of historic or cultural value within the theatres of war. Perhaps I ought to have added to the Motion the words "SUBJECT TO OVERRIDING MILITARY NECESSITY," but I hope that those words will be regarded as governing anything I have to say.

It will be remembered that Lord Lang of Lambeth was until comparatively recently better known as "His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury." I have searched in vain for any statement of his, showing concern for the homes and lives of the ordinary people; and his successor the present Archbishop of Canterbury, giving an address over the wireless on the 26th December, 1943, in speaking of our bomber crews, said, "We are bound to take satisfaction in their achievements." As we all know, those achievements consist of the obliteration of great cities such as Hamburg, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Lubeck and now of course Berlin, and as the industrial centres of all such cities are the most densely populated and chiefly by the working class, it is they who are obliterated, and who, Lord Lang insists, must be obliterated because of overriding military necessity. It is also an achievement in which, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we are bound to take satisfaction. Can anything be more amazingly callous than the concern Lord Lang expressed for the Vatican City and Rome. He says of Rome:

I need not remind your Lordships that it is the object of veneration by millions of our fellow Christians in all parts of the world.

Lord Lang continued his lamentations, and recalled that his

Noble friend, Viscount Fitzalan, said that it would be deplorable both on religious grounds also on cultural grounds, if any damage were done to the City of Rome. It must have been a satisfaction to him to hear the assurance given him by my noble friend the Leader of the House that it was not the intention of His Majesty's Government to drop bombs on the Vatican City nor, so far as it could be avoided, on the City of Rome.

What greater or more sacred treasures can the Vatican City or Rome hold, than the lives of God's children in Berlin, London, Cologne, Coventry and all the other obliterated cities? Is there anything more worthwhile than mothers and babies? Yet I can find no plea for these in the Noble Lord's speech. mass murder presumably is not deplorable on religious or cultural grounds. I suppose mothers and babies are to be overridden by military necessity!

Lord Lang speaks of Assissi and St. Francis. How appalled and shocked the spirit of St. Francis must be if it can hear the ex-Primate's concern for the memories of St. Francis and observe his complete disregard for the children. How different from the loving concern Jesus showed "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Perhaps Lord Lang feels that if Jesus had been on earth to-day, he would have excluded the little ones of German nationality from the Kingdom of Heaven!

The speech goes on, "Must we not think with dismay of the possibility of any of these wonderful creations and expressions of the human spirit being damaged and destroyed by the ravages of war?" The fact that millions of human beings, each of them an expression of the divine spirit, are being damaged or destroyed, is of no particular importance, military necessity overrides those. Jesus said "I am the Way." He also said "Resist not that which is evil," but he did not add "**subject to overriding military necessity.**"

I don't know what Lord Winster would have said to Jesus, because this Noble Lord considers it more important to be "judicious," than to be courageous and sincere. In this respect he differs entirely from Jesus. Also the Noble Lord does not love his enemies, and he most certainly believes in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. For example, he said:

"It is all very well to be concerned over the fate of Hamburg and the 28,000 people who were killed there, but why not mention the 30,000 killed in Rotterdam?"

Does the fact that 28,000 people were killed in Hamburg by British or American boys, help the 30,000 who were killed in Rotterdam by German boys; and even more important, does the fact that 30,000 people were murdered in Rotterdam justify the murder of 28,000 in Hamburg? Lord Winster thinks it does. Jesus certainly would not, and as for Lord Lang, if it is a military necessity then it is just too bad for the people of Hamburg, and the Archbishop of Canterbury feels bound to take satisfaction in the achievement. Lord Winster said:

"I remember when the Germans were invading Russia they did not hesitate to defile and desecrate the home of Tolstoy, one of the greatest apostles of peace who have ever lived."

Imagine Tolstoy's pleasure if he knew that he had been avenged by having thousands of Germans blasted to death?

Lord Winster did not say one word about the Russians blasting the homes of the Finnish people, although at that time our Prime Minister called the Russians "bloody baboons" and the churches held special services and prayed special prayers for Finland. But I expect it is not "judicious" to speak about that now. It is apparently quite in order and good Christian practice to bomb Helsinki now, and Sir Walter Citrine the well-known trade union leader will not have to walk the streets of that city and observe with pain the results of the devilish and ferocious bombing done by the godless Russians. That was only necessary in the early days of the war. I wonder whether Lord Lang would say that the bombing of Helsinki was an "overriding military necessity?"

Lord Winster admits quite frankly that we cannot discriminate in our bombing. He says:

"If you know that a certain town is producing a large volume of munitions how can you possibly tell which parts to bomb and which parts to leave alone in order to destroy that production?"

Quite, how can you? I have often asked that question when the Government has insisted that we always hit "military objectives," but I do not remember Lord Lang ever asking that question, nor his successor, the present Archbishop of Canterbury. But then Archbishops are bound to take satisfaction in our bombers' achievements, and after all, although it is by no means a record for our bombers, to kill 28,000 of God's children in a single city is a tremendous achievement. The God of Abraham was made of less stern stuff than the Archbishop. You will remember that Abraham asked God when speaking of the city of Sodom, "Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?" and God promised to spare the city if ten righteous people were found there. I wonder if the Commander of our Air Forces took the trouble to find out if there were ten righteous people in Hamburg! Perhaps his spiritual adviser the Archbishop of Canterbury forgot to remind him that that was a very proper question to ask. On the other hand they may have known that there were no righteous people in Hamburg and blasted the city accordingly. Hamburg babies must of course be dreadfully evil creatures, not only were they "born in sin," like all babies, but their fathers and mothers were Germans. Then again it may have been a case of overriding military necessity, so of course mothers and babies couldn't expect anything else but extermination, could they?

The official report of the House of Lords suggested that 74,000 people had been killed and 3,000,000 rendered homeless in Berlin alone; this was up to February 16th and the Prime Minister in the House of Commons spoke of the honour of bombing Berlin (to the glory of God, I suppose) so apparently when military necessity necessitates the wholesale slaughter of thousands of God's children, it is conferring an honour on the people who perform this un-Christian work. Let us therefore take satisfaction in their achievements as the Archbishop of Canterbury tells us we are bound to do. Now thank we all our God!!!

To get back to Lord Winster. He sees nothing to take exception to in the spirit of such remarks as these: "Let them have it, they did it to us, let us do it to them." Of course he sees nothing to take exception to. How very foolish Jesus was to suggest "turning the other cheek." The Archbishop of Canterbury knows better than that, and we need have no overriding military necessity to justify our actions. It is an honour in which we are bound to take satisfaction. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition!!! When Lord Lang first put forward his motion he omitted the words "subject to overriding military necessity," and they were not printed; but when he rose to address the noble assembly he corrected his error, and the Lord Chancellor very magnanimously forgave him by saying:

"Really, nobody in his senses supposed that the noble and MOST REVEREND Lord or anybody else was advocating that our military operations should be in some way restricted out of respect for ancient monuments."

I should say not! How silly not to realise that the ex-Archbishop of Canterbury, the noble and most reverend Lord would not allow ancient monuments to interfere with the war machine, when he will not even allow the lives of babes to interfere with it. It is comforting to realise that the Lord Chancellor knew so well the mind of Lord Lang.

Then the Lord Bishop of Birmingham spoke. He suggested that the Christian position had not been adequately understood. He said that:

"Christian people throughout the country were gravely troubled by the direction which the war is taking. That among Christian men and women there was great sadness, much searching of heart, pride in the courage of their boys, sorrow at the work they are given to do."

How strange his words seem when we remember the Prime Minister has stated it was an honour to bomb Berlin; and how different from his spiritual leader the Archbishop of Canterbury who said: "We are bound to take satisfaction in their achievements."

Can it be that parents disagree with the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury? Else how can they feel sorrow at the work their sons are given to do, and at the same time take satisfaction in it? Isn't it puzzling, but there I suppose the Archbishop knows best. It is quite obvious, according to him, that Jesus' command to love our enemies is just plain nonsense. The Lord Bishop of Birmingham quotes Jesus again. "Put up thy sword into its sheath"; and he goes on to state that the Government says:

"This is not practical politics, that Might is Right; that Might defends Right; Yes, then the Christian remembers, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord of Hosts."

He reminded the Noble Lords that for the first three centuries the Christian church adopted the policy of passive acceptance of wrong and in the end against the might of the whole Roman Empire they won. Such words must have seemed very out of place in the House of Noble Lords.

As a result of all this discussion those responsible for our broadcast talks arranged for a Labour M.P., Comrade J. J. Lawson, member for Chester-le-Street, to give the postscript on Sunday, February 20th. His theme was the sanctity of human life. He deplored the fact that there had been any protests about the bombing of monasteries and other architectural

treasures. He said he had seen Durham Cathedral's great towers, poems in stone infinitely moving, but to compare those things with the wonder of those naked bodies he had seen do such testing things in the mine, well that was asking too much. He added:

"The false view that the creations of man were more important than man himself had been responsible for much misery in modern times. It poses for the modern world the old question: What does it profit if we gain the whole world and lose our sons from generation to generation?"

All that sounds extremely well and like a true Socialist should speak, but I must draw attention to the fact that although he talks about the sanctity of human life, Brother Lawson makes no protest about the hundreds of thousands of human lives being destroyed in Germany.

Perhaps there is no sanctity about German lives, or does military necessity override the brotherhood of man that we Socialists say we believe in? Brother Lawson said "It was common belief that 'God made man in His own image' that 'we are a little lower than the angels and crowned with glory and honour.'" Not a word about the wonder of the bodies of the babes in Hamburg, Berlin, etc., that God made in His own image and who are a little lower than the angels and crowned with glory and honour; or aren't they? My sincere hope is that the Bishop of Birmingham is correct when he says that "Christian people are gravely troubled at the direction the war is taking." Was the fact that the Bishop of Chichester recently protested in the House of Lords against indiscriminate bombing a sign that there is a spiritual awakening to the horror and wickedness that abounds? Let us hope that it may be so and that all people will at last be brought to realise how incredibly evil and stupid it all is. Those fine words of J. G. Whittier always have a great appeal for me, and I am sure that they contain the only sort of spirit that can bring freedom from the tyranny of war and lead mankind at last to everlasting peace.

"O brother men fold to thy heart thy brother,
Where pity dwells the peace of God is there.
Follow with reverent steps the great example
of Him whose holy work was doing good.
Then shall all shackles fall, the stormy clangour
of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease.
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace."

TO THINKING READERS.

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WAR.

(Translated from the German by MICHAEL BULLOCK).

He is risen who for long has been asleep,
Risen from far under in the cloudy deep.
He, the great unknown one, in the twilight stands,
And the moon he crushes in his jet black hands.

Upon the city's evening din there falls a hush,
The chill and shadow of a strange gloom on it crush.
And the market's whirling round is frozen in a daze;
All is still. Men look about—in ignorant amaze.

Already on the mountains he is striking up the dance,
Crying: "Ye warriors all, advance, advance!"
And there is a rattling when his black head he shakes,
For round his neck a garland of a thousand skulls he makes.

GEORGE HEYM.

RELIGION AND WAR

By C. H. NORMAN

The articles and correspondence which appeared sometime back in "The Daily News" on the subject of "God and the War" reminded one that there was a great gap in critical literature on the point of the relationship between the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the continuation of war in human society. No scholar has ever examined impartially, or partially, into the question of how far the religious doctrine of the immortality of the soul has contributed towards the perpetuation of war as a tolerated form of human activity.

Yet there are certain obvious facts which strike the mind of anyone who has looked into this rather dreadful topic, one being the prevalence of the practice among primitive tribes and races of burying with the dead warrior the weapons of mortal use in the expectation that they will be at hand in some other sphere into which the warrior is expected to pass. The question which faces the inquirer is whether the knowledge that life was certain to end in this world would take away from mankind the taste for slaughter; as compared with the religious conception that death on the battlefield is a way of ensuring a rapid passage to some blissful existence far beyond the satisfactions of the world known to mankind. There can be no doubt that the conception of the immortality of the soul has acted as a force favourable to war, as religious or priestly sanction has always been given to war and the use of arms (with some slight exceptions) as an occupation of honour against which no valid moral criticism can be made. There is also the curious psychological circumstance that few soldiers ever believe that they, as individuals, will be killed: they think the heavy hand of Death will be laid on other shoulders than theirs. It is also certain that the acts of soldiers in war establish that the commandment or moral direction against killing has in fact never won general acceptance from mankind.

It is strange how dissatisfaction with the conditions ruling the lives of the masses of mankind in this world has proved fruitful ground for the growth of the conception of some other world more satisfactory to their longings. Yet few people have ever faced this notion in its full implications. What kind of world can it be in which the individual soul divided from a decayed body can be supposed to exist? None of those who profess to be in communication with the next world, who claim the capacity of speaking with the dead, ever pretend that their communicants in or from the other world give any intelligible account of any meeting with the leading figures of the theological world such as the Angel Gabriel, the Virgin Mary, the Apostle John, Moses, Mahomet, St. Peter, or Jesus Christ. Nor has any description of the appearance or nature of God or the Supreme Creator or Authority in this other world been offered. The explanation for this reticence possibly may be that spiritualism is merely another type of self-deception. The mediums employed for communication with the other world, only being able to rely upon their experience of the known world, cannot pass on anything which is outside their everyday knowledge, since their supposed communication with the other world is delusion, fraud, or self-deception. The undoubted fact remains that spiritualistic literature is silent upon the nature of life in the other world or of the beings, if any, that inhabit it.

The reading of such a book as T. S. Eliot's "The Testament of Immortality" does not really enlighten the mind on the fundamental issue of whether human conduct in this world has any relation to the existence of any other world. A convincing answer to the concept of the immortality of the soul is found in the general behaviour of human beings in their life on this earth. It is inconceivable that people should behave as they do in this world had they any **real** conviction in conscience on the subject of an immortal life in another sphere, for which they were supposed to fit themselves by their conduct and demeanour on this earth. The panoply of the princes of the churches is totally inconsistent with any such belief.

The candid mind, however, must recognise that, among the features of human character, is that one which leads its owner into a blind rush into the turmoil of war. Fear, rather than courage, is the psychological basis of organised militarism. It is fear of the enemy, fear of losing what is possessed, fear of consequences of abstaining from warlike activity, rather than the exercise of cool judgment, which is the operative factor in maintaining the grip of militarism psychologically on mankind. Religion (which is a Latin word meaning fear of the gods) also exploits the fears of mankind in much the same way as organised militarism does. Hence when war comes, the cleric and the colonel are hand in glove in their menaces against any form of criticism aimed against the practice of war. The moral duties of mankind as preached by the clergy in peace-time cease to exist in war-time, with the connivance of these same clergy. Religion by its propaganda of the immortality of the soul, is a powerful element in moderating the fear of death which is latent in the minds of most men and women. The writer once asked several officers of high rank what would be the response should they ask volunteers for a military project in which it was **certain** that all the participants would be killed in its actual execution. The unanimous answer was that none would volunteer: they pointed out that the whole principle of the "forlorn hope" was that there was "hope," whereas the proposition put involved that there was no hope of any kind. Religion, by its assertion of immortality for those who die on the battlefield, by its blessing the murderous activities of the State, has contributed much towards the maintenance of war as an institution for attaining certain ends. Indeed, one may reflect whether anything more harmful to the humane progress of mankind has ever been conceived than the theory of the immortality of the soul. Its great strength lies in its appeal to human vanity. None, from the humblest to the mightiest in the land, is very willing to accept the idea of complete extinction which is involved in the rejection of the singular conception of human immortality. Most human ideas which are based on vanity are repulsive in their consequences. If the terror of war can only be maintained by the religious propaganda in favour of the logically incomprehensible doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the sooner the rational view that what is begun in this world will end at the grave is accepted the better for the world at large, and the worse for the militarists and their allies, the clerical propagators of superstition and fantasy.

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SHAKE HANDS WITH A MILLIONAIRE

By JACK ROBINSON

With the increasing strain of war and as the desire for a Second Front becomes more apparent, Russia is leaving no stone unturned to prove her respectability to more bourgeois United Nations allies who cannot forget or forgive her revolutionary past. The dissolution of the Comintern, the re-establishment of the Orthodox Church and the alteration in the wording of the "Internationale," were offerings on the altar of a Second Front.

Not to be outdone by our own Warship Weeks, Spitfire Funds and millionaire subscribers to war loans, Russia has been publicising stories of millionaires also; millionaires who invest in war loans. Such a slight crack in the fabric of Socialist Soviet equality might reassure Joe Davies about Russia's "normalcy" but it causes misgivings to Stalin's backroom boys, one of whom, after admitting that there are Soviet millionaires and that they do not "stick in his gullet," goes so far as to say that ". . . if the Soviet millionaires invest (their million roubles) in war loan at four per cent, a class of rentiers is being created which, in time, will become indistinguishable from any similar class in other countries." To calm such fears as these C.P. propagandist Reg Bishop turns a pretty tight-rope performance in a Russia To-day pamphlet: Soviet Millionaires (2d.).

The patent idiocy of war loans being any kind of financial help to the war effort is ignored, and Bishop concentrates his step on the broad, and crooked, path of justifying the million roubles of collective farmers. Even in a capitalist state it is obvious that the Admiralty does not wait with bated breath for the result of Warship Week at some little known place before going out to buy one more cruiser. This war is not being paid for in cash, and never will be: the real wealth of the country is in the labour power and raw materials available. The Soviet Union does own all the labour and raw materials available, so that the absurdity of war loans is doubly apparent.

The use of war loans (apart from the diversion of purchasing power into non-labour and raw material consuming channels) is to gauge public morale and to assure the public that it has a direct financial interest in the result of the war. No Victory—no war loan repayment! Bishop by quoting from "Pravda" admits this:

> **Every international loan is a test for the country, an index of its unity. The brilliant success of our second war loan speaks to the whole world of the great unbreakable unity of the Soviet people, of their deep, unshakeable confidence in their own Government. . . .**

Soviet Russia seems to have adopted capitalist means which are leading her to a non-communist end. The loan, be it noted, is only one of an annual series:

> **Even prior to the war the Soviet State loans were an annual feature . . . linked with the whole plan of socialist construction . . . from 1931 to 1941 the number of subscribers to the State loan grew from 33 million to more than 60 million.**

So we get a new nation of Soviet rentiers and among them some millionaires! Let Comrade Bishop explain away this gnat of the Russian millionaire. He quotes a promise made by Stalin himself in 1933 to ". . . make all the collective farmers well-to-do." Why this promise? The collective farmers were, according to Stalin's admission, already living in security.

In 1929 there was an attempt to liquidate the kulaks (or rich peasants). This has been substantiated. The kulaks were, according to Anton Ciliga, deprived of literally everything and their confiscated property was given to the common fund of the Kolkhosi (collective form). Entire families were sent to concentration camps and exile, and the same fate befel anyone who spoke a word against the Government policy. A woman factory worker stressed that no mercy should be shown to the kulaks' children, "as they would grow up into kulaks some day." Under no conditions were they to be allowed to join Soviet youth organisations or to be employed in any state establishment.

The liquidation was avenged. Livestock was slaughtered rather than that it should be handed over to the collectives. In 1932 Caucasian and Ukrainian farmers let their harvest rot in preference to its being turned to the State. Peasants kept just sufficient stock to feed their families during the winter, and a small share saved for tax purposes was seized.

Famine followed. News of it, and of its causes, were kept from foreign newspaper correspondents. Thirty-three million people, it is estimated, suffered from famine, typhus and influenza. All President Kalinin could find to say was that "only degraded disintegrating classes could produce such cynical elements" as the "political imposters who asked for contributions for the alleged starving Ukraine."

Russian dependency on agriculture is self-evident: two thirds of the population are normally engaged in it. The peasants had proved by their destruction of 50% of the cattle that they could not be dictated to. So, collective farmers were promised that they would be made "well-to-do." The promise was being brought to fruition by the farmers themselves when, according to "Left," February, 1940, the Communist Party Congress of 1939 announced a campaign against peasants who had managed to build up private enterprise under cover of collectives. In spite of this campaign, however, "Pravda" (February, 1942) regretted that ". . . the organisation of collective farm trade was seriously neglected." In many places the markets for farm goods had ceased to exist and speculators were active in some places!

The herds allowed as individual holdings on collective farms have increased fourfold since then, and this has made it possible for the Government to purchase about two and a half million head of cattle from 250,000 farms to replace losses. These losses, caused by the German invasion, amount to 30% of the grain crop, 32% cattle, 56% pigs and 39% horses. They must be made good by the collective farmers—and purchased if need be.

The peasants themselves have been distrustful of the Government ever since the famine. Indeed, bitter memories of collectivisation, liquidations and famine have even made for a fifth column in the Ukraine cloaked under nationalist aspirations. There is no lack of evidence that they have taken advantage of their present dominant economic position to feather their own nest. One collective farmer—Comrade Berdyebekov—has become a millionaire, because Stalin promised to make him "well-to-do" and because of his ". . . own toil and services to the Soviet State and people." A million roubles, though, isn't a million pounds, as Mr. Bishop points out. Nevertheless we know that the patriotic comrade who, as army factory foreman can give 3,000 roubles to the State loan, was earning 1,200 roubles a month. Comrade Berdyebekov on the other hand has been able to save, presumably, two and a half times as much each month and put it in the sock till now he is able to loan a million to the State. Mr. Bishop's moral criterion about all this inequality is that there is no inequality in being a millionaire so long as you don't get your money by exploiting the labour of others, or by speculation. But what if you get a million roubles by exploiting the State's need for your services, as collective farmers and engineers apparently have done? We know that there is some inequality in Russia. Before the war a movie star of Lovkino got one hundred times the janitor's wages. A playwright got 200,000 roubles in royalties, and a comic paper editor was paid 30,000 roubles a month. Mr. Bishop acknowledges that the Soviet has produced millionaires, even if, as he says, they only amount to a "handful." The calculation for the payment of these comrades is based on the relative value of the individual to the State, not upon his personal needs. Others, no doubt, on this reckoning get their share of the gravy too.

Is it not a privilege any longer to render a greater service to fellow citizens than other comrades can do? The regular cleaning of sewers is as necessary, and as valuable, as feeding people. Given an ideal to work for what need have we for economic differentiation?

Comrade Bishop says there are no private enterprises *"suitable for investment in the U.S.S.R."* (my italics). But if state bonds in the U.S.S.R. were paying 8% in 1935, according to John Gunther, what then? Where did the 8% come from? Somebody has to work eight per cent extra to pay it. In the same year, 1935, 43,000,000 depositors used the banks which were also paying 8% interest. Anyway, Comrade Bishop assures us, war loans are different. They pay 2% a year to organisations only—organisations such as collective farms. Perhaps Comrade Beryebekov classes himself as a farm?

> **Individuals may only subscribe to the lottery prize portion of the loan which provides winnings to one-third of such bonds over the next twenty years.**

So that if Comrade Berdyebekov is an individual he still stands a chance of increasing his million.

In any case it must warm his comradely heart to feel the patriotic glow as he lends (lends, mark you) his million roubles to the State. Maybe he'll find his name in the honours list along with Reg. Bishop for services rendered to the U.S.S.R.

MECHANISTIC OR HUMAN SOCIETY:

Mr. Wilfrid Wellock's 1/- booklet, "A Mechanistic or a Human Society" (P.P.U. Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.) is essentially one of those publications which should be read by all who wish to understand more clearly the problems by which our 20th century civilisation is confronted.

Mr. Wellock is an inveterate enemy of mechanization and a passionate advocate of the value of craftmanship. He insists that a man should be able to take an individual joy and pride in his work and, in his opinion, where this joy and pride are present, even what some might regard as long hours of labour are by no means necessarily a burden.

Like many enthusiasts Mr. Wellock occasionally goes a bit too far, tending to overlook the immense service that Science and machinery have rendered mankind and the fact that a person can take a profitable pride even in the simplest and most monotonous job if the end is worth-while and his hours of leisure provide ample facilities for some more creative occupation. Although it would be unfair to say that Mr. Wellock is blind to the danger of being "laudator temporis acti"—an over-enthusiastic praiser of the days that are past; in denouncing the pursuit of wealth by modern capitalists almost as though it were some new evil, he rather forgets that the selfishness which desires wealth is as old as human nature; while the urge to gratify that selfishness by making profit is almost as old as the use of money.

Like many Socialists, also, Mr. Wellock fails to distinguish clearly between those evils in our economic system which are due to capitalism and those which are wholly, or mainly due to finance starving the home consumer of buying-power; and to the foolish maxim of the pre-machine age "No work, no income," for the average person.

Such minor defects, however, in no way spoil the value of a challenging and helpful contribution towards the solution of our spiritual and social problems.

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WILLIAM FLOYD, Humanist

William Floyd, editor of *The Arbitrator,* died at his home in New York on November 26, 1943, aged 72. Two days later the great American Unitarian and Humanist Minister, John Haynes Holmes, delivered a memorial address at 114 East 31st Street, New York City.

William Floyd made the acquaintance of the famous American Freethought journal, *The Truth Seeker, in* 1904. At that time, and for the next seventeen years, his relation to the paper was that of landlord. But he visited the office and made the acquaintance of the editors without disclosing that fact to them. Instead, he enquired about Freethought literature and was persuaded to read Paine's *Age of Reason.* In his last book, *Humanising Biblical Religion,* which our comrade Cole reviews in another column. Floyd states that Paine *"drove the author,"* that is Floyd, *"into the heretical fold."*

Floyd describes how he "served ten years as a vestryman of the Church of the Ascension" —Episcopal Church—but he does not tell the story of what happened one Easter morning during the time that he was reading Paine. Another vestryman met him with prescribed salutation: "The Lord is risen." He expected from Floyd the response, "He is risen indeed." But an Easter impulse was stirring through Floyd. He felt a mischevious desire to make heretical protest. To the surprise of his fellow vestryman, he replied: "Don't you believe it!" and went on his way rejoicing.

Floyd commenced writing for the Radical and Freethought press under the name of "John Doe." Later, he assumed the name of "Atwood Manville." He wrote regularly for *The Truth Seeker* on religion and evolution, and then, with growing scepticism, challenged the righteousness of all established institutions. He wrote a most radical essay on "The Conjugal Relation." After that, he turned Socialist and developed into a Humanist propagandist.

He was a man of wealth by inheritance and was able to indulge in radical publishing. He wrote and published *Social Progress* and *People v. Wall Street,* two striking books indicting the the money power and questioning the justice of prevailing economic conditions. He was arrested once as a Red and accused of being "subversive." This charge amused him since he was the great-great-grandson of that William Floyd who, for the colony of New York, signed the Declaration of Independence.

In 1918, he commenced to publish the Humanist monthly, *The Arbitrator,* in order to express freely his views on all subjects. His assistant in this work for many years prior to his death was the studious Therman D. Wakefield, the grandson of Ingersoll by marriage. Wakefield is continuing the Humanist work that Floyd served so well to the very day of his death. In almost the last issue of *The Arbitrator* edited by Floyd, he acknowledges the receipt of the bound volume of *The Word,* and mentions several of the Strickland Press publications, in a reference to "books received from our colleague."

In the Humanist Memorial Address, Holmes quoted the poem by George Santayana:

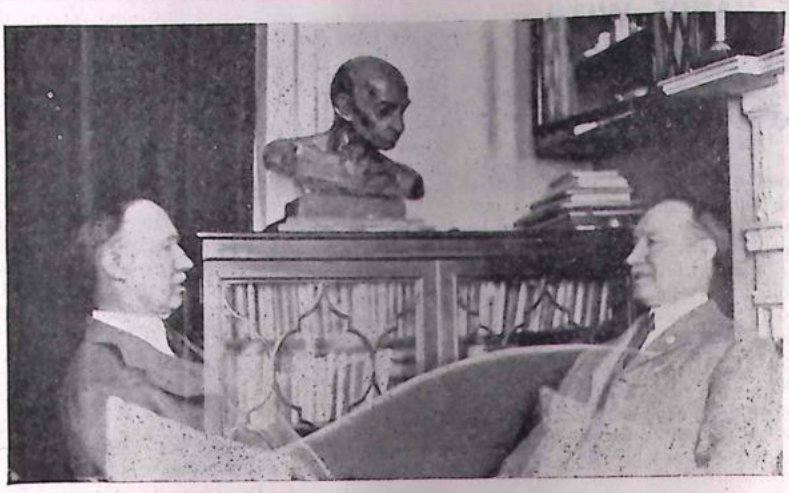
With you a part of me hath passed away;
For in the peopled forest of my mind
A tree made leafless by this wintry wind
Shall never don again its green array.
Chapel and fireside, country road and bay,
Have something of their friendliness resigned;
Another, if I would I could not find,
And I am grown much older in a day.
But yet I treasure in my memory
Your gift of charity and young heart's ease,
And the dear honour of your amity;
For these once mine, my life is rich with these.
And I scarce know what part may greater be—
What I keep of you, or you rob from me.

Holmes said that he felt wretchedly poor as a result of Floyd's death. He continued:

And I am not the only one, for Floyd's life was full of friends. They clustered all about him, young and old, distinguished and undistinguished, and he loved them every one. It was beautiful to see his humility among them, admiring and extolling them as a child his heroes, and never dreaming that he was himself among the best and truest of his own good company. And his generosity with them! No one will ever know the amount of time and money this dear man lavished upon his friends and their good causes, but it was bountiful beyond all proportions to his income. He gave much directly, on his own account, I have no doubt. But his chief delight was to make his benefactions through his friends and on behalf of their interests. He would learn, with eager sympathy, what YOU were doing to save this unhappy world, and then he would help you to do it, and never ask himself to be recognized and rewarded. He gave more often, therefore, to please others than to gratify himself. His chief happiness was to see others made happy by what he did for them. And he had a queer, whimsical, playful way of being generous. He would say: "Now, I'll give you this money, but on condition . . ."! Then he would lay down some terms of his own—that you must come to dinner once in so often, or what not—and only as you lived up scrupulously to these terms, did he fulfil his promise. It was a kind of game that he played, to the delight of everyone concerned. You might almost say that, in his bountiful giving, he was a kind practical joker, with the joke turned inside out, so to speak. The usual practical joke leaves its victim embarrassed, humiliated, and that's the reason we don't like it. But Floyd's practical jokes with his gifts left his friends elated, enlarged, uplifted, and endlessly happy. There's a way of doing things—and Floyd's way of being generous was a way of spiritual magic.

If I were to name the one quality in William Floyd's life which was central to his character, I would specify his integrity, by which I mean fidelity to his inner thought and life. He was a man who was all of a single piece. This was evident in what might be called the trivial aspects of his mien and habit. He was born and reared a gentleman, if you will accept the word in its spiritual meaning, and he came to live in a period of careless manners and loose morals. Ours is in many ways a degenerate age, and all too many of us show it in our heedless ways of life. But in all the years of my close friendship with William Floyd, I never found him even for an instant living beneath his own best standards. I have searched my mind in vain for the recollection of a single rude action, or a single profane or careless word.

What was thus so manifast in his speech and bearing was impressively evident in the whole movement and progress of his inner life. When I first came to know Floyd, he impressed me as a very sweet and gracious gentleman—sprightly, vigorous, alert, intensely interested in people and events, and extraordinarily friendly. But at that time he was utterly conventional! He was born of an old Colonial family, and was the lord of a manorial estate on Long Island. He was a graduate of Princetown University. He was a real estate broker with an office in the Wall Street district. He was a trustee of a prominent Episcopal church in this city, and a member of the Republican Party. Then, in those early years, there came changes—it would be interesting to know all the influences that brought about these changes! But gradually the horizon of his life widened; he had an open mind which was always eager to learn and understand new things; he was ever seeking fresh experiences, and making unusual personal contacts. The result was these changes of which I speak, and before they were done, these changes were fundamental. In these latter years he was a humanist, and thus on the extreme left wing of contemporary religious thought. He was a socialist, and thus a radical in his political thought. He was a pacifist—or peace patriot, as he would prefer to call it—and thus an outcast in time of war. Here was he thrice a heretic. Put humanism, socialism, and pacifism together and you have the holy trinity of heresy—though he would have objected to that word "trinity." How shall we explain this transformation through the years of a man's whole thought and life?



WILLIAM FLOYD

"By Himself."

This "Spirit" portrait was taken of himself by Floyd in May, 1943, and sent to us with a humorous comment.

Well, first of all, I think there was always in William Floyd a certain spirit of rebellion against the status quo. One of his ancesters, whose name he bore, was a signee of the Declaration of Independence, and that man's rebellious blood flowed ever in his veins. Secondly, from the beginning there was an open-mindedness in turn that was remarkable. He had this eager interest in all that was written or spoken, and along with this tolerance of opposition which enabled him, even in his conventional days, to welcome unfamiliar, novel, and unexpected truth. But central to the whole, I must believe, was this integrity to which I have referred. He must be faithful to his own soul, in all its experiences and quests. As his horizon enlarged, his mind must explore it to its farthest bounds. He must be honest with himself in accepting and not ignoring or defying what life revealed to him. Thus, in his outward associations, he kept pace with his inward thought, and preserved his integrity as the most precious jewel of his life. It is difficult to think of William Floyd ever having contempt or ill-feeling for any man. But if he ever cherished an atom of such emotion, it was in the case of those persons, not infrequently members of my own profession, who were compromisors in their theological thought and thus not honest with themselves. How he loved to pursue these men with his wit and wisdom, and try to get them on the record, so to speak, and to force them to face the dilemma of their quibbles and evasions! He would have these persons as honest as himself, and this was no easy task.

This brings me to one further thought! We are tempted to think of this quality of integrity as something that is superb, and yet rather hard and cold in nature. It suggests the granite rock on which the winds blow and the billows of the sea beat in vain. But there was nothing hard about William Floyd. He wrought the miracle noted in the Bible —which fact would not have impressed him—of combining strength with sweetness—strength of character with sweetness of temper. He was ever the gentlest, kindest, and most gracious of men. . . .

I remember an afternoon when I sat beside his bed, at a time when he was very weak and sick. I was holding his hand, and trying to talk with him cheerfully. Looking at me steadily, and with full knowledge of what he was saying, he whispered, "You know, Holmes, I am not afraid to die. But I am terribly afraid of living and not being able to be active, or even to think straight." . . .

As I think of him thus gone, I have been trying to compose an epitaph worthy of his shining record. I have not succeeded, but here at least is a suggestion:

IN MEMORIAM
WILLIAM FLOYD

The Beloved Heretic
honest of mind—brave of heart—gentle of spirit.
In his thinking he sought for Truth;
In his living he practised Goodwill;
In his dying he left the precious legacy
Of one whose country was the world,
And whose religion was to Do Good.

Before his death, Floyd prepared the Christmas, 1943, issue of *The Arbitrator.* This contained the words and music of a song entitled *Morn of Victory,* written and composed by Herman Epstein. We are unable to reproduce the music, but gladly publish the words:—

"That these dead shall not have died in vain."—Lincoln.

The dawning Rays in Morning Sky
Dispel the long and dismal Night;
The Day of lasting Peace is nigh,
Its Birth and Life are fed by Light;
Our Faith is firm, and Hope mounts high,
Uplifted by a wondrous Sight.
With Richly laden, fertile fields,
The willing Earth her children feeds;

Unending wealth Machinery yields,
We ride the skies on flying steeds:
Mysterious Force that Lighting wields
Is tamely tied to serve our needs.

An end to insane Wars,
Which forge anew war times;
An end to needless Want
With myriad Brood of crimes;

The star of Love our guide,
No longer brutal might
Ascending side by side,
To ever loftier height,
Glory we find in building common good:
To serve for all shall Science
And beauteous Art unite,
Informed, enlightened Creeds,
Thirst more and more for Light;
'Gainst Discord, Hate and Strife,
Enthrone harmonious Plan:
Unchained and fearless free,
Creation's Crown be Man.
So dawns the Morn of world-wide Brotherhood.
A new Day is born, Oh! Sun of Peace, Arise!

At the end of the music, our contemporary published the following letters:—

To William Floyd.

Dear Friend Floyd,

The people of the whole world are fervently yearning that the coming Peace shall be a lasting Peace.

This longing is deep in the hearts of all, in every country, in every belief, in those of every color, of every conviction, with no limitation of any kind.

I have tried to convey this common hope in the song I have written.

Knowing your all-embracing human sympathy and tolerance, I am sending you a copy with the greetings and wishes usually expressed at Christmas time.

Always,
HERMAN EPSTEIN.

Dear Herman Epstein,

I welcome the song you have sent me as a Christmas greeting, and fully join you in its call for World Friendship and service. This is the hope in which the world now unites.

Differences of opinion must continue, for these are rain upon the Tree of Progress so that it shall ever grow.

Yuletide this year must stress above all the common Hope for Peace.

For December 1943 issue of "The Arbitrator" I am sending to my subscribers no discussions, only your song of Unity.

Cordially yours,
WILLIAM FLOYD.

The song of peace and unity was Floyd's last message of harmony to all mankind.

COMMUNISM
THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED

Twenty-nine chapters, exposing Moscow Adventurism and Reaction, and giving the full story of the Communist Party in Great Britain, The United States, Russia, Germany, Holland and China. An unanswerable factual review. Price: 1/6; post free, 1/9.

(*Concluded from Column 3*)

except that as we have said, there are more modernists than he allows for, Dr. Floyd shows that his demolition work is still, unfortunately, a very necessary job.

"Perhaps," says Dr. Floyd, "the most important section of this book is that which analyses the Holy Bible as a moral quide." In this part, there are numerous quotations from the Old and New Testaments which set forth certain Biblical standards of morality and ethics, and the humanist reaction to them. We cannot now discuss this tremendously important section in detail, but if the author does repudiate much that many modernist Christians would retain, at least he offers other ideas and principles as a substitute.

In religion the old is dying—in the dark night of man's disillusionment and despair, and the job of those of us who believe that religion is an essential and vital need in human life is to help "Ring out the old, ring in the new; ring out the false, ring in the true." Dr. Floyd's book is an invaluable contribution to such an effort, and we gladly and unhesitatingly commend it to all who would "shake off the dust of errors" piled up by man's blind faith in the Orthodox Biblical religion, and who would "march to the praise hymn of progress."

* **"Humanising Biblical Religion" by William Floyd, Arbitrator Press, New York, $2.00.**

BIBLICAL RELIGION

By The Rev. CHARLES H. COLE

(Minister, High Street Unitarian Christian Church, Portsmouth; Chairman Portsmouth P.P.U; Minister Humanist Society of Friends)

"Ilico" in *The British Weekly* said in a recent article:

"We must be truly and fully human before we can be religious."

If by this he means that all our religious thinking and activity must be motivated and controlled by our natural human reason instincts and needs, and not by super-natural authority before we can claim to be really religious, we agree with him; and Dr. Floyd, in his *Humanising Biblical Religion, seems* to endorse the same idea.

The average orthodox Christian answering to this principle is—irreligious; for his religion is determined by a blind, unreasoning belief in a super-human, super-natural power whose message to mankind is revealed in a supernaturally inspired Bible and which demands that human reason, instincts and needs shall be subordinated to the claims of those infallible authorities. And paradoxically enough, by accepting religion in that manner he loses it. For true religion has nothing to do with Gods and Bibles and the Creeds and Dogmas that have been invented about them, but it is essentially a product of the human spirit, and finds its highest expression in the humanitarian behaviour of man to man. This truth was realised in a sudden flash of insight by one of the Jewish prophets as well as by one of the early Christian disciples, when they declared that what was required of the religious man—what constituted true religion, was the practice of justice and mercy in human relationships.

But as Dr. Floyd says:

"Among the concomitants of Religion as commonly understood and practised are Rabbis, Popes, Cardinals and Priests, angels and archangels, devils and saints, . . . fast days and holy water, . . . litanies and creeds . . . atonement and absolution, . . . heaven, hell and purgatory, an anthropomorphic God, the Holy Ghost, and a Redeeming Saviour; the Trinity—Humanism cares for none of these things."

Neither does True Religion. And in debunking, quite rightly, in our view, "religion as commonly understood and practised," Dr. Floyd appears to overlook this fact, or at least to soft-pedal it. We applaud the gusto with which he attacks the still widely-held belief in an Infallible and verbally inspired Bible which, as he shows quite clearly, has been responsible for so many of the Church's pernicious dogmas and doctrines, and which has militated against human progress; we admire the zeal with which he condemns all the falsified history, contradictions, absurdities, atrocities, immoral and unethical messages, etc., which are to be found scattered throughout its pages. We agree wholeheartedly that "reliance upon the Bible," accepting it as the Infallible Word of God and "its traditional sacredness unquestioningly . . . has done incalculable harm"; but we do not see why "ministers who have renounced the orthodox conception of the Bible, and who claim that it is only one of many inspirational works" (of whom the writer is one), should "Refrain in future from quoting from either Old or New Testaments." I think it was Dr. Haynes Holmes who wrote somewhere that "the Bible is a record of the wisdom and folly, truth and error, good and bad, of a great people in a classic age."

Well, let us by all means repudiate the follies, terrors and badness, but why should we also reject the wisdom, the truth, and the good? To do so would seem like "throwing out the bath with the bathwater!" I can understand a man saying that he is no longer interested in the fairy stories of Genesis, or in the genealogical tables in the books of the Chronicles, or in some of the imprecatory Psalms, or in the theological subtleties of Paul, or in the mystical Revelation of John; but I cannot understand why he should also say, because these and many other wrong and bad and stupid things are in the Bible, he will never again allow himself to search for the pearls of wisdom to be found, say, in Solomon's writings; nor let himself be uplifted and challenged by the dreams and visions of some of the O.T. prophets; nor look for the moral guidance that is contained in the Sermon on the Mount; neither will he ever read again so that he might be moved and exalted by it. Paul's immortal hymn is Love. Surely what is true and good in literature, any literature is good and true in itself, and it seems to me to be unreasonable to refuse to acknowledge the intrinsic worth and value of that which *is* true and good in the Bible, because one has been compelled to reject what has been discovered to be bad and false in it!

Humanity has much to gain and nothing worth worrying about to lose, by adopting the Humanist attitude towards the Bible—that is, by regarding it as a product of the human mind and spirit—and accepting all the implications of such an attitude which are so thoroughly dealt with in the book under review; but also, humanity would lose much that is worth while retaining if in doing this it ceased to "search the Scriptures" for whatever of truth and beauty, goodness and humanity is to be found there.

But if I continue to discuss this matter, which is to me an important one, but which perhaps to Dr. Floyd is only incidental to what his book is mainly concerned with, I shall be doing him a real injustice and shall deserve the anathema he pronounces upon anyone who criticises it "without discussing its revolutionary temporal hypothesis," which is that he "be consigned to read the Holy Bible from Genesis to Revelation and review that treasured volume as critically as he would any other book." I must avoid that awful fate at all costs!

So let me tell you in his own words what is the main contention of his work. It is:

"That the present is the most dependable era of Revelation and is therefore more suitable than ancient times as the basis of a modern religion or philosophy."

"Biblical Religion depends solely upon the distant past. Nothing has been added to its Revelation for nearly two thousand years. Religion lives on lapsed time."

That is true, of course, of purely Biblical religion; that is, of religion which continues to base its teaching on the orthodox attitude towards and interpretation of the Bible. I must accept Dr. Floyd's statement that that is the kind of religion which prevails in America—but as he says also, "there are various degrees of religiosity"; and not all Religion "lives on lapsed time."

As Dr. Julian Huxley said in a recent broadcast talk:

"The scientific Humanist . . . sees that man tends to advance in Religion as he does in science or in social organisation."

There are stages of religious advance recorded in the Bible even—as, *e.g.*, the development of the idea of God. True that we know infinitely more to-day about the physical universe and the nature of man, and that the discoveries and inventions of science have opened up possibilities for human progress undreamed of in Biblical times, but I'm not sure that Dr. Floyd is right when he says that religion has shown itself *quite* unwilling to accept this new knowledge and take account of these new discoveries. My bookshelves bear witness to the fact that a new religious faith is emerging, which is basing itself on the eternal and sterling spiritual values and lofty ethical principles which the Bible does reveal to discerning minds, and also on the knowledge and inspiration derived from modern thought. There are, I am convinced, more modernist Christians "who," to quote the Doctor, "are scornful of the old theology" than he suggests.

Another object of the author's work is to establish the validity of the "straw man," that is, to refute the contention of some of his critics that when he is tilting at the ideals of orthodoxy to demolish them, he is only attacking "a man of straw—an imaginary creature of his own fabrication which he has created in order that he may demolish him." The solid existence of this so-called "straw man" is impressively proved, and

(*Concluded foot Column 1*)

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(*Continued from page* 80)

South Place established in 1815 an "Infants' Friend Society" for the relief of "new-born infants and their mothers." In 1830 this was developed and reconstituted.

This philantrophy is interesting because South Place was never a working-class centre. Fox was the orator of the Reform Bill agitation and later of the Corn Law agitation. The workers applauded him, but they remained aloof from his chapel.

His eloquence, said Thomas Carlyle, was like opening a window through a London fog into the blue sky. "But," he added, "I went away feeling that Fox had been summoning those people to sit in judgment on matters of which they were no judges at all." Moncure Conway, to whom this remark was made, assured Carlyle that therein he was mistaken; Mr. Fox was teaching the teachers, men and women who, or many of them, were centres of influence in their several spheres. And among those whose youth was largely influenced by Mr. Fox a considerable number did noble service for every human cause —men like John Stuart Mill; Peter Alfred Taylor, the brave commoner; Mrs. Frank Melleson, who founded the Working-Women's College; reformers like Slack, Saul, Whitehead, Macmorran, Holyoake, Ashurst, Dixon, Collet, Ryall, Braham, Johnson, Marsden, Raftery, Cunnington, Levey, Walters and Ragg; and families whose names rank high in the annals of London—as the Waterloos, Hicksons, Lyons, Taylors, Courtaulds.

The influence of South Place was very great. In 1856, when Moncure Conway lost his pulpit in Washington because he denounced slavery; and later, in Cincinnati, when Conway lost friends for denouncing supernaturalism, he was befriended by persons who had learned to love liberty of thought and person from W. J. Fox of South Place.

On the day when Rammohum Roy spoke at South Place, Harriet Martineau entered the chapel with Mr. and Mrs. Fox and heard her name mentioned in public for the first time. She had won three prizes for essays on the best means of propagating Unitarianism among Jews, Moslems, and Catholics. She was unknown and under thirty. Fox recognised her ability five years before, and persuaded her to come from Norwich to London to secure a better field for the expression of her talents. He introduced her to the Mills, and was the cause of her great intellectual progress. The meeting assured her literary success.

Rammohun Roy died suddenly at Bristol, and a memorial service was held at South Place on October 13, 1833. Harriet Martineau wrote a special hymn for the occasion, and Eliza Flower composed the music. This hymn began: "*No faithless tears, O God, we shed*——." Roy's motto was the words of the Persian poet: "The true way of serving God is to do good to man." Fox preached a funeral discourse asking all to adopt this injunction as the rule of their own conduct.

To this rule Fox dedicated his own life. He discarded Christianity for a Catholic Theism. His favourite selection for the choir was Pope's Universal Prayer:

Father of all, in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.

In 1829, when many Dissenters were petitioning Parliament against Catholic emancipation, Mr. Fox and his society acquired honourable eminence by their exertions for that measure of justice to opponents. In the beginning of that year the Society passed a resolution:

That the Committee be instructed to take such measures as may appear to them necessary towards obtaining a repeal of all penal statutes affecting religious opinions, and more especially those affecting our Roman Catholic brethren.

The same year witnessed Catholic emancipation, but left twelve Deists in prison. This persecution may have led Mr. Fox to examine more closely the religion of Deists. After the Catholic emancipation he became interested in the question of the civil disabilities of the Jews, and commenting on some utterances of the Bishop of Hereford on that subject (1834) he wrote: "If this be the figure under which Christianity is to exhibited by its recognised leaders, there needs no prophet to predict that, as the religion of the people of this country, it will not last two more generations." But at this time he felt an increasing repugnance to the Deity of the Old Testament. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the commencement of his ministry, in 1842, he preached a discourse in which he declared that there is more wisdom of God in the words of Jesus than in all the recorded declarations of the Jewish Jehovah.

Fox had probably been re-reading Thomas Paine when in an article on Cobbett (*Monthly Repository*, 1835, p. 486) he wrote:

He has been very absurdly compared with Paine, whom he excelled as much in fertility of popular illustration as he fell short of him in the faculty of generalising, and in the condensed, yet imaginative expression of abstract principles. Paine's merits as a writer are scarcely yet appreciated; those of Cobbett render themselves felt instantly.

The name of Paine was especially odious to many Unitarians, accused of being in the "halfway house to Paine," and Mr. Fox's remark is significant.

But in that same year, 1835, he is found speaking tenderly of Roman Catholic superstition. In his discourse on "The Moral Omnipresence of God," Fox describes the feast, celebrated in Catholic countries, of the raising of the Cross, with much sympathy and understanding, whilst protesting against the grievous error underlying the fanaticism and superstition of the celebration. It is a most eloquent passage.

At this time Fox found that he had "outrun his text." He could no longer confine his themes to verses from the Old and New Testaments, or keep his exposition within Christian limitations. He viewed belief as being as solemn as unbelief, and warned Theist and Atheist equally of the need not to be imposed on by words. After his fortieth year he gave up reading his sermons. He spoke from shorthand notes, and took books with him into the pulpit for the purpose of quotation.

Fox never doubted the existence of God, yet he was most just to Atheists and Atheism. In the London *Times*, November 29, 1833, a paragraph appeared, headed "Hissing an Atheist." Mr. Julian Hibbert, called as a witness before Alderman Browne, stated, when the Bible was presented, that he was an atheist. He was insulted by the attorney, Charles Phillips, and hissed by the people present, the jury joining, and Alderman Browne expressed satisfaction in this display of religious sentiment. On this, Mr. Fox wrote (*Monthly Repository*, January, 1834) the following admirable rebuke of the alderman and the attorney:

A man professing to be an atheist may nevertheless be a moral man, as far as regards his social duties; and if he be a punctilious man in regard to truth—which declaring his belief in opposition to public obloquy is mostly a proof of—it is utterly absurd and mischevious to incapacitate him from giving his evidence in a court of law.

It was harder to be just to the English Established Church than to Atheists, Deists, Catholics, and Jews, all of whom were persecuted and under odium. But Fox was equal to justice. At the close of 1833, in his *Monthly Repository*, Fox attacked a proposal for the indiscriminate disestablishment and disendowment of the Church as being penny-wise and pound-foolish. The community would not be benefited. He proposed, instead, that churches and cathedrals should be kept in good repair and put to the use of all denominations in democratic common enjoyment.

Fox's protest against indiscriminate disestablishment and disendowment was consistent with his persistent protest against the practical union of Church and State. In 1833 he gave six lectures "On Church Reform, considered as a national and not a sectarian object"; and on Sunday, March 9, 1934, the South Place Society adopted and signed a petition which was presented to Parliament by Joseph Hume. In this it is said:

Your petitioners are earnestly desirous of such amendments in the existing laws as shall secure the public benefit of a correct registration of births, marriages, and deaths; allow the marriage contract to be entered into without submission to a prescribed religious ceremony; prohibit any restriction of the advantages and honours of the universities by the imposition of a theological test; and exonerate all classes from compulsory payments towards the support of a Church from which they dissent; but that your petitioners regard these and many other evils which might be enumerated, as merely emanations from one great practical grievance, namely, the alliance of a Church with the State, so that while one sect is established, all others are only tolerated, and their members are, by the very fact of this legal partiality, subjected to insult, injury, and degradation.

The petitioners further, in well-weighed words, "disclaim any hostility to the Episcopal Church in its spiritual capacity," desire from the funds "due provision for their present recipients," and application of the residue to such national education as would fulfil the real intent of the endowments.

In 1837 Mr. Fox's discourse on this subject was published and sold in aid of Mr. Burden and the Braintree parishioners for losses consequent on refusal to pay Church rates.

(*To be concluded in two further instalments.*)

MAN AWAKES AT LAST.

A thousand factories and a thousand laws,
A thousand slums, a thousand dreary piles
Of tenements,
And over all the watching eyes of those
Who check and watch, note and compile,
The continents;
The dull-eyed regiments, shuffling and sad,
Of slaves.

The river flows between the factories,
The grass is black with smoke, and foul to taste,
And there is talk
Of freedom and of brave new worlds—
(Its all been said before) and yet this waste
Of words, this ancient croak
Of slogans drips in the suffering ears
Of willing slaves.

Willing, obedient, citizens: their lot
The grimy six foot patch of seedy earth
When they are dead:
Their few pathetic years dripped willingly away
And all their hopes are led
Stupid to war, quietened and hushed, by the loud notes
Of the beaten drum.

Yet here, and there, in the obedient streets,
Humanity's slow whisper wakes and stirs,
And from the slums the sky
Is suddenly seen, bursting with clouds and blue,
And a voice says, that is not his nor hers,
But mine; and I
Am the possesor of the world; the fields are mine,
And the long lanes.

O let the whisper grow and let it roar,
Breaking the eardrums of the sickly few
Who have and hold,
And for their holdings, regiment their slaves,
Drive them to war, uncaring since they know
Slaves are not bold:
Now let them tremble when they hear their slaves
Burst from their chains!
And man awakes at last!

DESMOND STEWART.

NEW PAMPHLETS
by
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

STRAIGHT SPEAKING
To a Militarist from a Pacifist.

THE NEGLECTED ISSUE
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Special terms for quantities. Order these powerful pamphlets now. **"Straight Speaking"** is a classic of simple direct statement and should be read by every citizen.

"ALIEN BLACKS"

The Duke of Bedford and His Pro-War Critics

Three Years Press Campaign Reviewed.

(*Concluded from Page* 91.)

There is another point of approach. While we do not share the Duke's concept of divine understanding, surely, if he believes in God, he has a right to suggest that God has given him "a small share" of understanding. Is not this an answer to those who claim that God inspires their war utterances. We think that is a complete reply.

Under the pressure of the attacks made upon his views and himself in the newspapers of the country, the Duke addressed a letter of protest to *The Evening News*, Worcester. This resulted in a discussion with the editor that was summarised in *The Newspaper World* on December 13.

The Worcester editor attacked the Duke's letter of protest as "*touching the honour and loyalty*" of an editor. How many Capitalist editors suffer from honour?

The Duke wrote about editors who are "*compelled to publish opinions which are not their own in order to satisfy those who control their paper.*"

This is the known condition of editors. The Duke rightly described this state of affairs as "*a bad thing*" but "*understandable.*"

The Duke added :—

There are, however, times of crisis, of which this is one, when a man who has any sense of decency in him should be ready to risk his job if he is required to be the tool of a policy which is likely to ruin his country and perhaps bring mutilation or death on his family or friends.

The editor, knowing war-time hysteria and psychology denounced this very human comment on what is known to be fact as "*the advice from this warped intellect, which takes as much account of the integrity and judgement of a journalist as it does of the commonsense of the British people as a whole.*"

The editor expressed surprise "*that this corruptible counsel was not accompanied by the offer of a bribe.*"

The suggestion that a pacifist thinker and propagandist in war-time—even a duke—could compete in bribery with a powerful capitalist state, could arise only in the minds of a man born to be a day-labourer of the controlled press of capitalist society. The man thinks in terms of ignorance and interest and the conventional stupidity of an epoch of fear and uncritical passion.

And so ended 1941!

The most bitter 1942 attacks were made in May. On the 22nd of that month the Duke made the headlines again and there was a spate of bitter and unseemly attack.

The Daily Express under the heading "*'Peace' Duke Defends Mr. Morrison*" opened its parliamentary report :—

In Britain's House of Lords yesterday there rose to speak Hastings William Sackville Russell, 12th Duke of Bedford, formerly lieutenant, 10th Battalion Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regt.), aged 53, Pacifist.

He rose to defend Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, whom he described as "my potential jailer."

The *Sheffield Telegraph* gave "Vulcan's" "London Opinion" as follows :—

KEMSLEY HOUSE, Thursday.

The House of Lords, this afternoon, listened to the Duke of Bedford with the silent, profound courtesy which it always extends to the eccentrics among its Members. The Duke is as utterly opposed to the penalising of the German people as Lord Vansittart is convinced of the need for this action. He presented his case well—better indeed than did Lord Ponsonby, who spoke later as a Pacifist and was trounced by his old Sheffield colleague, Lord Rankeillour.

But neither made an atom of impression on the House.

The Daily Mail published another view of the maiden speech, from Percy Cater, its Parliamentary Correspondent. Cater wrote, in bold type :—

The Pacifist Duke of Bedford, lonely crier in the wilderness for a negotiated peace with Hitler and the man Mr. Herbert Morrison "has got his eye on," made his maiden speech in the House of Lords yesterday—in hot defence of Mr. Herbert Morrison.

The Scotsman, Edinburgh, commented, in its news summary :—

Even with the Duke of Bedford intervening to support him, Mr. Herbert Morrison has emerged unscathed from the House of Lords debate in which his speech referring to justice for Germany after the war was discussed.

Under the heading "*A Duke Shows Clenched Fist,*" the Glasgow *Evening Citizen* for May 22, 1942, "Londoner's Diary" stated :—

I heard the Duke of Bedford make his maiden speech in the House of Lords. When he had finished he sat down and rested his arm fully stretched along the back of the bench. Presently he raised his forearm and clenched his fist. And for a little time he remained like that. It was no doubt unconscious, but several in the House noticed that the Duke was giving the Communist salute.

A little later, I met Mr. Willie Gallacher, the Communist M.P. He greeted me with the clenched-fist salute, which was exactly the same as the Duke's. Mr. Gallacher says it is a gesture of defiance against tyrants.

This paragraph also appeared in *The Evening Standard*, London.

The *Birmingham Mail* attacked at length

the notorious Duke of Bedford, who asks no more than that we should abandon the ridiculous idea of reparations and punishment, and let bygones be bygones.

The Daily Telegraph, London, for May 22, rebuked Herbert Morrison for making a speech which caused him

to endure the embarrasing acclamation of the Duke of Dedford.

The next day, the *Daily Telegraph* leading columnist appealed to history under the heading "Russells' Ancestors." He achieved this spicy item of ancient gossip and current denunciation :—

I wonder, by the way, if the shade of an ancestress of the Duke of Bedford was hovering somewhere in the House of Lords when her descendant was making his poisonous speech in that debate. The lady I mean was the first Lady Russell, the wife of King Henry's Minister at the time of the Reformation, from whom the line of the Russells descends.

"Poisonous Speech!" To protest against the doctrine and policy of race extermination! That is how the Nazi foams when one protests against Anti-Semitism and the hideous torture of Jewish folk.

The Marquis of Donegal's stupid and pointless attacks on the Duke of Bedford in the *Sunday Dispatch* have been noted in these columns. On May 31 he referred to

the Home Secretary . . . and his chief supporter, the Duke of Bedford . . .

This was because Herbert Morrison had declared publicly :—

I am against that foolish and purposeless vindictiveness which was sought to be imposed for a time after the last war.

During 1943, the "Communists" became the Duke's chief slanderers. *The Daily Worker*, in its issue for February 15, in its "Worker's Notebook" attacked the Duke of Bedford for a speech made to a meeting of Parish Council representatives at Foxfield House, and reported in the *North Beds. Courier* for February 2. The Duke spoke of bringing an end to the slaughter of our kith and kin. Commented his "Communist" critic :—

Now, the Prime Minister and the American President having declared for fighting until the enemy surrenders unconditionally, and Mr. Churchill having driven that home by pledging us to wipe out every vestige of Nazism and Fascism, it is an outrage that an aristocrat should exploit the influence of his landed family to plant defeatism among Bedfordshire countryfolk.

"Badoglio" is the correct comment on this political trash. We also direct our readers' attention to *The Scottish Daily Worker* for Tuesday, December 10, 1940, wherein is found a report of Meetings addressed by Harry Pollitt at the Victoria and Regal Cinemas, Dundee, on the subject of "War and The People."

We reproduce the main portion of this report :

POLLITT'S MESSAGE TO BIG MEETINGS.

From Our Own Correspondent.

DUNDEE, Monday.

Harry Pollitt and William Cowe, Scottish organiser of the Communist Party, spoke to packed and enthusiastic audiences at the Victoria and Regal Cinemas, Dundee, last night.

Announced a few weeks ago that Pollitt and Cowe would speak on the "War and the People" at the Victoria Cinema, so big was the demand for tickets, very chiefly among lowly paid jute workers, that the second hadd had to be taken.

Analysing the situation facing the working people of Britain to-day, Pollitt said that in the declining period of British imperialism, all signs point to the development of a stage which—unless the workers take their destiny into their own strong hands—will inevitably go down to posterity as the hungry and bloody forties of the twentieth century.

"The year 1940 brings to a close the nightmare period during which neither Tory, Liberal nor Labour parties have one success to record for either the present or the future welfare of the British people.

"It has been a period of disaster for the common people and it is the rottenness and decay of capitalism in its epoch of decline which is directly expressed munism with the bogey that it meant bloodshed and violence. These parties have now reached the position where they have nothing to offer but bloodshed and violence in contrast to the programme of peace and life, that is the decisive feature of Communism.

STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRES.

"The extension of the war into an open struggle for new empires or the retention of empires gained exactly by the same methods as those which Hitler is using against Britain, the refusal to state concrete peace aims, the more intensive form of aerial warfare, all of this is not being lost upon large and growing numbers of workers.

"They are seeing that the ruling class is always calling for more and more sacrifices whilst its own privileges and wealth remain unmolested.

What is the difference between the terms of this "rousing" 1940 speech of Pollitt at Dundee, and the "defeatism" pronounced by the Duke of Bedford "among the Bedfordshire countryfolk" in 1943?

What scoundrels these "Communists" are!

In *The Word* for July, 1943, we traced the history of George L. Matthews, the Bedfordshire Communist Farmer of military age who claims to be a member of the Labour Party through his Trade Union affiliation. We can understand an agricultural labourer belonging to the Labour Party through his Trade Union but since when did farmers, being the employing class, have a right to a say in trade union organisation? His wife, Mrs. Betty Matthews, is District Secretary of the S.E. Midlands Communist Party. Speaking at open-air meeting at Sandy, Bedfordshire, on the night of July 23, 1943, she attacked the Duke of Bedford as if he had been the chief speaker at the Victoria and Regal Cinemas in Dundee, and not Harry Pollitt. Said Mrs. Matthews in true "Communist" beware the bogeyman hushed tones :

We need to be on our guard against those forces which are working at a 24 hour shift to prevent the defeat of Fascism. They are not so far off. We have one right in our midst—The Duke of Bedford who lives in great comfort in a big estate at Woburn. He spends all his time getting out propaganda to weaken the spirit of the people. He has got up more pamphlets against the war than any other person or organisation. He's no friend of the British people and the workers. We are not going to stand for it. Men like the Duke of Bedford ought to be interned.

There is a man who seems to champion the Duke of Bedford—a man who goes under the name of "Woodman" of "The Biggleswade Chronicle and Bedfordshire Gazette." "Woodman" writes things like this: "I believe the Duke of Bedford is really interested in the working classes." Has there been any occasion when we have seen the Duke of Bedford standing up for the working classes? I call "Woodman "the stooge of the Duke of Bedford." It is high time "Woodman" bowed to the feelings of the people in this area; to the fact that Sandy Urban Council passed a resolution asking for the Duke to be interned. People in this district detest the Duke of Bedford. Leighton Buzzard Conservative Association have decided to obliterate his name from their Club—all honour to them. It shows it is not only the Communists who want the Duke of Bedford interned. It shows that there is a wider feeling even among people with a Conservative point of view.

What about the time when people in Bedfordshire detested Socialism? Was that a reason for ceasing from being a Socialist or agreeing with the persecution of Socialists?

How the phoney resolution of the Sandy Urban Council was passed has been exposed in detail in these columns for June, 1943. The Leighton Buzzard Tories were dealt with in the same issue. But what "Communist" propaganda!

The Duke's visits to Lanarkshire, his association with Anarchist and I.L.P. miners, his denunciation of their living and working conditions, answer the aspiring Matthews of this world, who breathe war and experience no hardship. The Duke's condemnations have been reproduced in these columns and need not be reprinted. The following heading and introduction culled from *The Illustrated Carpenter*, London, for July 16, 1943, answers Mrs. Matthews :—

NOW THIS DUKE KNOWS.

Housing conditions under which miners live in Lanarkshire were condemned by the Duke of Bedford last week. Following a two-day investigation of the conditions of mining communities in the county, the Duke made a statement at a Press interview in Glasgow.

Declaring that his impressions were very mixed, the Duke said that . . .

The very fact that this paper was circulating through the British and especially the English countryside the week before Mrs. Matthews made her speech, and that the Duke's declaration had received widespread circulation in the ordinary press, proves the audacious capacity fo falsehood and misrepresentation possessed by "Communist" propagandists.

By this time only the "Communists" were continuing the abuse that the Duke of Bedford was a Fascist. It has dawned on most journalists, no matter how great their militarism, that the Duke was a very convinced and very sincere Pacifist. The desire was to urge that he was without statesmanship and clear political concept on this account and was useless in war-time. His day was after the war not during it. Writing in *The Catholic Times*, London, on October 8, 1943, George Glasgow, discussing "A Christian Duty," used the Duke of Bedford to illustrate his concept of the last possible personification of Pacifism :—

Even the Duke of Bedford though, as he had said, he would not lift a finger to defend his property or himself against an invader, would without doubt not stand by and witness an unprovoked aggression upon an innocent and helpless third party.

EVEN! We like that touch!

On November 26, the *Daily Worker*, London, decorated the Duke's 18B notice of motion in the Lords into a fancy news item, trimmings free :—

DUKE LEADS NEW ATTACK ON 18B.

Daily Worker Reporter.

The Duke of Bedford, notorious advocate of a negotiated peace with Hitler, is to raise the question of 18B detainees in the House of Lords. His motion is, of course, an attack on the Regulation under which the British Fascists have been detained.

The Duke has long been an apologist for Mosley and has defended the Fascist leader's policy. His own detention under 18B has been widely demanded by working-class organisations.

This paragraph shows how well "Communist" journalists have studied and excelled the late Horatio Bottomley.

As to how the bogus "Labour" resolutions are brought about, let us hear the explanation of Herbert Morrison.

At the Annual Dinner of Labour Party Agents in London, held at Gatti's Restaurant, on February 11, 1939—as reported in *Forward*, for February 18, 1939—Morrison said :—

One of the saddest things about the Communists nowadays is their moral deterioriation.

Not only have they dropped almost every principle which they formerly regarded as essential to revolutionary action, but some of them are guilty (presumably by direction of their own leaders) of personal dishonesties that are distasteful and contemptible.

I am told that Communist Party members, in seeking to become Labour Party members or delegates sign declarations that they are not members of the Communist Party or its ancillary organisations; that others are given "leave of absence," so to speak, from the Communist Party in order that they may do its work within the Labour Party; and that in certain cases people use one name in the Communist Party and another name in the Labour Party.

Before 1943 ended, on the 10th of the last month, the nature-note writer of *Spectator*, London, under the heading "Alien Blacks" paid a tribute to the Duke :

The Duke of Bedford, one of the best and most accurate of naturalists, kindly answers my query about the black squirrel seen recently . . .

In his letter to the author of these notes, the Duke wrote :—

I have seen black varieties of the red squirrel which have been imported from the Continent.

The Duke's natural history seems to fit into human political experiences. Are not the "Communists" black varieties of the red squirrels imported from the continent—political "alien blacks" so far as Socialism and the Labour Movement are concerned?

On this note we end this review of the press campaign, "Communist" and Imperialist, against the Duke of Bedford. The reader will note the bitterness and the contradictions, and form his own view of the worth of the Duke's Pacifist stand and propaganda, his general witness against war and oppression. To those who want justice and liberty and are not moved by careerist ambition the Duke makes his appeal.

BOLSHEVIK BOGEY IN BRITAIN.

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(*Concluded from column* 3.)

to one side, and viewing the matter from the most orthodox militarist viewpoint, we are convinced that neither Bertolini nor Pacitti ought to remain interned. Their offences consist, purely and simply, of close association with Italian compatriots—a romantic desire to keep language contacts with the country in which their parents were born. Their actual living interests are purely Scottish. On the outbreak of war both young men were unwilling to stand aloof from the conflict against Nazism, and volunteered for service in the Navy. The death of their fathers, who were not Fascists, under such tragic circumstances, embittered them for a while. The families have overcome all bitterness in a horror of the realities of war, and approach the matter from a Christian Pacifist standpoint.

The Pacittis and the Bertolinis are Catholics, and do not share either our religious or political views, although they meet us on the point of Pacifism. We are surprised, however, that the Catholic press and the Catholic priests in Glasgow have not championed these persons in their wrongs. But perhaps the Catholic Church, like the Protestant Church, is too busy being national to be really human and universal. Even priests ought to believe in the common Fatherhood of God, which means the brotherhood and oneness of humanity and, consequently, the outlawry of war and social wrong. We ask the Labour movement to investigate these cases and to enquire why wealthy Anglo-Italian Fascists have been released, while these poor folk remain interned. We trust that it will be unnecessary to return to this matter.

"IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU."

This work has been noticed in a few independent journals. We shall cite the reviews from time to time, since the subject is one of urgent civil importance.

The *Weekly Review*, above the initials *R. T.*, published the following commentary :

If only half the statements contained in this formidable indictment of the administrators of Regulation 18b are true it exposes one of the most sinister stories England has yet heard. It is an account, supported by chapter and verse and a wealth of circumstance, of the arrest, methods of interrogation and subsequent treatment of internees. And however little sympathy one may have for the political opinions of some of them, their ereatment as uncharged and unconvicted prisoners indicates that the subtleties of O.G.P.U. and the Gestapo are not altogether foreign to these islands.

The legal position of released men is startling as the Ben Greene and other cases show. Greene was imprisoned for 19 months on a charge of "hostile association" which it was at last discovered by Greene's relatives, had been laid against him by a Mr. Kurtz, an enemy alien employed by the British Secret Service. At the hearing of Greene's legal action against the Home Secretary it was established that no matter whether Kurtz's information was true or false the only question that could materially be considered for judgment was whether the Home Secretary did or did not believe Greene to be guilty. If he did, and even if the evidence to support that was later found to be untrue, he had no right to imprison Greene without trial for as long as he was of the same opinion.

The authors of this document have had the highest courage in publishing it. As a result of it may nothing sudden and unpleasant happen to them.

BRITISH ITALIAN 18B CASES

In his exhaustive speech on Regulation 18B, delivered in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, January 25 last, the Duke of Bedford made reference to the cases of Alberto Pacitti and Gino Bertolini. The Duke said :

In the case of persons of Italian origin, some who were released were definitely interested in political Fascism. I do not mean for a moment to suggest that they harboured any traitorous designs against this country for that reason, but there is no getting away from the fact that they were actively interested in political Fascism. On the other hand there are others known to me who have never been interested in political Fascism and yet who are still detained. I have in mind in particular two Italian families of the name of Pacitti and Bertolini, who are resident in Glasgow. The senior members of these families came to Scotland in their early youth and they and their children, except for appearance, could not be distinguished from ordinary Scottish people. The fathers of the two families were both definitely anti-Fascists, but they were packed off abroad in the "Arandora Star" and both were drowned when the ship was torpedoed.

The sons belonged to an organization called the "Friends of Italy." This organization had for its honorary president Sir Harry Britain who, I believe, has not been interned. Although it had the approval of the Fascist Government of Italy, it is not primarily a Fascist organization, but rather a social and compatriot organization for promoting good understanding between the two countries. The two young men, when they joined it, had not the slightest idea that they were doing anything which would ever be regarded as disloyal, but they are still interned in the Isle of Man. Some time ago Mrs. Pacitti went over there to visit her son and her friends, and, walking long distances from camp to camp, overtaxed her strength and has since become dangerously ill. Pacitti was recently brought before the Advisory Committee and asked whether, if he were released, he would agree to join the Army and go to Italy. He replied that in the early days of the war he would have been quite prepared to defend the country, but since his father's death his whole attitude had become profoundly changed and he could not take part in war in any shape or form. I say that to make a suggestion of that kind to a man in Pacitti's position is to add insult to injury.

Since these words were uttered, the Home Office has regretted, once more, its inability to release either Alberto Pacitti or Gino Bertolinni.

We know these families intimately, and we have known Alberto Pacitti for a number of years, since he used to attend our Socialist meetings at Alexandra Parade. The families are well known to be thoroughly law-abiding families. They are poor and we plead their case, because it is the duty of Socialists to plead for the poor and to oppose oppression. Putting our Socialist prejudices against capitalist militarist government

(*Concluded foot column* 2)

THE HUMANIST FRIENDS' CHALLENGE

By Lowell H. Coate, M.A., Ph.D.

(General Superintendent; The Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

The Humanist Society of Friends is incorporated under the state laws of California as a "Religious Organization," and as such it is authorised to issue Charters anywhere in the world. It is based and built on the Humanist Proclamation of May 1st, 1933, by more than thirty leading American educators, including such outstanding names as John Dewey, Harry Elmer Barnes, William Floyd and others. This "Humanist Manifesto," as it is usually referred to, features the philosophy of Religious Humanism, with its chief emphasis on Man. In the words of Protagoras: "Man is the measure of all things." In addition to this official Humanist statement, the Humanist Society of Friends has included the idealism expressed in the traditional Quaker emphasis on Peace and Non-Violence, together with a greater emphasis on real Democracy, including International and Interracial Co-operation, Equal Freedom, Civil liberties, Religious Unity, Economic Abundance, and similar ideals which many religious and intellectual movements have neglected.

Religious Humanism is unique in that it has no gods or devils, paradises or perditions, prayers or dogmas, sacred writings or unscientific beliefs. It is known as 'A Scientific Religion for a Scientific Age,' and the sponsors are convinced that if there is to be any religion at all in the future scientific age it is bound to be a scientific religion. As Humanist Friends they are not at all interested in spending their lives in trying to believe about things which they like to believe, or have been taught to believe, when the world is full of a million things they can know about and can scientifically verify to the satisfaction of anyone who cares to inquire or investigate.

Humanist Friends respect everybody's personal beliefs as their own private personal possession, and are glad for them to receive whatever degree of comfort or satisfaction they derive from them, but are not concerned with their beliefs as such, preferring rather to limit their public discussions and considerations to the more abundant life and wealth of scientific evidence, verifiable knowledge, intellectual and cultural arts, greater international and interracial co-operation and the historical emphasis on Peace as a way of life. This is the first time in the entire history of the human race, so far as is known, that anybody has undertaken to make a religion of Science, or rather the Scientific Method—abstract science alone, of course, being merely a tool capable of being used for good or ill, either creatively or destructively. But anything which is both scientific and for the best general welfare is good Humanism. Humanists are satisfied to accept one of Webster's definitions of Religion as "devotion to an ideal or a principle."

Humanism has been referred to as "the only religion of American origin," such churches as Mormons and Christian Scientists being merely variations of the more than 200 different varieties of the Christian religion, worshiping the same orthodox God, using the same sacred Bible and observing the same holy days as other orthodox Christians. Any Indian religions which existed previously had their origin long before this continent was known as America. Religious Humanism as a movement is therefore quite recent as compared to the earlier Classical Humanists such as Socrates, Aristotle and Protagoras, who lived several centuries B.C., or the later Scientific Humanists of more modern times, or even the Religious Society of Friends (better known as Quakers), whose Peace Principles Humanist Friends seek to emulate by including them as an important and essential part of their philosophy and programme. There is, however, no organic connection between the two organisations except by way of mutual co-operation with the American Friends Service Committee, whose impartial relief work and numerous other humanitarian services are known around the world. They are best known everywhere, however, for their Peace Principles and Tradition, which extend back almost 300 years to their founder, George Fox, in England.

The Founder of the Humanist Society of Friends, Dr. Lowell H. Coate, was himself known as a "Birth-right Quaker," both of his parents having been members of the Society of Friends at the time of his birth. He had also served as Pastor of a Friends Church in Indiana prior to coming to California. Dr. Hugh E. Macbeth and Dr. D. Herbert Heywood, also original incorporators of the Humanist Society of Friends, had long cherished the same Peace principles as sponsored by Friends. Dr. Heywood had personally known many of the New England Quakers and had often attended their meetings, while Dr. Macbeth, having been born and reared in Charleston, S.C., and the old South, was thoroughly familiar with the Quakers and their activities in opposing slavery and in conducting the "Underground Railroad' whereby many of his own race and kin were enabled to escape to their freedom in the northern States and to Canada. The Humanist Society of Friends is therefore justly proud of its Quaker background and heritage.

Although they are unable to accept the traditional idea of a personal God such as most orthodox people cherish, Humanist Friends do recognise a great universal Law, or Power, or Force in Life and in Nature which others have often referred to as God or a Supreme Being.

Humanist Friends officially deny that they are either Fundamentalists or Atheists. While the former have never claimed to scientifically prove their idea of an orthodox God, and the latter by the same logic have never disproved it, Humanists simply ignore it as something by the very nature of which nobody can know with the present available information, and are not too proud to admit that there are some things they do not know.

Everybody of every religion or no religion is equally welcome in the Humanist Friends Society, and no one need ever fear that terrible thing called "excommunication," so prevalent among orthodox religions. The very word has been eliminated from the Humanist vocabulary. Everyone is welcome to remain among Humanist Friends so long as he feels he can benefit from their fellowship or has any service or contribution which he can render the Society. They are also proud of the fact that they have no such thing as a "back-slider" among them, for one who is scientifically convinced of a fact does not need to be resold on it once a week for the rest of his life. In fact, they have entirely abandoned all orthodox terminology; they have no preachers, priests, parsons, pastors, deacons, missionaries, bishops, elders or "doctors of divinity." They do have ministers, preferably known as directors, but that is not essentially an orthodox term, for governments as well as religions have ministers, and the word "religion" existed centuries before orthodox Christianity was ever known or heard of. Their organisation is never referred to as a church, but a Society, and their public gatherings are announced as meetings or assemblies, but never as services. They are not in competition with orthodox churches or religions of any kind, for their efforts and interests are in two entirely different worlds: Humanists in the known world, Orthodox in the world of beliefs. Because of this, members of other churches or religions can logically affiliate with Humanist Friends while retaining their former affiliation, if they so desire. But their special appeal in America is to its 60 per cent. of population who are not affiliated with any church or redigion of any kind.

Rather than a divisive movement, as some have thought, Humanism actually supplies the only possible foundation for religious unity, for it is these never-ending personal and controversial beliefs, which nobody could possibly prove if his life depended on it, which have created the "thousand and one" variations and interpretations of the Christian religion in the world to-day, to say nothing of numerous other historical religions. By eliminating these divisive and controversial beliefs and limiting its considerations to the known facts of modern science, the Humanist movement definitely supplies the only real basis for such religious unity. Humanists are therefore neither Protestant nor Catholic, Jewish nor Christian—they are Humanists. ALL human beings, including every race, creed, colour and economic status, constitute one great human family, all of whom are automatically included in the fellowship of the Humanist Society of Friends.

Humanist Friends sponsor a definite programme for greater International and Interracial tolerance, goodwill and co-operation. To this end they propose doing socially, economically and religiously what practically all public schools throughout the State of California and most other States are already doing educationally; that is, giving equal opportunity, recognition and consideration to ALL, regardless of race, creed, colour or economic status. This is Democracy in Action. There is no such thing as Humanist Friends North and Humanist Friends South; they are, in fact, about the only religion without such national, racial and hemispheric differences, divisions and distinctions. They are one happy "Human Family" and may find it one of the great joys of their lives to share in this new friendly Humanist attitude and atmosphere. A programme of greater economic co-operation is also emphasised, whereby people are able to "solve their economic problems by economic methods."

It was Victor Hugo who once said that "the most powerful thing in the world is an idea whose time has come,' and if anyone is inclined to be sceptical of this statement let him be reminded of the fact that within the past decade, since the first World War, approximately two-thirds of Europe has abandoned its orthodox religion.

It is a characteristic of religions that they collapse and disappear along with the passing of the political and economic systems which they support, as history so abundantly testifies. This was true of the ancient religions of the old Egyptian empire, and later of the Babylonian kingdom, and still more recently of Pagan Greece and Rome. People simply decline to continue their devotion and respect to gods who seem to forsake them in their wars and times of greatest crisis and distress. It is this process which has recently occurred throughout much of Europe during and since World War I, as a result of which millions of Europe's populations have suffered the untold agonies of defeat, humiliation and despair. They are therefore abandoning the God who has so sadly "let them down."

It was the late Lord Morley of England who asserted that "the next great task of Science is the building of a new religion," perhaps in anticipation of these present days of world tribulation. For certainly there could never have been a scientific religion prior to this generation, for there was never a scientific age prior to this. Most of those who object to using the term 'religion" often base their objections chiefly on their dislike for the orthodox Christian religion, forgetting that there were numerous other religions centuries before the Christian era. These same objectors to the word "religion" do not seem to cherish the same aversion when applied to the Pagan Religion, which was no less a religion than the others.

Humanists have every reason to be proud of their moral and spiritual forbears, including among the Founding Fathers of America such men as Thomas Jefferson Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin; and later such outstanding men as Abraham Lincoln, Elbert Hubbard and Thomas A. Edison; and such contemporary scientists and educators as John Dewey, Harry Elmer Barnes, Oliver L. Reiser and Albert Einstein. No movement ever had greater representatives than these.

There is only one genuinely new religion evolved in about every 1,000 years on the average, and Humanist Friends enjoy a justifiable pride and a certain sense of destiny in having an active and personal part in this new scientific religion. Everyone participating in it feels that he is

sharing in an important movement that is destined to make significant history, and that he is one of the actors in this great drama of building a New Religion for a New World.

Here is a remarkable opportunity for adventurous youth, for college students and for those who love to pioneer, for pioneering in the old sense of the "frontier days" has gone forever, but here are new intellectual frontiers which offer an unprecedented challenge worthy of the very finest courage, the greatest endeavour, the keenest intelligence, the strongest character, the most consuming ambition and the highest type of human service.

It is greater than the challenge of Freedom, for which more wars have been fought than for any other one thing, for Humanism is more than Freedom. It is greater than the challenge of Democracy, for which another war is now ostensibly being fought, for Humanism is more than Democracy. It is evengreater than the challenge of Peace, which is the ultimate goal of all wars, for it is more than Peace. Any peace, even world peace, on any other basis than equal freedom and economic justice is merely a truce between two wars. Humanism is therefore more than any one of these great ideals, for it includes all of them. A thousand wars have been fought during the past ten thousand years for the achievement of these human goals, but Humanism and its peaceful Educational Programme gives promise of them ALL. No greater challenge of any kind has ever come to human beings in any age. It heralds the dawning of a new day and the coming of a new world, as seen by one of the greatest Humanists that ever lived, Robert Ingersoll:

A vision of the future rises. . . .

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of the earth and air are tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labour reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle . . . is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of forms and function, and, as I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.

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,, 23—S. K. Ratcliffe. "England and St. George."
,, 30—A. Robertson, M.A. "The History of Morals—(2) The Medieval World."
May 7—Prof. G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D. "Moral Purpose in Shakespeare's Tragedies."

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PACIFISM A CENTURY AGO

By MAURICE CRANSTON

"Principles of Peace and Non-resistance" were being busily propagated in this country a hundred years ago. The word "pacifism", had not yet come into our language, but the idea existed, and there was quite an influential movement in being to further it. The 1840's appear to have been something of a boom period for peace activities, in spite of famine and political unrest. Edwin Paxton Hood, an extreme "pacifist" wrote in 1846 that his literary activities had been delayed by "circumstances of an interesting nature in connection with Peace Principles, and of a more imperative nature."

These circumstances of a more imperative nature, so far as Hood was concerned, were repeated visits to public houses in the wake of recruiting sergeants, where he was "prepared with the ammunition of tracts and tongue to meet unthinking cruelty and fraud . . . to prevent enlistments in the army . . . and to advocate Total Abstinence." Hood carried his propaganda further than the Sedition Law permits the pacifist of to-day, and actually effected several soldiers' "salvation from the army."

In intellectual circles the principles of peace and international goodwill were being constantly canvassed. Carlyle had discerned a tendency towards a universal European commonweal, and thought that wars would become rarer, less inhuman, and in the course of centuries . . . become obsolete for ever. Leigh Hunt had refuted the notion that nations would grow cowardly without war. Wordsworth had eliminated from one of his poems a suggestion that war was an element in human progress. Lord Kames, now completely forgotten, but once a most celebrated apologist for war, was held in progressively less esteem by thinking people. Against such a background of moderate peace sentiment, the extreme pacifist teaching of the Peace Society reached an ever-widening audience. The implications of non-resistance were as clearly apprehended then as now, although there was not much understanding of the actual causes of war. Tariffs and Drink were seriously held by certain pacifists to be the root causes, and none seemed to see anything but good in the influence of Commerce.

Some research into the history and economies of wars was undertaken around this time, and is still of interest. The Newcastle "Peace Advocate and Correspondent" revealed that in the years between 1811 and 1842 the Duke of Wellington had received £2,258, 365 in British Army pay and grants alone, while an Infantryman wrote to the "Naval and Military Gazette" (Oct. 3, 1842) that a private soldier's small share of prize money was seldom received in time to buy his coffin. In a paper called "Statistics of Peace and War" read to the Peace Convention of 1843, John Allen revealed that: "According to the recent publication, showing the extent, population, revenue and debt, of the principle states of Europe for 1829, the debt of Russia was £35,550,000; of Austria, £78,100,000; of France, £194,400,000; of Spain, £70,000,000; of Netherlands, including Belgium, £148,000,000; of Prussia, £29.701,000; of Great Britain, £819,600,000." A contemporary, Mr. Abeel, wrote: "I shall examine the position in which Britain finds herself after trying the fortune of war for so long a period; and see whether she has been the gainer after all her exertions. We would suppose that she would at least have increased her riches and resources, in such protracted struggles; that she would have counted the cost, like the man in the scripture, before she went on her warfare; but so far from being the case, in 1835, her debt amounted to 778 millions of pounds, and the interest of this, with the terminable annuities, amounted to the sum of 28½ millions. Charles II commenced the national debt to support his extravagances. At the abdication of James II it amounted to more than half a million. At the Peace of Ryswyck, the eight years of King William's war increased the debt to 21½ millions. In the still more foolish wars in which George II engaged in respecting the Austrian succession, the debt was increased to 78 millions; and in the war for the distant colony of Novia Scotia, there was added 68½ millions, making 146½ millions. In the American war 103 millions was added, and in 1789, the debt arose of 234 millions, though several millions were paid off . . . at the overthrow of Napoleon it had increased to 865 millions; and all this was exclusive of the vast revenues of the country, which, at one period, amounted to 70 millions annually."

Pacifist propaganda abounded in such statistics. The following figures, culled from the "Paris Advertiser" of 1836, were widely circulated by the Peace Society:—

It is estimated that in the last 4,000 years 6,860,000,000 of the human race have perished on the field of battle, or have been slaughtered in the sacking of cities. At this rate, in 4,000 years, of 1,715,000 per annum, or seven times the present number of the human species." Dr. Dick, a theologian and peace-propagandist, in his "Philosophy of Religion," put the total number of persons killed in wars since the beginning of the world at 14 thousand millions.

Evidence was collected of instances where non-resistance had effectively been employed against a threat of violence. A book by an American writer, Mrs. Child, called "Letters from New York," and published, I believe, in 1840, gives quite as weighty historical support for non-violence as any modern author, including Gregg. And Paxton Hood's "Encyclopaedia of Peace," published in 1846, is not far behind Huxley's "Encyclopaedia of Pacifism," published in 1937.

One of the most energetic anti-militarists of the time was John Pye Smith. "The bewitching array of the military system," he declared, "covers a dark and unfathomable pit of crime and misery." Lord Brougham was even more forthright. He said at one Liverpool meeting: "15 millions have been squandered on cruelty and crime, in naturalising barbarism over the world, shrouding the nations in darkness, making bloodshed tinge the earth of every country under the sun;—in one horrid and comprehensive word, squandered on *War*; the greatest curse of the human race, and the greatest crime, because it involves every other crime within its execrable name, and all with the wretched—I thank God I may now say the utterly frustrated . . . utterly vain attempt to crush the liberties of the people."

There is a message at the end of Paxton Hood's Encyclopadeia which is worth conveying to the pacifist to-day: "The friends of Peace have a sacred work to perform for posterity; if war be an evil (and who can doubt it) then most obviously it becomes their duty to labour on—with earnest hearts, in secret, it may be; in silence, it may be; it becomes their duty still heartily and earnestly to labour on against all the mockery, the tinsel, frippery, and the tapestry of feudalism; against every sceptre wielded by the hands of injustice; against all the usurpations which men have made on life, and conscience and liberty; against every power based on oppression and fraud; against all these the Friends of Peace will array themselves with no weapon stronger than truth."

THE FIGHTING PARSON.

Let us honour the militant parson,
An asset to church and to state,
Who can prove to their joint satisfaction
That when Christ bids us "Love" he means "Hate."

Who can show that destruction and fury
And death that screams down from above,
Are works to the honour and glory
Of the God of forgiveness and love.

Let us honour the militant parson,
And trust he will reap his reward,
When his days, and his war work, are ended.
And he comes to account to his Lord.

IVAN BEUTLER.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

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JOHN MACLEAN

In this number we publish a picture of John MacLean, taken with his school class over 40 years ago.

The comrade who lent us the original photo last December wrote at the time:—

On passing your shop recently, I noticed the picture of John Maclean, and wondered if the quite well preserved photo of him, taken with his school class before he made his great stand against war, would be of any interest to you. One of the pupils, as you will be able to recognise, is Councillor Mrs. Jean Mann.

Your picture of him made me turn to this photo, and brought back memories of Kinning Park School, otherwise called Brodie's School. Mr. Brodie was, at that time, the very much liked headmaster. Daddy McIntyre was head teacher, a little wiry man, sharp, but efficient. John McLean came next, but I think he left the school and then plunged into the political adventures which resulted in his death. I was quite small then and cannot remember all the details. I only got into the photo because the younger members of the family were allowed into the same photo as the older members to save buying numerous photos.

I well remember the older pupils in awed tones telling each other about him having been seen speaking at a meeting at such and such a street corner, and having said something or other which seemed remarkable. I am afraid that, to me,a quiet little girl, he was a very mysterious person whose ideas and meetings were not quite the same as the other grown ups.

JOHN MACLEAN AND HIS KINNING PARK CLASS.

This rare and hitherto unpublished picture of John Maclean and his pupils at Kinning Park School, Glasgow, will be appreciated by many comrades who recall the memory of our great Socialist Anti-Militarist

The life story of John Maclean, with the verbatim report of his speech from the dock, fully illustrated, can be obtained from this office. 4d., post free 6d.

THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

BY MATT KAVANAGH

The coming collapse of the present regime is apparent to all. Even the most purblind and stupid of mortals is awake to this obvious fact. "What will come out of it all," meaning the present absurd destruction rejoiced in by statesmen and militarists, is the anxious question that disturbs men and women wherever they congregate at the present time, irrespective of religion, politics, or any other alienism. It is the social-economic question, the one thought of the present total-crisis. Consequently we are being inundated by those in power with all sorts of wierd schemes, gilded pills to avert social earthquakes. The new world planners more and more succeed in proving the truth of Tolstoy's words: *"The ruling classes will do anything for Labour except get off its back."*

The new-world planning of the political parties, new and old, matters little in itself, for the planners are without sincerity. It is not a new world of peace and order that they would inaugurate. It is the old world, only with its powers of destruction intensified, its menace to humanity magnified a thousand-fold, that they would perpetuate. The promises, platitudes, and activities of these people are merely straws showing which way the social wind blows. Reaction plays at reformism to stave off revolution. The more determined the workers are to take action, the more earnest their opposition to post-war conscription and hunger-marching, the more lavish the promises of the politicians and the careerists. It is the case of the carrot and the donkey once again. A brave new world was promised at the conclusion of the First World War. During that war, Socialist meetings were rushed and speakers assaulted because they reminded the audiences of the fate of the heroes of the Boer War. Time showed that they spoke the truth, and the ex-Servicemen once more paraded their wounds for charity. The brave new world went into cold storage for the duration of the peace interlude. Now it is served up again, partly by "Socialist" (sic) politicians who made their names seeming to oppose the First World War. These men were never Socialists: merely careerists marking-time and preparing for their opportunity. Thomas Johnston! Lord Ammon! Herbert Morrison!

Honest, but simple folk, forgetting the story of the two Labour Governments, still believe that there is some political alchemy in Labour being in the Government. This belief exists in spite of the evidence which has been accumulated in every country of how the workers' movement and struggle has been side-tracked into the political morass. The study of the Social Democratic movement in Germany, and how it betrayed the workers until Nazism came to flourish, is an outstanding illustration of the parliamentary evil of Socialist careerism. This betrayal certainly contributed to the tragedy of the present world-war. Even now, the historic lesson notwithstanding, Socialism is very much in the background It cannot be otherwise because the Labour Leaders are concerned, not with the social struggle, but how they may gain power through the parliamentary machine, to administer that which they know is a false economic system. They have no desire to change it or to remove it nearer to the heart's desire. They wish to flourish under it, to conserve it.

Some of these Labour politicians have not quite made up their minds how to define their objective. They are afraid to give up the use of the catch-phrase, "Socialism in our time": it sounds such a promising mouthful; yet "Adequate Old-Age Pensions" seems a more certain and attractive objective. It may be the better carrot. Each seems to possess some merit as a slogan with which to deceive the common people. And in the eyes of statesmen, avowedly capitalist or nominally Socialist, the common people exist only to be deceived. Of such are the planners of the brave new world! What vulgar outrage on the decency of mankind!

The political deception of the careerists is not satisfied with its choice of slogans. The careerist is never comfortable within himself because he is conscious always of his Socialist beginnings which his climbing has negated steadily without destroying his power of looking back. He would appeal to the idealistic and genuine revolutionary section of the working-class. He would address this section in terms recalling the enthusiasm of his youth, with a slogan less vague and more potent than an undefined "Socialism in our time," and more romantic and less drab than pensions, especially since he knows how inadequate such pensions must be when achieved. They will be ceded in very small instalments. Consequently, the workers are treated to the pleasing legend-cry of "The Socialist United States of Europe." This phrase can never prove anything but a slogan, used in a vain endeavour to found yet another International.

"Socialist" politicians ignore the fact that the

law of unequal development applies as much in sociology as in biology. Countries are similar, not identical, in their characteristics and development. In this respect, they resemble individuals. To blandly ignore this fact and speak of "The Socialist United States of Europe" is *not* Socialism but ignorance. It is parliamentarianism but not social usefulness. And it ignores the function of the people.

The victorious Powers may do what they will with the checker-board of Europe. Frontiers may be varied or abolished. It will be of no final importance. In the end, the common people will assert themselves in every country. Sooner or later, they will decide. Politicians and statesmen will pass. The last word will be with the people. The will of the people will decree the social reality.

The would-be rulers of civilisation entertain the absurd theory that the peak-point of civilisation is to be found only in the highly developed industrial countries. Leisure is ruled out as something vicious. Life is all work, tireless energy, constant movement. No repose. Any form of civilisation that does not organise social life on some belief that we live to work is ruled out, not merely as something different, but as something inferior and evil. The aim of our Imperialists is to build up Wigans and Bethnal Greens in China, Africa, and Arcadia itself. To do this would be to elevate the natives of these forsaken lands, or the inhabitants of Utopia, to the very acme of Christian and scientific culture. This ideal so impresses the leaders of Western Civilisation that the thought of it reconciles Christian and Atheist and unites them in a common brotherhood of efficiency. What a dream!

Turning from the map of the world to the much smaller one of Europe, the social thinker should see that the line of development in the different countries must vary. We have seen, in our time, how reality turned two revolutions from political revolutions into social revolutions. Both of these epoch-making events went contrary to the metaphysical dogmas of the self-styled "Scientific Socialists." Russia and Spain were almost purely agrarian countries. They had behind them the record of a splendid revolutionary struggle and a tradition of primitive but practical Communism. The heroes and heroines of this struggle and tradition belonged to the working class. Because of this record and tradition, the expropriation of the parasite class was not the negation of their civilisation, but its logical fulfilment. Departure from the first principles of this social development led to the betrayal of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution failed, as every revolution must fail that ignores its own historical promise. In the end, it negated itself and not the old social order out of which it arose. It became the Russian Counter-Revolution.

It is strange to reflect how our "Scientific Socialists" have played with the idea of uniform social evolution everywhere; no hills nor dales, no mountain scenery, no real social landscape. Just a dead flatness of wearisome uniformity. What a revelation of their own deadly mediocrity! What an indictment of the parliamentary careerism. Speech without inspiration, just chatter and stalemate. "Uniform evolution" is an idea that can be left to these arm-chair theoreticians and political professionals, divorced from actual social life. Not only each country, but maybe even each locality, will adopt some peculiarity in its mode of life when the social change comes. Everywhere will arise that form of living which suits the people best, based on experience. Life will not be created by decrees according to the theories of the abstractionist parasites who would be the law-makers. Anarchists are right when they insist on the need for liberty and declare that real union of living is found in diversity of expression, not in regimentation of existence, and uniformity of speech and action. Dictatorship is an evil, whether it is termed Socialist Dictatorship, or admitted to be Fascist.

"The Socialist United States of Europe" does not sound too Libertarian, although a federation of Socialist communities could be completely libertarian. The First International ended in a Marxian conspiracy of expulsion against Bakunin and the Anarchists. The Second International expelled Anarchists and repudiated the social struggle despite the protests of Kier Hardie and Tom Mann. It ended in a reformist debacle and chauvinism. The Third International organised the destruction of Anarchists and then destroyed the old Bolsheviks and the Trotskyists. Finally, it destroyed itself in the interests of State Capitalist Imperialism. The idea of existing European States, or, if you like, world States, being administered by a Council of the International, no matter how allegedly proletarian it is, and no matter whether it is a 4th or 14 th International, is opposed to the first principle of natural liberty and self-determination, and savours more of Fascism than of Socialism. It is the pass to which conventional Socialism has brought itself in its servitude to militarist society.

Real, material progress, must come from the people themselves, from within the individual himself; and from within the social life of the individuals living together in society. It must be expressed in deeds, in practical living, social experiment, vital struggle and evolution. It must rise from the bottom dogs in society and not be imposed by Parliaments, or Dictatorships, whether Communist or Fascist.

War is forcing the lessons of liberty and social reality on the workers to-day as never before. Events are proving the true schoolmasters. From amid the anguish and suffering of destruction the new world is struggling to birth. Let us see that it is a world nurtured in liberty and not authority; a world in which all peoples will realise that only where there is an equality of right to well-being can there be a fraternity of interest; and that such equality can be enjoyed and such fraternity maintained only through the common enjoyment of liberty. It must be a world without fear.

OPEN FORUM ADDRESS.

"THE LOGIC OF ANTI-CONSCRIPTION."

Mr. Wm. C. McDougall, Glasgow, addressed an open forum meeting in Lesser Town Hall, Motherwell, on Sunday evening.

Mr. W. E. Currie, presiding, referred to the splendid service rendered by Mr. McDougall as chairman of the No Conscription League. Mr. Currie recalled the meetings and demonstrations held in Motherwell some four and a half years ago, protesting against the introduction of conscription. At that time a petition launched by the Scottish T.U.C. against conscription was taken up by the local Trades and Labour Council and widely signed throughout the district. To-day many of those who previously opposed that measure now accepted it without protest, while another section which at that time denounced the war as an imperialist war now called for a second front.

IMPRISONED DURING LAST WAR.

Although having served a term of imprisonment during the last war, Mr. McDougall still remained true to his principles, and to-day maintained his opposition to conscription and war with the same courage and fearlessness as in the years 1914-18.

Taking as his subject "The Logic of Anti-Conscription," the speaker dealt in turn with military conscription and industrial conscription. He pointed out that while many people opposed conscription in any shape or form they failed to realise that so long as the present system remained all their protests would be in vain. It was only logical, therefore, that in opposing conscription they should protest against the system which imposed such measures. Mr. McDougall reminded his hearers of the terrible suffering and years of unemployment at the end of the last war and issued a warning of a far greater catastrophe which may befall the common people as a result of the present struggle.

NEED FOR NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

He called for the overthrow of the capitalist system with its long record of wars in almost every part of the globe and stressed the need for a new social order that would banish war for all time and bring peace and security to the peoples of all countries.

At the close of the address a period was allowed for questions and discussions. Full advantage was taken of this opportunity and the speaker showed exceptional capabilities in dealing with the points raised.

—"The Motherwell Times," Friday, March 10, 1944.

Why Jesus Wept. Guy Aldred's Humanist pamphlet. 12 essays. 72 pages. 6d. Post-free, 8d. Secure Now.

THE LADY OF THE QUAB

Under this interesting heading, "The Monmouthshire Beacon," for Friday, September 3, 1943, published an interesting appreciation of the then recently deceased Miss Thirza Wakley and recorded the radical contribution to progress of the famous Wakley family

We make the following excerpt from our contemporary's tribute:—

Miss Thirza Wakley who died as the result of burns at The Quab, her Welsh Newton home, was a lady of outstanding personality who held decided views on child education. Headmistress of one of the largest infants' schools in the City of Cardiff, she gave up her post rather than submit to methods which she considered were not in the best interests of the children. Now after a lapse of 20 years most of her suggested reforms are included in the new Education Bill. . . . T.W. was a doughty warrior, championing the cause of reform in the education of the young child; and throughout the contest she never questioned for a moment but that her theories on Child Education would be put into practice.

In her enthusiasm for the welfare of the child, T.W. could see no obstacles. She needed more teachers (or "educators" as she persisted in calling the members of her staff). To her every child was a "person" and needed individual attention. Mass education was anathema to her and she wished every child in the land to have the opportunities afforded at Eton! No wonder her views seemed visionary! They were—twenty years ago! And yet Mr. Butler's New Education Bill practically incorporates them all!

Miss Wakley was a member of the Wakley family so closely associated with the medical journal, "The Lancet." The founder and first editor of that paper was her grand-uncle; and the editorship remained in the family until 1909 (nearly 90 years!) when Thomas Wakeley III died.

There are some curious parallels in her lifework and that of Thomas Wakley I, and one is tempted to think that something of his crusading spirit was reincarnated in his grand-niece. Thomas Wakley, while a medical student at a London Hospital noted conditions at variance with his ideas of justice. He found that money and not merit was a means of obtaining high places in the profession. There was overcrowding of medical classes for students owing to the insufficiency of schools of medicine. To get arguments for reform in front of the reading public, he founded "The Lancet," and after the passing of the Reform Bill he entered Parliament as the Member for Finsbury. His paper became the duelling ground for encounters between the Editor and the members of the privileged classes in medicine, and his Parliamentary work was devoted to supporting the claims for the amelioration of the conditions of the poor. His work bore fruit in the Medical Reform Bill of 1858, and the evidence given before the Committe of Inquiry confirmed what he had been saying in "The Lancet" for 10 years.

How many of our historians mention the name of Thomas Wakley? Most pass him over in silence; but, strange to say, a book entitled "Carlile and the Surgeons," by Chas. Wortham Brook, published recently by the Strickland Press, Glasgow, pays tribute to his work as a fierce Parliamentary champion of the people against an oppressive Poor Law.

All who are interested in the record of the Wakley family, and especially the work of Thomas Wakley, should secure a copy of Dr. Brook's magnificent factual study direct from this office, post-free, 2s. 3d.

EX-BAILIE HUNTER.

Councillor William G. Hunter, Socialist representative for Calton Ward in Glasgow Corporation, died on Friday March 17 in Stobhill Hospital, where he had been ill for a long time. He was 87. Ex-Bailie Hunter was the oldest member of the Glasgow Corporation.

Hunter became a parish councillor in 1909. He was elected a member of the Corporation in 1920 and continuously represented Calton Ward from that date until the day of his death.

For more than 30 years he was associated with the Operative Bakers' Union, latterly becoming general secretary, a post from which he retired 16 years ago. He was a member of the Glasgow Burgh Insurance Committee and of Bridgeton Old Age Pensions Committee.

On July 8, 1928, Hunter, sitting as a Bailie, sent a youth named Edward Reilly to prison for 10 days for alleged contempt of court. We reported the trial at length and denounced Hunter's behaviour on the bench in our paper, "The Commune," for July, 1928, 2nd series, Vol. II, No. 11, page 236. It is strange how parliamentary "Socialists" can stand on their dignity under the capitalist system and so rarely stand for the rights of the workers under and against that system. Irresponsible sentence for alleged contempt of court by a sitting judge or magistrate is an abuse of the law.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Every Friday at 8 p.m. All invited.

RELIGION AND WAR

A Reply to C. H. Norman

By the DUKE of BEDFORD

Mr. C. H. Norman's article on "Religion and War," though written from a Rationalist viewpoint which I do not share, raises some interesting questions. Personally I should say that the average Englishman's belief in a future existence is, like his religion, far too vague and far too little a real part of his life and philosophy to give him that encouragement in war and battle which we may suppose animated the Viking who felt assured of an immediate entrance into Valhalla if he died bravely.

With the exception of the tiny minority of truly religious men who are mistaken enough to suppose that participation in war is compatible with Christianity, soldiers in action are apt to find comfort, not in belief in a future life but in the feeling that death may strike the other fellow and spare them. In the last war a curious fatalism was also extremely common and brought some comfort, finding expression in the idea that if your number was not on the shell or bullet it would not get you.

The failure of the church to equip the majority of its nominal lay members with a living and intelligent faith is, I think, mainly due to two things. First, the neglect of ministers to fulfil the duty to seek and save that which is lost, i.e. to win, convert and redeem really difficult and disappointing people. Had they attempted this task more zealously they would probably have achieved an understanding of human nature which would have rendered them more immune to war propaganda and preserved them from bringing the whole Christian faith into disrepute by their ridiculous condoning of the sin of war.

Second, the failure of ministers to realize that the Bible is a profoundly unintelligible book to the ordinary person, whether he be good or bad. This failure resulted in a neglect to improve their methods of teaching so that those for whose religious instruction they were responsible did at least understand what Christianity involves and means, whether they chose to become real Christians or not.

Like Mr. Norman I am suspicious of the evidence of a future life which Spiritualists claim to provide, holding that most of it is charlatanism or self-deception and that any small percentage which may relate to genuine phenomena is probably of evil origin. My low opinion of Spiritualism is based on the poor, or bad, results which its practice has produced on the characters of persons known to me, including those who have claimed to recognize the existence of both good and evil forces and to have been careful to establish contact only with the former.

With regard to the future life itself any honest Christian believer will of course admit that our knowledge of what may be termed "important minor details" is very limited.

Apart, however, from what one may be called the "scientific" difficulty of seeing how, in a world where things are brought to an end by separation of the parts, the mind or personality, which seems to have no parts separable like those of the body, can be brought to an end by the mere fact of physical death, non-belief in immortality seems to many of us to involve more tremendous difficulties than belief.

For example it would involve the acceptance of the idea that Christ was mistaken; or that those who first died for the Christian faith and belief in the Resurrection, died for what they knew to be an invention and persuaded other men of alien race to die and suffer persecution and social ostracism for the same delusion.

Also, in a universe where there is so much that the intelligent human mind can find orderly and intelligible and where evolution shows the development of the beautiful from the plain; the complex from the simple; the thinking from that which is incapable of thought; and the loving from that which is incapable of love, it would involve belief that no Christlike God exists as the guiding Intelligence and motive Power, although such a God fits into the "picture" so perfectly and explains so much, including what in these days is so prominent a feature—the problem of evil.

DUKE'S WAR AIMS' SPEECH

The Duke of Bedford made his seventh speech in the House of Lords on Wednesday, March 8. The press report of the reception accorded to that speech, one of the most eloquent indictments of war, and the forces that make for war, ever delivered in either House of Parliament, condemns those who support war and not the Duke of Bedford for examining so completely the crime of war.

We quote from some of the press reports published the following day:—

The *Daily Mail*, London, published this report:

THE DUKE SAT ALONE.

Speech Clears House.

The Duke of Bedford, who is a Christian pacifist, spoke on war aims yesterday to a rapidly dwindling House of Lords. By the time Lord Bruntisfield replied for the Government only six peers remained.

As Lord Bruntisfield delivered a sharp Government rebuke the Duke sat alone amid tiers of empty opposition benches and heard his own speech described as based on false suppositions and verging "upon the impudent and even upon the subversive."

The *Overseas Daily Mail* for March 18 carried the same report beneath the heading:

THE DUKE CLEARED THE HOUSE

The *Aberdeen Press and Journal* carried:

PACIFIST DUKE REBUKED

The *Newcastle Daily Journal* headed its parliamentary report:

TWO PEERS REBUKED IN THE LORDS

We excerpt a few telling sentences from this report:

Government spokesmen administered strong rebukes to the Earl of Mansfield and the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords to-day.

When the Duke of Bedford rose to speak the House emptied with the exception of seven peers in addition to himself, and of those three left when Lord Bruntisfield got up to reply.

The Duke declared that we went into this war to get rid of Fascism, but Fascism was now firmly established in this country.

The *Northern Echo*, Darlington, gave a double heading to its report:—

THE LONELY DUKE OF BEDFORD

Only Six Peers Remained in House

The *Daily Express*, London, headed its report:

THE LONELY DUKE.

The report was much the same as that published in the *Mail*, but there was a small addition to the report:—

The pacifist Duke of Bedford spoke to a rapidly-dwindling audience in the Lords yesterday. . . .

A few weeks ago Viscount Simon, the Lord Chancellor, suggested that he had a capacity "to swallow any yarn which supported his jaundiced views." ...

The *Birmingham Gazette* employed the same heading as the *Express*, and also carried the addition about Lord Simon, with the introductory remark:

This was the second recent criticism of the Duke by a Government spokesman . . . .

The *Daily Mirror*, London, made a box of its report and placed the heading at the side in striking black type:—

DUKE, A PACIFIST, EMPTIES HOUSE.

The *Manchester Daily Dispatch* reported beneath the heading:

PEER SAYS DUKE WAS IMPUDENT

The *Daily Telegraph*, London, headed its account:

PACIFIST DUKE AUDIENCE OF SIX

The Times, London, preserved its dignity and published a fair report.

The *Liverpool Post* summary was the most enlightening. Here it is in full:—

DUKE CRITIC OF MARSHAL STALIN

Lord Bruntisfield, replying for the Government in the House of Lords yesterday to a speech on war aims by the Pacifist Duke of Bedford, suggested that it verged upon the subversive."

The Duke had described conscription and other war-time powers in Britain as Fascism, and criticised Marshal Stalin for "not feeling scrupulous about the rights of small nations."

The new sedition! To criticise Marshal Stalin in Britain!

And the *Daily Record*, Glasgow, headed its report:

IMPUDENT DUKE

Cydeside Socialists will recall what this paper has said in the past about the workers when they were on strike against the intolerable misery of peace-time prosperity—the aftermath of the first Great War, and prelude to the second.

And what did the Duke say? He indicted "that human vulture Zaharoff" and concluded his speech by asking: "*Cannot a new torch be lit and this nightmare ended?*"

Now the working class know that only seven peers listened through the Duke's speech. But his speech is circulating in pamphlet form and will be read by the common people, to whom the Duke was addressing himself. One day these people will have something to say to the war-mongers who, like the Bourbons, forget nothing because they learn nothing. History and experience has no meaning to them. But history does inform the workers of the part played by the House of Peers in the past social struggle.

NEW PAMPHLETS
by
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

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To a Militarist from a Pacifist.

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Some Essays on the Need for Monetary Reform.

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Speech Delivered House of Lords, Wednesday, 8th March, 1944, by
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By FRANCIS E. POLLARD.

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"THE CHRISTIAN DILEMMA," by Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, printed in the "Christian Pacifist" for October 1943 has been reprinted by the Friends' Peace Committee as a 4d. pamphlet. Obtainable from the Committee at Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

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PEACE BY NEGOTIATION

A Statement issued by The Northern Peace Board York

(*Concluded from page* 92)

Effects of Victory

Can Europe be freed from these fruits of the war by the military victory of the United Nations? What hope of regeneration is there in the determination to prolong the war until the Axis Powers surrender unconditionally? No one imagines that victory can be achieved without further immense slaughter. It is acknowledged that there can be no hope of victory without a large scale invasion of Europe when the colossal slaughter of Eastern Europe will be repeated in the West. And if, when all this human suffering has been endured, when morality has sunk to still lower depths, victory is attained, what then?

The victory of 1918 provides an answer. There were at that time one or two statesmen with a much wider vision than any at the present time, men who had some inkling of how a repetition of the war could be avoided. Yet victory released emotional forces which they were powerless to control, and the seeds of this war were sown in the Treaty of Versailles and in the subsequent treatment of the ex-enemy countries.

Is there any indication that the same forces will not again be released should victory once more be achieved? Official intentions seem to show that, after victory, the same road will be followed as before. We are told that the four great powers, the United States, the British Empire, Russia and China, must dominate the world, just as Britain and France tried to use the League of Nations to establish their hegemony in Europe. We are assured that conscription will continue in this country and that the cost of defence will be on a higher level than before the war, though it is not stated against whom there is to be this defence.

Victory in the last war condemned the young men of this generation to death. Have we any assurance that victory in this war will not condemn the next generation to the same fate?

The Alternative

If there were no alternative to what is called a " fight to a finish " the outlook for Europe and the world would indeed be black. But there is an alternative. The foundations of peace can be laid if the war is ended by negotiaton, leading to a treaty not imposed by one side on the other but, imperfect as it certainly will be, accepted by all. We can start laying the foundations **now.**

Has the Society of Friends, out of the richness of its experience and the strength of its faith, no message to give to the world on this immediate situation? Does not the testimony we hold lay upon us the responsibility of showing men that the peace they so ardently desire can be won only by negotiation? At present they can see no way out of the mess they are in except the way of destruction and bloodshed. Have we been infected by war propaganda to the extent of thinking that our ministry of reconciliation can best be postponed until victory has been won? If the conditions in Europe to-day—starvation, persecution, oppression—had developed by means other than war, we should not suggest going to war to improve them. That would be a total denial of all we hold to be true. How then can we condone a war supposedly waged for the same purpose?

Ultimate Purpose and Immediate Task

To speak clearly on this immediate problem of stopping the war does not relegate into the background our ultimate purpose. We know as George Fox knew, whence wars came. We know that in our own hearts there are thoughts and desires akin to the spirit of war, but we also know that, with all our imperfections, we have a message to proclaim which if accepted will abolish all war.

There are some who think that we must first and foremost in season and out of season, deliver this message in all its fullness, calling to men to come out of that vain belief and into that spirit which alone is the secret of " Thy saving health among all nations." We agree, but this cannot be regarded as an alternative to facing the immediate problems of the day, much less as a reason for postponing the application of our peace testimony to what we might regard as more propitious times. Worship rightly used as a means of strengthening us to face the problems of life here and now is the very heart of Christianity, but worship used as a means of withdrawal from life become mere escapism.

We are convinced that the healing message which will bring regeneration to mankind contains within it an urgent call to face the immediate problem of this war by endeavouring to bring it to a speedy conclusion by the initiation of negotiations.

What Negotiation Does Not Mean.

This task of ending the war by negotiation does not mean pressing the Government to state the minimum terms on which it would be prepared to agree to an armistice. It might be of some value if the Government appointed a committee now to work out the terms of a just peace treaty irrespective of the military situation at any moment. But the aim in publishing minimum terms would be to justify the war effort and to claim universal support for their determination to achieve victory. We must be quite clear in this matter and hold to our conviction that the method of war is evil, even though it is used for just and righteous ends. Publication of minimum terms would not alter our conviction.

Nor does our belief in a negotiated treaty mean that we are to try to persuade the people to desert what they regard as their obligations. They cherish the illusion that freedom throughout the world will follow in the train of an allied victory and future generations will be saved the horror of war. Some day they may be disillusioned, as they were in the twenties, but the public memory is notoriously short. So long as this illusion is held with sincerity the exercise of the democratic right of petitioning the Government would be of little value, for a Government could not act upon a petition contrary to the conviction of the majority of the people.

What Negotiation Means.

A determined effort to end the war involves creating a public opinion which will press the Government to start negotiations. To do this means that we must succeed in transmitting to the public our conviction that victory will not yield conditions in which their obligations can be fulfilled, either to the present generation or to the next, that all that they hope for, not only for themselves, but for those who they recognise have suffered more severely than they under Nazi oppression, can in the long run be gained only if the war ends on agreed terms.

There must be no illusion of facile optimism. Peace will not drop ready-made from the skies. The hatreds, the fears, the suspicions engendered by the war will carry over into the years following the war. There will be no easy time ahead. Men must realise that a negotiated treaty can set them on the road to peace and freedom from the fear of recurrent war, but cannot transport them like a magic carpet to a destination. They must realise that an imposed treaty can only start them on another arc of the vicious circle carrying them eventually to another war and to the negation of all they hope to achieve.

But public opinion must also be convinced that negotiation is possible. Here we are faced with the objection that " it is impossible to negotiate with the German Government." The past, we are told, is strewn with too many broken promises to make negotiation of any value. Indians sometimes say the same about the British Government. Yet we recognise that negotiation is the only way to a solution of the Indian problem and we are determined to try again.

Negotiation with the German Government is admittedly difficult. The difficulty is not lessened by the commonly held view that negotiation means an attempt to persuade the German Government to give voluntarily all that we hope to gain by victory, ignoring that it involves our giving up much of what we are loath to part with—our imperialism, our power to control the sources of raw materials, our financial grip on many weaker countries. Our failure to recognise the magnitude of our contribution to a negotiated peace is largely responsible for the continued thraldom of the German people to the Nazi regime. Moreover it may be equally difficult to negotiate with other Governments engaged in the war who have declared vehemently that they utterly refuse to negotiate or to yield anything that they hold.

But the difficulty of negotiation is not the major problem. If a " negotiating mind " develops in the public the power of these " no-negotiation " Governments will be undermined. A method of negotiation will be found. Figure heads which stand as symbols of their country's determination to win will pass from the stage to be replaced by men of a more conciliatory mind.

The major problem is how to develop the " negotiating mind." Already certain negotiations regarding prisoners of war have been carried on, but they are too insignificant to have gripped the public mind. They do, however, indicate a method of approach in the first instance; these negotiations are carried on through some intermediary, and in the initial stages of wider negotiations the services of some such intermediary as Sweden, Turkey, or the Vatican will probably be required.

There are certain war problems which are ripe for negotiation and which are beginning to grip the imagination of the public. We must make these the concern of all and show that they can be solved by negotiation. One example is " starving Europe." When it is fully realised that the enormity of this crime against the innocent populations of the occupied countries can to a large extent be laid at the doors of the British and American Governments there will be irresistible pressure to negotiate for their relief forthwith. The structure of war propaganda will topple to the ground when it is realised that blaming the Nazis and vowing that restoration shall be made will not save the life of a single child who is starving **now.**

Another example is the persecution of the Jews, different in some ways because this inhuman policy is almost wholly due to Nazi philosophy. Is the public satisfied with the threats of vengeance on the perpetrators which have been officially proclaimed? If they are, let them listen to a Jew. Victor Gollancz, in his pamphlet, " Let my people go " says:—

" We may sum up the whole matter by saying that there are two ways of reacting to what is now happening to the Jews of Europe. The one way is mercy—immediate aid to the persecuted: the other is hatred—retribution for the persecutors. And while it is theoretically possible, perhaps, to combine the two, in practice they are mutually exclusive. If your whole mind is filled with an agonised pity for the victims: if you are ceaselessly thinking, devising, planning how even one more child may still be saved; then there is no room in you for hatred and retribution, for your whole being is occupied by charity. But if you fill your mind with hatred and the determination to do evil for evil, they poison you at the very source, and drive out the charity which might bring balm, here and now, to the suffering."

It is our Christian duty to offer hospitality to or provision for every Jew that can escape. Hitler has declared that his policy is to get rid of Jews. Goebbels has said that Germany is in no way opposed to the establishment of a Jewish State. Far more, then, can be saved by negotiating to remove them beyond the bounds of the German Reich and to establish a Jewish State.

The small volume of demand for negotiation

on these and similar problems is due to their not having been clearly visualised as human problems. Deep in the human heart there is an irradicable humanity which responds to human suffering. When the human suffering involved in starvation and persecution is presented, not as a political problem, but as a human need negotiations will not be far off. And as negotiations proceed the readiness to negotiate will grow. Recognition of the war as a whole as an offence against humanity will create a demand for its cessation that no Government will be able to withstand.

The task is before us. It cannot be shirked. By our witness we must ensure that the demand for the bloodshed to stop immediately and for a truce to be called wherein negotiations can start in a calmer atmosphere becomes so insistent that it cannot be resisted. Therein lies the possibility of finding the road to peace. A negotiated peace treaty, the result of bargaining, cannot in itself establish peace. Peace can come only when there is reconciliation. The spirit of domination which is fed by victory is impervious to anything higher than thoughts of revenge, the breeding ground of another war. The negotiating spirit is open to the ministry of reconciliation. In that ministry lies a great call and a great opportunity.

"Would that the Society of Friends might become a new postulate all round the world, bringing a new hope, a new way, a new leadership. In the light which springs from the common Father of all human beings we should go to peoples rather than to Governments; to the people who already have the desire to live naturally and humanly. Thus peace might begin to germinate.

Who are we, and what is our Society to feel such a call? And yet the ministry of reconciliation is given to men and there was never greater need than now! We should receive the call in humility but with a sense of God's power."

Yearly Meeting 1942, Min. 20. First published by The Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York, April 1943, in pamphlet form.

[We invite all readers of this important declaration of the Society of Friends to secure the N.F.P.B. Statement, No. 2, "The Healing of the Nations," post-free, 4d.—Ed.].

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

The Comrades of The United Socialist Movement Group in New York join their Comrades in celebrating May first, the Workers' holiday that knows not boundaries, races, colors. One for all and all for one. Long live a United Socialist movement.

—From David Berkingoff, Secretary, New York Group of the U.S.M., 315 East 209 Street, Bronx, 67 N.Y.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London, W.C.1

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

are the study and dissemination of ethical principles, and the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11 a.m.

May 7—Prof. G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D. "Moral Purpose in Shakespeare's Tragedies."

Every Freethinker, Rationalist, Ethicist, and Humanist ought to attend these meetings and join this historic society, so as to continue its traditions, and maintain its services to mankind.

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HUMANIST ACTIVITY

Telephone: ROchester 0052.
2405 West 23rd Street
Los Angeles, California.

January 25th, 1944.

My Dear Friend Aldred,

Your most welcome letter of December 30 is just received and I hasten to reply. We wish to congratulate you upon the adherence of the Rev. Charles H. Cole to the Humanist Friends program. Hope other progressive Unitarian Ministers will feel similarly inclined. We certainly need men of the calibre of Cole and the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., in the movement.

I can understand those few Unitarian officials of the medieval priestly mind, who have no real place in the Unitarian Church if it is to live up to its splendid traditions, being opposed to progressives of the type of Lee and Cole. When they accuse the Humanist organisation of being "phoney" or something of that sort, they label themselves as being of the mediocre type. Only men without vision would revert to such priestly nonsense. As a student of law, you will know that we could not use or utter, even to someone in Britain, the Official Legal Seal of such an organisation, without leaving ourselves liable to serve legal penalties. It is true that you receive the letter in Scotland or our friend Cole receives the letter in England; but we post in California, air-mail, registered, and so use the United States' Mails in the first instance. We could not and would not do if we were not a legal organisation. It is quite easy to establish the fact that the Humanist Society of Friends is a religious organisation, according to the laws of California, and therefore according to the laws of the United States of America, by writing or wiring to the State Department, State Building, Sacramento, California, U.S.A. It should be noted that the Humanist Society of Friends enjoy exactly the same status as the Unitarian Church in America. Humanist ministers are ministers to exactly the same extent as Unitarian ministers and the ministers of any other religious denomination. The exact legal status of the Humanist Society of Friends will be confirmed by the State Department on enquiry. I have discussed this matter in the columns of "The Word" in earlier letters, in which I draw attention to the fact that our ministers, like the ministers of all other churches, are exempted from military service; although we believe in exemption of the citizen on ground of conscience only and not because he is a minister.

To repeat: As is stated in my essay, "The Humanist Friends' Challenge," which I have revised, and which is being published by you, I believe, we are incorporated under the Laws of the State of California, exactly as any other Church or Religious Organisation. Usually people of very ordinary intelligence understand these legal procedures and only those seeking to misrepresent the true nature and status of the Humanist Society of Friends are likely to indulge in such irresponsible criticism.

We have several Unitarian Ministers here in California who are also Ministers of the Humanist Friends Society. I am asking them to write to you so that you may be able to inform your readers how closely associated many Unitarian Ministers are with the Humanist Movement.

I send you, for forwarding, the Ordination Certificate of Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., of Coventry. A similar certificate is being sent to that great Unitarian Pacifist and Humanist, the Rev. W. Bottomley, of Melbourne. He is being asked to organise the Humanist Movement in that city and so, through the medium of his journal, "The Beacon," prepare the way for the spread of Humanism throughout Australia.

Fraternally yours,

LOWELL H. COATE.

We have not reproduced the certificate issued to the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., because that is identical with the certificate issued to the Rev. Charles H. Cole, and to myself, both of which appeared in these columns. The certificate was forwarded to Richard Lee. We publish this acknowledgement.

Coventry.
February 28, 1944.

Dear Aldred,

I have received with pleasure and satisfaction the Certificate from "The Humanist Society of Friends."

It will be my privilege and honour to accept the same and strive to act as a good servant of humanity. Humanism to me means a fundamental belief in the sacredness of human nature everywhere and a will to assert the rights of man to happiness and freedom. When these rights are made contingent on other wordly or supernatural sanctions, the cause of humanity is weakened and goes by default.

As you are aware, I am a firm upholder of Theism but with the writer of the Johannine Epistle, I contend you cannot love God whom you have not seen unless you first love man whom you have seen.

On this earthly planet the only possible way of manifesting one's love of God is by the Service of Man.

It is very significant that the Barthians, the Neo-Thomists, the Neo-Calvinists, the Anglo-Catholics and sundry other sects who have striven to revive the worship of a God standing over against man, helped by action or inaction their various countries to take part in this bestial and inhuman war. They were waiting for their all extra Deity to intervene. The Supernaturalists in all Christian countries back up one or other of the contending hosts, who are out for this war of extermination.

The love of man as man, the faith of Walt Whitman and William Blake, of Tolstoy and Shelley, of Emerson and Theodore Parker, is the only sure basis on which we can rebuild this shattered world and found a World-Society of Friends.

Yours fraternally,

RICHARD LEE.

In November, 1934, as stated in *Why Jesus Wept* (page 68), we proposed to found a First Humanist Society of Glasgow, in association with our Humanist colleagues in the United States. The time has come to establish the organisation on a broad and useful basis. We should be glad to hear from all Glasgow comrades who are willing to co-operate in this work. The Society will organise regular public meetings. Please write so that our Humanist activity may be organised without further delay.

STANTON COIT.

Dr. Stanton Coit, Ph.D., died at Birling Gap, near Eastbourne, on February 14, in his 87th year. He was minister of South Place Ethical Society from September 2, 1888, to December 31, 1891, and afterwards for many years minister of the Ethical Church, Bayswater, London. The funeral service, conducted by Mr. H. J. Blackham, B.A., Secretary-Lecturer of the Ethical Church, Bayswater, took place at Golders Green Crematorium on February 18.

In the course of his address, Mr. Blackham mentioned the influence exerted on Dr. Coit in his youth by Kant and Emerson. He paid a tribute to Coit's great oratorial power and capacity for organisation. Coit's ambition was to establish an Ethical Church devoted to the ideals of righteousness, truth and beauty. His aim was that such a Church should embrace all branches of religious activity. The address, without mentioning the fact, made it clear that Coit was a pioneer of Humanism.

When teaching English literature at Amherst College, Massachusetts, in 1880, Coit heard from a student about the society for ethical culture of New York City, which Felix Adler started in 1876. Coit responded eagerly to the call of this ethical venture in religion, and gave up his post in order to join Adler. In 1882 he went to Berlin to study philosophy, and when he rejoined Adler in 1886, the influence of three months at Tonybee Hall in the East End of London (to which he had gone after leaving Berlin) led him to start a social settlement in New York's crowded East Side. This modest enterprise developed into the University Settlement which is still active.

Moncure Conway resigned his ministry of South Place Religious Society in 1884 after twenty years during which he had enhanced its strength and reputation. He saw in Coit the man for the position and at his instance, in 1887 Dr. Coit was invited to be minister. He accepted on condition that the Society changed its name to South Place Ethical Society. Coit took up his duties on September 2, 1888. Thus at the age of 31 a fervent dynamic and somewhat autocratic personality confronted a Society with a history of nearly one hundred years, and with an eminently democratic if perhaps slow moving constitution. There was a marked improvement in the attendance on Sunday mornings. Committees were formed to organize new activities. Many individuals were responsive, but Dr. Coit pressed on the Society proposals involving changes in constitution which could not be accepted, and he resigned in 1891.

Thereafter he was instrumental in establishing the West London Ethical Society. In 1909 the West London obtained the use of a disused Methodist Chapel in Queens Road, Bayswater, and under the Ministry of Dr. Coit it became The Ethical Church. It was his aim to make its ideology and ritual a model demonstration of a completely ethical re-interpretation of the Christian religion and the service of the Church, which should win over the modernist movement of liberal Christians.

Coit repaid some of his debt to Dr. Felix Adler by recruiting in England for the American Ethical Movement such conspicuous representatives as H. J. Bridges (Chicago), W. E. Collier (Philadelphia), J. Hutton Hynd (St. Louis) and G. E. O'Dell (New York).

He was the leading spirit in establishing many other English Ethical Societies and in forming the Ethical Union. The latter still exists, but few of the constituent bodies remain.

Coit gave ardent support to the Labour movement and to the struggle for woman's suffrage.

In the year 1935, at the age of 78, he found it necessary to withdraw from his Ministry of the Ethical Church. South Place members recall with gratitude that in 1937, in his 80th year, he delivered the Conway Memorial Lecture when he took for his subject "The one sure foundation for democracy."

GALILEE

By The Rev. A. E. S. RIDDLE

[The Rev. A. E. S. Riddle was ordained by the present Archbishop of York in 1923. The Archbishop was then Bishop of Southwark. Comrade Riddle was appointed to the curacy of Lady Margaret Church, Walworth. He served as a curate in Battersea, Plumstead and Lambeth. He resigned in 1931 from the Church as a protest against the devastating hypocrisy of the clerical profession. Since then, he has been, among other things: a green-grocer; a fishmonger; a teacher of English on the continent; a street-vendor; a tramp-preacher; a caretaker; a gardener; an agricultural labourer; a hospital porter; and a laundryman. Comrade Riddle is now 54 years of age and intends to establish a Humanist Society of Friends Centre in England. More particulars of his activities will be published later.—Ed.]

Deep in the sky the day's magnificence lies slain upon Earth's altar.

Glowing pools of gold and crimson spill the permanence of Beauty in that dying light; yet fools think death is naught but ugliness; and there above that pyre, warm lucent tints arise whose vapoury wisps merge in the upper air of tender vivid green.

Thus orient skies depict the splendour of life's deathless enterprise.

And on the luminous edge of that horizon, with all the gentle peace of Heaven endowed, the crescent moon lies hushed in sleep upon a foamy silken rainbow-tinted cloud.

But how a peasant lad thrills to that beauty! his casement flung wide open to the night!

Almost he hears his heart's intensity through the vast stillness, whilst that glorious sight fills him with overwhelming wonder and delight.

Then slowly the moon slips from her fleecy dalliance to cross the sky. But as she sails unfraught, she weaves a charm of witching silver radiance over the world.

'Tis thus her spell is wrought.

Meanwhile that youth engulfed in her white flame, feels everything pulsate with unseen power.

"Father!" he cries, and all his boyish frame, as if it were a fresh blown upland flower, shakes with the awed and deep emotion of that hour.

But at that instant suddenly a gust slams to an idle door.

And his old Dad calls out in tones of irritable disgust: "That you again, young Jesus, look here Lad, if you don't keep that damn door shut, I'll break your skulking neck, life's no mere mawkish dream."

Quietly the youth replies: "But my arms ache from carrying out that yoke for Nathan's team." And somehow Joseph shrank from that reproachful gleam pouring from those dark eyes.

The lad, however, runs swiftly across the court and bolts the door.

Then to himself, half mazed, "Oh, will Dad ever forget I shocked the doctors of the Law in the Temple Court itself; and even when I dared to criticize some futile point concerning rites, he fumed.

O, why are men so blinded, why are times so out of joint that no one heeds Life's sweet melodious counterpoint?"

Through these unwelcome thoughts that rasping voice breaks in still harshly, but more patriarchal: "Jesus my first-born, how can I rejoice to see your foolishness?"

His small eyes sparkle with righteous anger, then he adds, "My son, it's not as if you do not lark and play like other lads, grabbing your share of fun, but I have heard so many people say they've seen you on the hills, mooning the night away.

"God of our fathers! may it ne'er be said my loins have produced a lunatic, for that were shame to my Hebrew bed. And such a monstrous thought would turn me sick past all endurance were you in that case, since we have sprung from Jesse's root, and thus no hint, no faint suggestion, no dim trace of vile pollution may be found in us. Our's is an honoured name to keep illustrious.

"Meanwhile, my son, the Sabbath lamp is lit, your mother has prepared the Sabbath meals: we'll read the Law awhile, and I'll admit my speech just now was harsh, but then one feels outworn by care at times, and I've my pride, above all else; therefore, my glib young cock, it seemed to me roaming the country side, on Sabbath eves, in an unclean workday smock must ill become a son of David's splendid stock."

At these last words the paternal thunders cease, those clouds with proud resentment charged had spent their force and left behind a moment's peace.

Meanwhile the youthful Son of Man had bent, like some young sapling on a wind-swept plain, before the storm.

But little Joseph knew his child was one day destined to attain not only power to stand, but to subdue, then out of that wreck to re-create this world anew.

"It may be I still lack your self-control," says Jesus then; but Joseph cuts him short. "May be, indeed, reach down the sacred scroll, and learn from that how sons of Israel ought to converse with their fathers.

"Let me see, from Proverbs I read out last Sabbath eve, so we'll continue; its admonitory pronouncements may do something to achieve a humbler temper in you than I could scarce conceive."

But first he calls the family to assemble and then proceeds to read, whilst Jesus notes how his two brothers nudge each other and tremble lest they should make a slip.

Then suddenly floats in at the open window such a flood of purest woodland song that those austere paternal tones are deadened, and the brood of imps infesting that stiff atmosphere is scattered at the sound, and dares not reappear one instant while that nightingale outpours enthralling music.

But, alas, too soon its clear notes cease and Joseph's voice restores a harsher sway.

Till Mary starts to croon the usual hymn one sings on Sabbath eve; then she'll increase the volume of the song till all join in, and come to half believe that even here the heaped-up silt of daily wrong may utterly subside when love flows pure and strong.

Thus, with the ending of the hymn a mood of gentler hue steals down on Joseph's soul; he feels half guilty of an attitude of boorishness, and next tries to console his son in kindly accents.

"Lad," he says, "forgive my petulance, and though I will not have you wandering through the country ways so late, go squat upon the house-top till I summon you below, but let your mind distil less evil thoughts."

"Thank you," the youth replies, then quick escapes from that strange stifling presence on to the roof, to far-flung star-lit skies.

Meantime, his mother with accustomed deference, yet deprecating Joseph's late display of sheer impatience, risks a mild rebuff.

But he retorts: "Do you forget the day when that young whelp with monstrous insane bluff, dared to defy the Law, or wasn't that enough?"

Cut to the quick, "Remember he's my son," she cries, "though woman, yet will I defend his title to respect; he's no rapscallion dragged up in some foul hovel."

"Don't pretend," Joseph flings back, "you care more for our name than I myself, no son of mine shall ever again approach so near to heaping shame on us by daring to insult Jehovah, all for the tawdry show of seeming to be clever."

But Mary replies:

"To me he's like a boulder face—fashioned by the winds to look like God; nor blasphemy is this, for when he's older he'll show his mettle and, in ways untrod as yet by any man, shall he march forth to climb the giddy inaccessible peak of superhuman power, and there the wrath of God's inverted self outface to wreak eternal vengeance on Be-elzee-bub's foul clique."

"Woman I order you to hold your tongue, else will I have the Council punish you for such fresh conduct.

"And though you have wrung this threat from me before, this time I'll do what I have threatened, if you don't stop crowing.

"Remember I am lord, and must defy your rebel outburst." Therefore Mary knowing the rigour of the Law, makes no reply, but with a burdened heart chokes back the question, "Why?"

Meanwhile her prophet son squats out of earshot, upon the housetop, listening to the stars, rapt in deep contemplation. Yet there is not a single soul can feel the petty jars of daily human life quite so intensely as his soul does.

And since there's no increase, no growth for any flower; yea, since each lily unless it drink the morning dew must cease, so he too needs his heavenly cup of healing peace.

Therefore alone upon the flat mud roof he waits, and pondering over his home life, at first resents his Dad's unjust reproof, also his grumbling rough as a jagged knife.

Then with an effort to himself: "What right have I to judge, I who alone should give?

"No, love shall judge, and one day I shall quite well understand, therefore I now forgive him freely too, through whom I have this chance to live."

Thus Jesus on the houstop mocks dismay, and communing with love gags malediction. The silent hills are rapt in mystic sway, and every tree's ahush with benediction.

"Beauty," he cries, "pervades all things, reveal thyself, this is thine hour, thou art sublime. Possess each human soul, and let us feel that woe and pain and every sort of crime, are ebbing surely backward, even in worlds of time."

And musing thus the peasant lad looks out across to Cana's ridge renowned for wines and figs.

The moon sheds silver all about, the terraced hills hang thick with trailing vines.

Then he turns south to view the olive lands sloping away to Esdralon's rich plain dappled with orange groves, and understands, more clearly than the angels could explain, how it is his Father giving again and yet again.

Then for an instant he recalls this scene by dazzling day.

Of vales and tinkling brooks, of woods and meadows where fresh mantling green flows softly down the hills, where shady nooks harbour a wealth of gourds and cinnamon.

Where fields aflush with blades of wheat unfold the mellow ears, till finally the sun, by works of wonder, mighty and manifold, turns them to shimmering seas of red and burnished gold.

Thus noting all this marked pre-eminence of lavish love poured out, how can he aught but marvel at the vain incompetence of men to live love? Can it be that thought, man's greatest gift, is poisoned at the source? If so, then life itself is devil-designed.

But suddenly, as a comet shoots across the depth of space, there flashes through his mind the reason why men live as if they were born blind. Not in the essence of the mind or soul,

but in the sheer necessity for growth, for small beginnings.

Yet the immediate goal of social justice here, however loth rich men may feel, should always be fulfilled without delay.

For since no seed can bear good luscious fruit when worthless and untilled the ground it falls on, much more must souls fare unhappily when born to suckle dark despair.

Indeed whenever souls are sown upon this earth they mostly fall on barren soil; on stony ground when nourishment has gone; on trampled ground repaying not one'e toil; or else on ground so cluttered up with thorns no soul could thrive. And there they waste away from ease or struggle or as the mere pawns of cold hypocrisy, each one a prey to a world of maddening chance where chaos holds full sway.

Yet the great Husbandman wills not this rut of wild disorder growing tangled ruth. Lands must give promise not of suckers but of life at one with unfrustrated youth.

One with young children full of gleaming wonder, one with the beauty of a maid in love, one with the deep persistent will of thunder; one with that bracing harmony which can move hearts to a symphony in tune with spheres above.

For God there is, and God is also one, who still creates life one and undivided. Matter and spirit move in unison and do not clash. Though fools have here decided they do; assigning that which has no form to God. As if to say: "Give him the reins of unseen power, let him command the storm and sunshine, since in heaven he ordains his pious will, but here on earth great Caesar reigns."

Thus here on earth misunderstandings loom like a huge cloud, menacing fierce disaster upon the world.

And like a bird of doom, it hatches out a brood of lies which masters all but the noblest. Foul as foetid fungus these lies appear to most men outwardly real and resplendent, holy and virtuous.

But doubly damned are those who doggedly insist these lies are true—that is hypocrisy.

Ah yes, hypocrisy, hell's darkest curse, that fell disease which sheds a thin veneer over men's eyes till truth must seem far worse than any common lie; which makes men sneer even at God himself.

This can entomb mankind alive in hell; this can deny the primal need for making earth's deep womb fit for life's purpose—love to glorify. Therefore is this the devil's devastating lie.

Hypocrisy which breeds sin and divides the realm of men, hacking as with a sabre life into fragments.

Whilst those fond blind guides who preach —first love thy God, then love thy neighbour, yet, in reality, denying both, like slugs must drag their futile forms along through time.

To be more damned for their dull sloth, because they proudly claim—"Thus to prolong our lives compels the weak to own our rights more strong."

Hypocrisy, leaven of every scribe; leaven of bland ecclesiasticism; leaven of priests and all that footling tribe who skunk their share of work. The actinism of anti-light, and therefore thrice as vile as incest even. Publicans suck blood and whores have no shame, yet God has a smile for these far sooner than for that lumbr'ing brood of hypocrites who reap where they have not once strewed.

Thus reigns Hypocrisy; and to defend her, that old barbaric spirit Blasphemy.

Who, like a knell, repeats the blood cry—"Render to Caesar what is his. Our alchemy has made him God."

Yet, in the universe there cannot be but one God.

So wherever the roll of drums, the blare of bugles and the curse of marching troops is heard, there God shall never once deign to sanction Man's presumptuous mad endeavour.

Meanwhile the wise must perish, overborne by that dead weight of blundering refusal to welcome Truth.

Thus hurled headlong to mourn frustrated aims and life's pain-making puzzle, they sink into despair.

But often these, fragile as crocus flame and crystal cool, frail as the fawn; more beautiful than trees draping their boughs across a limpid pool, would exercise full power, but for Man's blind misrule.

Thus Sentimentalism sits enthroned.
At Love's fair court.
Gaudy in tinselled ease, outwardly splendid.
Thus is Truth disowned, and that false queen unconscious of disease, breathes out infection.

Only a few survive, the many fall, whilst others escape to be lost on the moors of lust, unfit to strive.

Whipped by the winds of wild inconstancy or sometimes torn to shreds by passion's immediacy.

This being so, life's but a tissue of false jangled notes, or at the most we hear only faint muffled music.

Whilst true love is tangled in the meshes of that fear which, like convolvulus on every hand, twists its way round men's hearts,

For paralysed even the priests are by convention, and not seldom they, though often unsurmised, by their own humbug are themselves most victimised.

But Joseph suffers also as a victim of their hypocrisy and of his own,

Of theirs, because the wily priests soon tricked him into their trap,

Of his, since he's too prone, though it be for our sakes, to disobey the voice of truth.

Much more then for his sake and all of ours, must I not once give way, nor flinch from following boldly in the wake of all those who have sought to assuage this life's dull ache.

For now this word lies under that dark cloud of dire hypocrisy which often breaks only to fold life's children in a shroud of stinking death.

Whilst ghastly terror shakes the earth, and only here and there escape the ones who make their mates a stepping stone to safety.

Thus we see the hellish rape of Beauty, and Terror setting up his own accursed seat against the one almighty throne.

Yet though, like God, Terror with Beauty vie to be the usurper of full authority over the hearts of men, though he defy her natural right to rule in equity, though he sub-naturally assume the garb and gait of Caesar, gory in lewd disdain of human lives;

His sharp imperious barb shall not avail; God ceases not to reign. Since He is life, Death's power is always on the wane.

Yes, always on the wane, as wanes the night upon the lofty slopes of Lebanon when dawn begins to shed her silver light through dark and serried ranks of pine.

Anon shall Reason too pervade the fibres of each human brain, and blossom into gold of sympathetic sense to bring forth love,

Love merged in truth, truth, truth one yet manifold when the full dawn has spread over a night grown old.

Jesus recalls just then the Sabbath eve, the Sabbath lamp and how the meals are laid.

Yet, though these be but symbols which deceive men now, a time shall come when, undismayed, true worshippers shall worship God, their sins forgotten in the joy of life new-born.

But at these thoughts the young carpenter begins to drowse, then suddenly drops to sleep outworn by sheer fatigue, and dreams how Truth shall bring the dawn.

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 7th MAY, 1944

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**

RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P., ADDRESSES GREAT PEACE RALLIES

CROWDED NEGOTIATED PEACE MEETING AT MANCHESTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

As the daily Press will not report any gatherings or speeches delivered by public men and women unless they support the present Government and what is termed "The War Effort," it is well to know that the insistent struggle for Peace and a return to Reason and Decency in international affairs is growing apace. Scores of meetings are now being held all over the country, and reports so far go to show that they are much better attended than at any previous period since September 1939.

We only touch the fringe of this Campaign when we mention a few of these meetings held during March. The Campaign was in full swing and all manner of Peace organisations took a hand in this uphill effort. For instance, Rhys Davies, M.P., during March alone, addressed meetings in Welsh advocating his Peace philosophy at Blackburn, Flint and Denbigh, and was listened to with the utmost respect.

Seventy M.P.'s tabled a Motion on the Order Paper of the House of Commons, led by Rhys Davies, criticising H.M. Government for throwing overboard, one by one, the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The refusal of the Prime Minister to allow a debate on that Motion unless the signatories would agree to move it, as a vote of censure on the Government created a furore through the Press in Britain and the U.S.A. This is the most effective blow yet struck against the perfidy of the British ruling classes, and they have not heard the last of it yet. This was an event the Press could not ignore: the honour of the nation is at stake in this matter.

Rhys Davies, M.P., addressed a very well attended meeting at the Institutional Church, Warley, Birmingham, Friday evening, March 17th, with Mr. Henry Hilditch in the Chair. That, too, was an enthusiastic gathering, and much literature was sold. But the most successful held thus far was at the Bristol Road School in the centre of Birmingham, on Saturday afternoon, March 18th, when chairs had to be borrowed from other rooms to allow the people to be seated. The large attendance surprised even those who organised the event. The Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., and Rhys Davies, M.P., spoke in vigorous terms of the necessity of bringing the War to an honourable end soon. Mr. Henry Hilditch occupied the chair.

The Friends' Meeting House at Nottingham was quite full (with many soldiers in uniform present) on Monday evening, March 20th. Mr. Pennant Phillips in the Chair. Rhys Davies, M.P., spoke on "The Pattern of the Peace." This also was an excellent meeting in every way.

Reg Sorenson, M.P., and Rhys Davies, M.P., had a large gathering of responsible people to listen to them at the Friends' Meeting House, Reading, on Wednesday, March 22nd; there were a few soldiers in uniform there too. The subject at this meeting was "Bombing."

Macclesfield is one of the sleepy little towns of England, but in spite of that there was a good muster to listen to Arthur Mostyn (a soldier of the last War) and Rhys Davies, M.P., holding forth on the causes that made Hitler and arguing that we must, if we are to have an enduring Peace, remove those causes. Mr. H. Pogson (Agricultural Workers' Union) was in the Chair.

Here are some of the pointed sayings made at these meetings by Rhys Davies:—

"This nation is galloping towards economic and financial ruin, and the majority of the people seem to enjoy the fun, witnessing the antics of their spendthrift politicians just as if they were watching the performance of a set of clowns in a circus."

"Those who are now supporting the War will wonder in 1950 why they did not take a hand at the agitation for a negotiated peace in 1944."

"Who would have dreamt five years ago that Stalin and Churchill would in 1942 be drinking vodka and smoking cigars together in the Kremlin? And as Stalin, the Archbishop of Communism has now seen fit to make friends with Badoglio, the Fascist General, there would be nothing incongruous to see Churchill and Hitler dining and wining together very soon."

"Its supporters claim that the Coalition must be maintained in order to carry on the War. It looks on occasions as if the War is being continued in order to maintain the Coalition."

There have, of course, been many other meetings of a similar character held all over England and Wales. It was thought that it would interest readers of "The Word" to know what is transpiring during these ugly times in the history of the people of these islands.

The Bull Ring is the "Hyde Park Corner" of the City of Birmingham; it is the tradition there to speak on all manner of subjects in the open air without any ado. It is interesting to note that the Peace Movement in the City has held, without interruption, a mid-day meeting lasting for over an hour, every Wednesday, since November last, advocating an end to this infernal struggle between the nations. There will always be an average of about 300 of an audience to listen to the speakers, and apart from a little banter during the

first few meetings there has not been the slightest objection from the crowd to what the speakrs say. Other towns, please copy.

MANCHESTER PEACE MEETING.

The most successful and enthusiastic meeting of its kind in Manchester since the War began was held in the Friends' Meeting House, in the centre of the City, on Friday evening, March 10th, 1944. The Hall was crowded long before the time of opening; seats had to be placed in the corridors and the doors left open so that those who could not gain admission to the hall could listen to the proceedings.

Mr. Douglas J. J. Owen was in the Chair; he explained that the gathering was held under the joint auspices of the Society of Friends and other Peace organisations in the City.

Mr. James Hudson, M.A., was the first speaker and argued that it was strange that those who were very anxious to see a negotiated peace being concluded between Russia and Finland stood aghast when it was suggested that the same proceedings should be opened up between Britain and Germany. He protested against the suggestion now current that patches of Germany were to be wrenched from her to compensate Poland without the slightest regard for the feelings of the peoples inhabiting those territories.

Mr. Rhys Davies referred to his Motion in the House of Commons, signed by 70 M.P.'s urging the application of the Atlantic Charter to all nations, and stated that Mr. Churchill's declaration that it did not apply to either Germany or Poland had done immense harm to the national honour and to the reputation of the Government. The Government was losing its grip upon the House and, indeed, upon the country.

The sponsors of the Motion proposed to ask the Government for a day to debate the issue. He wished to protest most strongly against the abandonment of the Atlantic Charter which destroyed any moral basis for fighting this war at all and also to protest emphatically against the proposed cession of German territory to Poland. Peoples must not be treated in this way as mere chattels. Such a settlement would make another war inevitable. Mr. Davies said that in travelling about the country during the last few years he had seen an immense change in public opinion, which was not adequately reflected in the Press. If necessary, he believed that a new Government, as good if not better than the present Ministry, could be formed at any time from the Private Members in the House of Commons. "**THE TIME HAD COME WHEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALL THE BELLIGERENT POWERS SHOULD RESIGN IN SHEER SHAME.**" There had recently been much criticism of "Unconditional Surrender" in the Press but it should be realised that the only alternative to that policy lay in a negotiated settlement. "Unconditional Surrender," as was increasingly realised, could only stiffen the German will to fight on and, if persisted in, would result in the needless loss of hundreds of thousands of our men.

Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., debunked a number of the statements made during the War by our own statesmen. He heard the Prime Minister telling the House of Commons, "Let the Italians stew in their own juice." Now, however, our Fifth and Eighth Armies were stewing in the very same Italian juice.

He suggested that the Allied Powers should offer to make peace with a new government which might merge in Germany; and, if the Germans demanded as a quid pro quo that we should follow suit by throwing up a better government ourselves,

In 1916 when the Asquith Government had considered making peace, Lord Haig, asked his opinion, said "there might be a chance of victory if they were prepared to face the likelihood of a million casualties." Mr. Davies thought "we may very well be near that point now." If a negotiated peace had been made in 1916 it was quite probable that the coalmining and shipbuilding industries would not have suffered the collapse which was their fate between the two wars." If a reasonable offer were made to the German people the present German Government could be overthrown. "If in response they demanded that another Government should emerge in Great Britain he would have no objection to that. People did not realise the power of propaganda. He was willing to wager that if Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin decided to end the war to-morrow the people of this country could be convinced within a week that Hitler was quite a decent fellow and the same went for Germany and Churchill. Concluding, Mr. Davies said he was "a wee bit afraid" that the Labour Party might be "slow on the uptake" in regard to negotiation and that the Conservatives would steal a march on them.

In closing the Meeting, the Chairman, Mr. Douglas J. J. Owen, expressed pleasure at the record attendance and hoped that it would be an inspiration to all in Manchester and district to renew their efforts in favour of a negotiated peace. He heartily agreed with Mr. Hudson that pacifists had an especial responsibility in this matter.

After the Meeting P.P.U. Members distributed leaflets to those leaving the building. We understand that Mr. Henry Hildich, National Organiser of the Negotiated Peace Campaign, is shortly to visit the Manchester Region at the invitation of Manchester P.P.U. and high hopes are held for the success of his tour.

Rhys Davies's splendid speech on Peace Aims will be published in an early issue. We were unable to publish it at its time of delivery in the House of Commons, but it proclaims fundamental principles clearly stated and so, therefore, will not go readily out of date. .....

The persistent questioning of Ministers by Comrade Davies, in defence of miners; of young girls being sent miles from home to work under bad conditious; of conscientious objectors; and of all the oppressed workers in society is to be noted and applauded. To the best of his ability, our Comrade untiringly endeavours to make the House of Commons serve as a sounding board.

In the press, also, our Comrade is active; and we have a collection of published "Letters to the Editor" from his pen for early summary and release.

THE MEANING OF TOTAL WAR

BY FREDERICK LOHR

The present world conflict is generally descibed as a Total War. Total War means that the demands of war prosecution dominate and direct all social activity. It means that war comes first in the list of an individual's social obligations. All the many sided occupations and diverse vocations which go to make up the sum of human relationships called society, are subordinated to the efficient conduct of the enterprise—that of making war. So war becomes the primary purpose of human existence, and at least for the duration of the period of Total War, it can be said that human life has no significance outside its own destruction.

This dreadful contradiction of life which is implicit in the phrase Total War, cannot truthfully be said to be fact **now**. Society has not yet reached that degree of insanity, so that the present war is not actually a Total War. But the term Total War, applied to the present world-scene, does possibly contain truth in prospect. It does appear that we are being driven by the very exigencies of modern, mechanised warfare, to a situation bordering upon Total War. Total War is to-day a potentiality. It **can** become a fact. If it does, it will mean that by waging Total War, society itself becomes Total, for it is obvious that a genuinely Total War cannot be waged only by a genuinely Total society, having a genuinely Total social basis.

Now the basis of any society is its economy; the way in which its members obtain their livelihoods. What people actually **do** determines what they make, and what they make and how they make, determines their social structure, determines their customs, laws, institutions and recreational amenities. In short, it determines what we call culture, and social culture in turn creates the ether of the community which shapes the character of the individual within it.

Thus Total War implies many things. It implies a totalitarian economy, and a totalitarian economy means the elimination of competition from making and producing, and this carries with it the abolition of the free market, which means of course, the destruction of what we call commerce and trade. No society can prosecute a Total War whilst such activities remain in being. Firstly, then, any country engaged in Total War will require to abandon the competitive method of wealth production in favour of a planned and co-ordinated economy.

Now such a radical change in the mode of social economy necessitates a similar change in politics. A totalitarian economy obviously demands a cohesive political administration free from representative opposition. Hitherto, politics has provided the arena for waning economic factions within the national society. Competitive economic interests throw up a representative political legislature. This is what we call democracy; but a totalitarian society would need, as indicated, a planned economy, and a plan could not function if society contained conflicting economic interests. Thus Totalitarianism would mean the suppression of democracy in favour of a political legislature which could guarantee the State Executive a monopolistic control over the means of production. Secondly, then, any country engaged in Total War requires to throw overboard political democracy.

The above sketched revolution in economico-political conditions would obviously entail a similarly revolutionary change in cultural outlook. Our present cultural outlook, despite our individual beliefs and opinions, is a traditionally Christian one. Whatever we may think of the cultural development of the past two thousand years (generally designated as the Christian era) and no matter how much we may condemn the brutality and exploitation contained in it, we can see that the **underlying** motive of Christian civilisation is a regard for the idea of personality; a respect for the individual as a **person**, an entity worthy of respect. The traditional morality running through this cultural development has been based upon this respect for personality. It has sought to protect the individual principle; the principle of personal freedom or freewill.

The passage of society into Total War would mean the substitution of the individual principle of personal volition, by a totalitarian principle of collective coercion, for we must see that a Total War economy leads logically to a totalitarian morality. Thirdly, then, any country engaged in Total War would require to renounce the individual principle of social culture, and this would entail the renunciation of Christian ethics and the Christian world-view.

Now in view of the bloodshed and the inhumanity revealed by the record of Christian civilisation, and because of the ravages perpetrated by the acquisitive individualism of the Capitalist Order (which is itself a by-product of Christian endeavour and which rose to power mouthing Christian morality) it may be that the passing from social life of the individual principle would be a good thing in itself. But we must remember that in repudiating the individual principle, as a not altogether unwelcome price to be paid for the waging of Total War, we accept in the resulting totalitarian society a collective civilisation that is without culture. It is hardly possible that there could be a social culture based upon the collective principle, because cultural growth requires a very large measure of individual liberty. Nothing is more ludicrous than the idea that the tree of culture will flourish in the soil of authoritarian compulsion. Freedom is essential to creative work, and freedom is an inseparable concomitant of the individual principle. In fact, the individual principle **is** culture. Notwithstanding the acknowledged fact that the principle of individual freedom carries with it the potentiality for incalculable social damage, it still remains that it is the individual principle operating within society which insists upon and safeguards the cultural spirit. Also, we must face the fact, that the destruction of Christian morality, and the extinction of the Christian world-view of the universal brotherhood of man in the Fatherhood of God, would also cut away the foundations of ethical intention from all humanitarian social ideologies, such as Liberalism, Socialism, Anarchism, etc. And it is no light responsibility that men shoulder when they contemplate a complete break with the traditional ethical continuity of many centuries.

We see then, that the present drift of society towards Total War, carries implications which are of grave social significance. The period of warfare, if it carries us on, as looks most likely, to a third world war and to Total War, and to a totalitarian society, will prove to be the most momentous period known in history. I believe that it implies in the end, either the establishment of a world-totalitarian state, or else a confederacy of totalitarian units, which will inaugurate a way of social living so divorced from traditional values as to be positively non-human.

Of course, I am not suggesting that this World-Totalitarian Confederacy is likely to develop immediately out of the present conflict

between the Allied and Axis Powers. This particular rivalry must be seen in long range perspective as but part of an underground process leading towards this end. It forms part of the meaning behind capitalist development. The beginning of this process towards World-Caesarism is rooted in the change of philosophic outlook that separated the modern age from medieval times. The history of the past five centuries can be seen as an accelerating movement attempting to break free from the religious conceptions and philosophic values which inhibited human conduct within the narrow conventional limits of medieval society, and which bound that society into a rough unity.

This movement was in itselef necessary and wholesome. In principle it was a desirable liberation from rigid caste categories and corrupt authority. But unfortunately it went forward harnessed to greed, and with ambitions inspired by a philosophy of false individualism. This exploited the discoveries of science and the advances of technics for selfish material ends. Wealth production for individual enjoyment was regarded as an end in itself. The inevitable consequences was the dehumanisation of the working classes and the demoralisation of the ethical content in community association which alone can give integrity and vigour to any society.

We are to-day witnessing the advanced stages of this rabid and selfish individualism. Its final phase will engender a reaction which will end in the enslavement of the individual to a social form far more rigid and despotic than that of medieval times.

The present war is part of a terrible judgment upon the shamelessly puerile philosophic values of modern society. Notwithstanding the ideoligical slogans of the political "Left," and the hypocritical affirmations of the political "Right," these values have so permeated all stratas of the social structure as to make party contentions of no consequence. These values state that the production, accumlation and enjoyment of wealth is the be all and end all of human existence. That life has no greater meaning than the cultivation of the senses and the gratification of appetites; that ambition for social prestige and power over others, is the only worthwhile aspiration and the only practical evidence of virility.

It is idle, however, to moralise on this scene. We can only note the developments and try to discover ways and means by which the values of true individualism, true humanism, can be affirmed, and preserved to be affirmed, in the future.

It cannot be doubted that the continuance of this war will accelerate the drive for economic planning and for greater concentration of political power, no matter which side wins the military victory, and these tendencies imply changes in social habit and custom of such a nature as will preclude a return to an individualistic and competitive way of living. This should give us cause for rejoicing? But I fear not. The mere removal of individualistic capitalism is no guarantee of social welfare, of human equality and personal freedom. Rather can it bring even wider disparity of economic reward between classes of workers, and even harsher restrictions upon personal liberty between individuals. Russia to-day examples this.

Economic classes can continue in distinction even though the private ownership of reproductive property is liquidated, and the private profit motive taken out of social economy. Also it is possible for envy and hostility to foster between national and territorial groupings in spite of the similar totalitarian basis of their respective units. It can be suggested that in the immediate future there will be an aggravation of the totalitarian tendency by further wars between even larger units, culminating finally in a world-State-Caesarism, or a confederacy of totalitarian Ruling Elites. Or perhaps, the eventual breakdown of civilisation through Total War.

Seen in class terms, this totalitarian process increasingly takes on the lineaments of Counter-Revolution. Even in this phase of it, during this present war, the initiative seems entirely on the side of the Authoritarians. More and more internal competition is being removed from the national economy of each State, and more and more are the weapons of working class international action rendered impotent. To believe the hoary superstition, handed down to us from an analysis of nineteenth century capitalism, that victory will ensue to the workers through the inevitability of capitalist self-destruction, seems to me romantic in the extreme. To be sure, the capitalist class has been unable to avoid conflict within itself, but every day witnesses a growing metamorphosis of capitalist from a class into a caste. Every day evidences the growth of international co-ordination of the Ruling governmental systems, and every day reveals the demoralisation and frustration of working class ideologies. We should not be too optimistic in our interpretations of current strike action, nor of colouring the happenings in occupied territories with revolutionary significances. The **material** economic tendencies do not favour the ideological aspirations of "Left" theoreticians. The social revolution so ardently desired, following these material changes, may prove to be in result merely a sweeping away of the clinging brushwood of **individualistic** capitalism, to prepare the way for the establishment of State Capitalism, and through State Capitalism to World Caeserism. There would appear to be grounds for the suggestion that the imperialist war may be converted into civil war, but not on behalf of the proletariat, but on behalf of a rising new Ruling Elite. Not prosecuted by revolutionary workers, but by counter-revolutionary politicians.

But then even a spontaneous proletarian revolution, should it occur, in no way indicates any change in the totalitarian tendency. For it must be recognised that any new form of society coming into being as a result of popular demonstration, must in large measure satisfy the immediate demands of the agitation. It must, in a sense, bear the imprint of the main ideological current which animated the change. That current to-day is almost wholly expressed in economic terms. Its demand is for a collectivist social organisation, a collectivism that can guarantee economic security to all. Naturally its political orientation would be towards the Total State, and so totalitarianism moves into position to meet this demand. We should be obstinately prejudiced if we insisted that there also existed, as a corollary to the economic demand, a similarly strong agitation for political freedom and personal liberty. The tide of popular enthusiasm is not at present running in the direction of ethical values. It is canalised into the desire for a multiplicity of material goods. It is, of course, true that many people are hoping and striving for something more revolutionary than bread and circuses, but it would be false to daily evidence to say this were true of the major part of society. It is the peculiar tragedy of our time that it cannot produce a social philosophy superior to the one now dying with the Capitalist Order.

It seems to me that there can be no revolutionary society of a libertarian character for many years to come, unless certain inspirational ideas quickly penetrate the millions of workers everywhere. These ideas must be animated by a strong desire for personal responsibility in vocational work, and would represent a swing away from the current belief in the happiness to be obtained from "a chromium-plated civilisation." I fail completely to see how this necessary idological impetus is to be given us. Some ideal conception of the meaning and purpose of human life, beyond the quest for comfort and pleasure, must be generously realised. However, on the practical side, it is evident that any libertarian trend must express itself for drastic de-centralisation of political and economic controls. It cannot fail to be anti-State and anti-collective, so that it would stand in direct opposition to the actual trend of economic and political development. Judging by the general approval given to the Beveridge Report, and estimating the future possibilities of Party collaboration, and adding to these the slavish and visionless allegiance of all so-called "Left" wing political groupings to outmoded economic doctrines, it would seem that there is little justification for any belief that we move towards a libertarian revolution of society.

The great French Revolution was pioneered by the ideas of personal freedom and the equality of all men. These ideas powered the material forces which were in action at that time. We cannot draw any parallel to-day. Nor can we even with the other great revolutions, Russia of 1917 and Spain of 1936. The conditions are not comparable. The idea of Freedom is still potent, but men are sadly and bitterly disillusioned. We have to face the fact bravely, that the workers as a class are more interested in security than in liberty, and notwithstanding the fact that the one is ultimately dependent upon the other, they do not seem to think so. It would appear that revolutionary hopes have reduced themselves to a despairing belief in the inevitability of worsening conditions provoking reaction and rebellion. Yet, quite apart from what I have already said of the indifferent value of such a rebellion at this time, so far as given tendencies would suggest, it looks as though this possibility is also foreseen by the politicians. In these days it is a very unimaginative and optimistic social analyst who would declare that despite all that can be done to the contrary, the ruling governments of the world **cannot** avoid revolution. Whilst it is true that historical and economical forces are to some extent blind in this operation, we must never forget that in the last analysis **Man is governed by man.**

The conclusion to which these reflections would appear to point, is that all so-called revolutionary ideology and intention can be embraced and re-shaped by counter-revolution. This, I maintain, is proceeding apace now. Only a political or social faith which runs boldly **counter** to all present economic and political trends can hope to offer effective resistance to the movement towards a totalitarianism of one kind or another. We shall claim that Anarchism can do this, and in so far as this is true, my pessimism stands condemned. But we must not make the mistake of believing present practice **must** fit theoretical principle. A free society must equate desires with needs, and since this is true, the workers in their struggle for Peace and Freedom must eventually vindicate Anarchist propaganda. But there is no inevitable logic in history which will do this. There are many superstitions which men can build upon their economic activity, and there may be many blind alleys down which man may wander before he reaches a realisation of his real social needs—the free association of himself as a worker, with other workers, considered and related as individuals and as **persons,** all organising consciously and deliberately for the good of one and another, and for society as a whole.

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SOCIALISM and MONEY

(*Concluded from Page* 118)

of activity, and, if any one wants it, freedom to oppose Socialism, these must all be stated as rights in the Socialist constitution. The species which has advanced from burning heretics and scientists to tolerating conscientious objectors in time of invasion, is surely capable of controlling its own destiny. The economic system must be changed and made to serve mankind instead of being a kind of treadmill from which there is no respite. In the words of the poet:

"The man's the gowd for a' that."

SOCIALISM AND MONEY

BY J. I. CRAIG

PLANNED ECONOMY?

The three great streams of Socialist thought, Utopian, Anarchist and Communist or Marxist, to give them their historical order, do not provide all the essentials of a plan for practical Socialist society. Utopian thought had the merit of focussing attention on the goal but did not attempt to describe practical methods of achieving it. Marxism on the other hand, concentrated entirely on the practical method of achieving the change and did not give a thought to the necessity for a planned reconstruction of society. This followed naturally from the doctrine of economic determinism which is the religious belief in predestination transferred to the political sphere. Marx was right in insisting that the change must come from the proletariat itself but wrong in assuming that the problem of building and maintaining Socialism can safely be left to "history." Anarchism comes closer to providing the answer to both fundamental questions which are, simply, how to bring it about and how will it work.

Marxism killed Utopian speculation. That represented progress, but Marx's scientific criticism of capitalist society was "sicklied over" by his metaphysical approach to the problem of changing that society. If Socialism is *inevitable* as a result of certain economic factors existing in the present system, no special constructive effort of will or mind is necessary to bring it about. The disastrous result of this false approach can be traced from Marxism, through Leninism to Stalinism and the fully developed power politics of the Russian state. This state, we are told, has achieved Socialism or is achieving Socialism. New rouble millionaires and poverty make an unpleasant contrast.

Thomas Henry Huxley said that the history of civilisation details the steps by which men have succeeded in building up an artificial world within the cosmos and that this has been done by *combating* the cosmic process. In other words the cosmic struggle for existence is more and more restrained by the process of moral evolution in mankind. Progress sprang from the restriction of extreme competition and the increasing recognition of each other's rights. We have now accumulated a vast store of knowledge, the common fruit of countless interacting intellects, which enables us to say that the struggle for mere existence is obsolete. The forces of nature have been so harnessed that all could live in comfort and well-being. The distribution of this wealth awaits the solution of the social problem. The intellectual power which produced the wonders of radio transmission is surely capable of solving the bitter anomaly of wide-spread poverty amid plenty. Our stupidity mocks our ingenuity.

"An engineer desiring to convert a given form of society into a more satisfactory one, would begin by making a very rough outline of the kind of society he proposed to build," says Max Eastman in his recent book, "Marxism, Is It Science?" It would be foolish indeed to attempt to create a detailed or inflexible framework for the future but every necessary corporate activity should be covered by Socialist proposals which can be hammered into shape in open debate and finally tempered in the fires of practice. The Socialist Movement must be rebuilt. The ideal must be presented anew. The harm done to the ideal by fifty years of parliamentary futility, both local and national, must be undone. Electioneering, labour state-craft and the twists and turns of power politics as exemplified by our tumbler friends the Communist Party, have destroyed much of the constructive work of the Socialist pioneers. Marxism, viewed as a philosophy, is only another dead dogma which must be shaken off. It was not the materialistic conception of history which inspired Marxists to go to Spain to defend Spanish Socialism.

THE MONEY QUESTION

The question of the function of money in a Socialist economy has been largely neglected by Socialist writers. Yet any attempt to create a Socialist economy involving the use of money as we know it, is fore-doomed to failure. This follows from the fact that the possession of money confers permanent and absolute title to all types of property and this is antagonistic to the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. In other words, re-accumulation and the re-introduction of capitalism would be facilitated.

Many Socialists simply ignore the question leaving us to wonder whether the workers will sell their own produce back to themselves, thereby transferring cash from their right hand to their left hand. The Anarchists on the contrary say that when private property in the means of production has been superseded, money, which is the medium of exchange of land, buildings, machinery and so on, will no longer be required and should therefore be abolished. This is theoretically correct but leaves untouched the problem of distribution. At present, money, apart from its services to the owning classes, performs a real and necessary function in our complex modern society, the function of distribution. That is purely incidental, springing from its main function as the medium of exchange. The bank-note we might say is gregarious and therefore happiest in company. The capitalist has to exchange it for labour power in the labour market and it finds its way into the poor man's pocket. It pines there, however, longs for company and its wish is soon granted.

The Anarchist conception of free distribution appears to be based not on the needs of modern complex society but on the methods of the village commune where the members were supplied freely from the common store, the point overlooked being that the storekeeper knew each individual and knew that he had contributed by his efforts to that common store. Socialism must be capable of functioning tomorrow and certainly long before we have all developed the complete social conscience.

Just as certain administrative functions of the state will be carried on under Socialist auspices (Marx taught that the state would progressively wither away), so we need an instrument of distribution which is as flexible as money, which will provide the necessary information on which future production can be based and which will ensure the efficient and equitable distribution of all types of goods and services. Such an instrument could be defined as a general purpose ration coupon bearing a fixed expiry date. The life of the coupon, let us call it the Socialist note, could be, say, one year, thus automatically cancelling out all surplus purchasing power. Surplus purchasing power *in the wrong hands* is one of the features of the recurring failures of the capitalist system known as slumps. When the production of the mainstays of life, food, clothing and shelter, ceased to be determined by geographical or technical factors, it would be determined solely by consumers orders and these commodities could be issued merely against a book entry for check purposes, to avoid waste and to provide statistics on which to base future production. The Socialist note would still be necessary for the distribution according to individual taste of articles seldom in demand or difficult to produce.

The workers physical condition suddenly becomes the vital concern of the state in time of war and rationing is introduced alongside the money system, to prevent the well-to-do depriving others of the means of life. The principle could be used to give effect in times of plenty to the Socialist dictum—from each according to his powers, to each according to his needs. The changes outlined represent a process of "withering away" of money.

THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE

Critics have said that Socialist economies stand or fall with the labour theory of value. This is undoubtedly true. Incidentally, this theory was formulated by Petty, Thompson, Hodgskin and others and Marx adapted it from these writers. No serious challenge has been offered to the statement that the intrinsic value of a commodity is measured by the amount of socially necessary labour-time embodied in it. By labour is meant any expenditure of brain or muscle which contributes to the final value of the product. A prominent critic of the theory, F. C. Hearnshaw, wrecks his long attack by stating "It is not true that labour—however the term may be defined—is the sole creator of wealth or the sole source of value: much wealth of inestimable value (e.g. coal) is the free gift of nature . . ."; an unfortunate remark for one who believes in private ownership of these resources! Later he has this passage: "Scarcely less ludicrous is it to regard the natural increase of flocks and herds as in any real sense the product of the labour of the shepherd. He sits and contemplates the stars. Nature does the rest; and he is rich." This sounds more like Palestine than Scotland!

The labour theory of value has led some Socialists to propose a currency based on labour-time and known as the labour note. But prices are determined by the interaction of supply and demand no matter what type of currency is in use and the labour note would therefore lose its meaning. The issue would not be self-balancing as its advocates suppose. The labour theory of value is not a theory of *price*. With a rationing system, of course, the number of coupons sought is arbitrarily fixed according to the available supply of the particular commodity.

THE "SOCIAL CREDIT" APPROACH

Major C. H. Douglas in one of his few lucid moments says (*Social Credit*, page 62), "The proper function of a money system is to furnish the information necessary to direct the production and distribution of goods and services." This is excellent but Douglas appears incapable of developing his idea logically. His next sentence is "It is, or should be, an order system not a reward system." So near and yet so far! This is the same as saying that a horse is, or should be, a quadruped. The intended meaning of these statements is excellent and if the argument were developed it would lead Major Douglas directly to planned distribution and the abolition of the money system. But he does not wish to relinquish the money system. Far from it. He approves of the profit motive, capitalism and interest and so the idea was still-born. It was just a gleam of light in a dark volume.

The January 1944 issue of the Social Credit weekly *Reality*, quotes a Russian writer, Kiril, as saying, ". . . rouble notes received by the worker are in effect little more than vouchers entitling him to a corresponding share in the total volume of consumers goods and services available."

The advantage of using currency rather than vouchers is that "It enables the recipient to make his own choice within the limits of his income among the various goods offered for sale—or to save part if he chooses." The rouble is, of course, very far from being a coupon. It bears interest when invested in Soviet state securities, is passed on by inheritance and functions to some extent as a measure of value; but the statement is interesting since it indicates the direction in which money must develop in a country where the major industries are state owned, that is, in a country where state capitalism flourishes.

THE FREEDOMS

The conquest of social security at the expense of the freedoms, some of which we have already attained in part, would be a worthless victory. Freedom of opinion and freedom of the press, these go without saying, freedom to own and dispose of a sufficiency of personal possessions, economic independence for all women, freedom to choose one's sphere

(*Concluded foot column* 3, p. 117)

BOMBING PROTEST

We have been asked to give publicity to the appended signed protest against the bombing policy involved in the pursuit and conduct of total war :—

TOTAL WAR: BOMBING POLICY.

We, the undersigned, regard with growing disquietude the wanton destruction of civilian life and national culture by the Government's policy of aerial bombardment, which seems to us to imitate in an aggravated form the example of the Nazis.

We do not accept the denials issued by the Government of the charge that such bombardment is indiscriminate; and we feel it to be our duty as writers, artists and musicians to protest against it in the strongest possible terms, as an offence against humanity.

In this view we have the support of the International Red Cross Committee, which has recently issued an appeal to all belligerent powers. ("The Times," Jan. 8th, 1944.) After stating that the principles of international law for the protection of lives and property of a non-military character are being relegated more and more to the background in favour of the unreserved pursuit of total warfare, the appeal continues:—

"The International Committee observes with great and increasing disquiet the steady aggravation of methods of warfare affecting civilian lives and property devoid of military importance, but the destruction of which is an irreparable loss to civilisation."

J. D. BERESFORD	PETER PEARS
VERA BRITTAIN	HERBERT READ
BENJAMIN BRITTEN	DEREK SAVAGE
GEORGE CATLIN	JOSEPH SOUTHALL
ALEX. COMFORT	JULIAN SYMONS
DONALD COWIE	DENTON WELCH
CLIFFORD CURZON	PETER WELLS
LAURENCE HOUSMAN	GEO. WOODCOCK
FRANK KENDON	C. D. CUNNINGHAM
MAXWELL ARMFIELD	ROBT. GREACHEN
OSWELL BLAKESTON	HUGH L'ANSON
MARTIN BOYD	FAUSSET
MAX CHAPMAN	ANDREW PEARSE
	JAMES KIRKUP

CIVIL SERVICE PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

The Annual General Meeting of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship was held at the Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2, on Friday, April 21, at 6 p.m. An address was given by Mr. F. Marcus Arman, Staff Side Secretary of the Assistance Board Whitley Council and Member of the National Staff Side. His subject was "Social Responsibility in the Civil Service."

The evacuation of Civil Service Departments from London ended the lunch-hour gatherings at the Cafe Embassy, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.2. Now that a number of Departments have returned, the A.G.M. proved a good opportunity for London members to meet again in fellowship. The date was fixed for the Friday before the P.P.U. A.G.M. so that provincial member could attend both gatherings during the same week-end.

The Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship was formed in October, 1939, and since its inauguration, over 800 Civil Servants have asked to be associated with the movement. At least a third of this number has now left the Civil Service because of tribunal direction, resignation or dismissal.

The membership of the C.S.P.F. is widely scattered over the country and one of the main objects is to strengthen its witness through fellowship. By means of the Bulletin and individual correspondence, information and advice is given on the special problems relating to the Civil Service C.O. Through the Maintenance Fund, assistance is rendered to members in need arising from their pacifist stand. Recently, a Post-War and General Reserve Fund has been established to build up a Reserve to help those who will not be reinstated after the war.

Any interested Civil Service pacifist, whether in an established or a temporary grade, will be welcome to join the Fellowship. Enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Mr. S. G. Cornish, 38 Rancliffe Road, London, E.6.

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MAN IS TOO GOOD TO FIGHT

BY THE REV. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

(Minister, New Great Meeting House (Unitarian), Coventry)

My thesis is a very simple one, and may be stated very briefly : Man as he is, not ideal man, but man with spots, blemishes and imperfections, is far too good for modern war. Consider what war is and what man is, and you will see my meaning. Of all warriors you may use Maxim Gorky's phrase,

"Creatures that once were men."

Let Lord Fisher describe war :—

"The essence of war is violence. Moderation in war is imbecile. Hit first, hid hard, and hit anywhere. The humanising of war!!! You might as well talk of the humanising of hell. Kick your enemy when he is down. Hit him in the belly and boil your prisoners in oil (if you take any) and torture his women and children; then people will keep clear of you."

This is not from *Mein Kampf* or from Goebbels or Himmler, but from that fine British Admiral, Jacky Fisher.

Here is another description of war from the pen of an English bishop:—

"Christ declares the Fatherhood of God. War blasphemes God. The Gospel of Christ is salvation : War is destruction. The Gospel affirms community : War denies it. The Gospel stands for the imperishable worth of the individual personality : War shows the individual as an isolated, helpless, powerless atom in a world of irrational monsters. Modern war is the demon that not only kills human lives but, by its awful unreason, its organisation and invention turns the individual from a *person* into an unmeaning thing."

If these statements of the Admiral and the Bishop are true, my proposition is this :

The worst man, thief, prostitute, drunkard, or even a politician is too good for war.

My thesis can only be properly understood when you consider the antithesis.

The commonest assumption made particularly by the religious dogmatists, the moral exhorters, and also by spiritually-minded pacifists, is that before you can end war you must make a radical change in human nature.

I am not opposed to a radical change in human nature. But I do not see why we should wait for some Utopian change, before we revolt against the brutality, the stupidity, and the utter futility of war.

What the French call the *homme sensuel* is too good to fight and he can be made to see it.

This cowardly fallacy that war is due to some radical defect in human nature is proclaimed by militarists and pacifists alike.

In fact one reason why the peace movement lies down to the falsehood and deceit of the militarists in war-time is that we imagine salvation from war can only come when the super-saints rule the world.

The time may come when the saints will rule the world. But the first step in that direction will be to get rid of the humbug, the hypocrisy and the murderous violence of war. In this task any man is good enough, potentially, to lend a hand.

There are three forms of the fallacy I am trying to destroy :

(*a*) The fallacy of original sin.
(*b*) The fallacy of the fighting animal.
(*c*) The fallacy of the unenlightened mind.

(*a*) The religious dogmatist, and his name is legion sets down as the cause of this war, the corruption of human nature.

In a Catholic Catechism I came across the other day the origin of all our woes lies in the sin of Adam. The author draws a distinction between the sin of Adam and the sin of Eve.

Eve did not pass on her transgression but Adam did.

The mythology of other religious dogmatists is not quite so naive as of this catechism, but the vast majority of religious folk believe that the root cause of the war is a corrupted and unsanctified human nature.

One writer of repute says that for hundreds of years the people have been leaving God out of their lives and this world tragedy is the result.

Even so enlightened an Archbishop as William Temple takes this standpoint in his war-time exhortations.

It is the main theme of writers like Berdyaev, Dr. John Whale, Christopher Dawson, and Dr. Micklem that a spiritual revolution is needed before you can abolish war.

There are two comments to be made on this putting down the blame on a corrupt human nature.

In effect, the corrupt human nature is that of the enemy. Though it may be admitted that our dose of original sin exists, it is never reckoned as a *vera causa* of this war.

The Germans are always assumed to have had a double dose of original sin.

This is really as violently heterodox as Pelagianism.

The other comment is this :

If corrupt human nature which inherits Adam's taint bears the guilt, why do the same people assume that Hitler was the main sinner and to knock him out the primal aim of all the slaughter?

I am no believer in human perfection, but it is not Sin in General which has caused this war, but some particular sin with which neither Adam nor Eve had much to do.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, we are a tainted race, war will not take away the taint but manifestly will add to it and make man viler still.

(*b*) A Unitarian Lieut-Colonel who pretended to be a Darwinist once attacked me violenly when I contended man was too good to fight. He brought in Darwin and the survival of the fittest. Man belongs to nature, red in tooth and claw, and he must join in the struggle.

Sir Arthur Keith, the eminent Rationalist, once put forward the same argument.

Sir Chalmers Mitchell and Leonard Hobhouse have exposed the fallacy.

They have shown that the noblest qualities in man survive by some other kind of selection than that of the blood-feud.

It is a proved fact that the last war killed off the fittest.

If man, at his best, is to survive, he must be good enough to find some moral equivalent of war, without its bestiality and ruthless destruction.

(*c*) The third fallacy is a more subtle one found very often among pacifists and conscientious objectors. I will not venture to mention any names because those who perpetrate the fallacy and delude others, often give away their own case. Peace-makers who will ask all and sundry to join in an effort for stating peace terms, and being willing to negotiate on them now, are warned. "No, now is not the time." "You do not understand the depth and extent of the spiritual evil and of human deterioration."

Our chief business is to deal with this human deterioration. "We must get together in little groups for mutual purification and enlightenment."

The unregenerate, unenlightened man can do little or nothing to do away with this evil of war. War has its roots in soul-deterioration on a wide scale.

According to this theory the war-making units are the ignorant masses of the common people filled with nationalistic pride, vanity and hatred.

Even among those who have discarded the myths of original sin and of the fighting man, who kills off the lower breeds, it is thought that man, as he is, cannot get rid of this brute monster which devours him. For his consolation, politicians like Malcolm Macdonald far off in Canada, assure him that bombing is good for him, and

out of the welter of the blitz, he will emerge a nobler and purer kind of being.

As against these theological, scientific and moral dogmatists who affirm that man must be made over again in order to end war, my affirmation is that man can be made to see what war is and how he can end it without any supernatural birth or intellectual revolution.

Jesus said to the common people of his day: "Ye yourselves judge what is right."

Wars are not made by the deliberate wicked acts of the peoples. The Powers declare war and men invent some untruth in order to drag at the heels of the war-chariot the people whom they have deluded.

It is neither the sin of Adam, nor the fighting instinct, nor the low moral level of the people as a whole which causes modern war.

The root cause is the economic rivalry of the Powers and the classes who benefit by war. The people are pawns in the hands of the real war-makers.

The only remedy for war is for the people to find out how they are deluded and how they can get rid of their evil counsellors. Guy Aldred calls his paper *The Word*, and for the most part, it is an unimpeachable record of facts about this war and other wars.

"*Things are what they are,*" said Bishop Butler. *One common man has some sense.*

These are some facts, negative and positive, about this war which the common man has got to learn. He will learn some by events, he will learn others by the filtering through of the Word The word of Aldred and Emrys Hughes, and McGovern, and the Duke of Bedford. Here are a few facts:

This is not a war against Hitlerism. Half the Cabinet share Hitler's philosophy.

This is not a war for Freedom. Out of 500 million odd in the British Empire 400 million have no freedom.

This is not a war for Christianity. Ask Ernest Thurtle.

This is not a war to enforce the fulfilment of the pledged word. Churchill has forsworn the Atlantic Charter and will forswear any mortal thing.

The dictated peace will be a bigger swindle than the Brighton election.

No dictated peace has any moral foundation.

The Second Front is on the way to win this miserable swindle.

You can pick out a dozen men or women anywhere — except perhaps in an ecclesiastical assembly or a company of war-profiteers—in a village inn, in a soldier's guard room, or a youth group, or a women's guild, or at the street corner, and expound these propositions.

Your audience may be any religion or none, of high morality or low morality, Yoga initiates or Inebriated Guinessites. They will begin to lose confidence in this Holy war.

When you explain how the statement of decent terms and the promise of economic co-operation would shorten the war, you would have little opposition. If you could spent an hour in a round-table discussion, you would have the heartiest co-operation. I am not speaking of something which is a matter of doubt.

There is little opportunity to speak to groups and tell them the real facts. But such opportunities as come, I take them. My testimony is that the common man or woman has no case for this war. They can be made to understand that there is only one way to end it, for the peoples to throw over their present leaders and get together in every country to save the destitute and rebuild the ruined habitations.

Only in co-operation for life can we do away with the strategists of desolation and death. I have spoken this word of reconciliation to miners' wives in a ctiy which has felt sorely the coward blows of the three-mile-high workers. Suppose, I have said, there were a calamity in your mining village. Some men entombed needed rescue. On whom would you call to do the work of salvation?

You would not ask a man's religion or morals. The worst rapscallion might respond and give his life for his mate.

To-day Europe faces a catastrophe to millions of lives. The call is to stop this futile and unholy destruction and rescue from perishing millions of men, women and children.

Surely to that call every decent human being will respond. We may desire a world of Christ-like men and women without spot or blemish or any such thing. Let us begin by doing what we can to wipe out this blot, this monstrous orgy of falsehood, humbug and unholy slaughter which we call war.

Be you rich or poor, high or low, bond or free,
A stainless Stephen or a sinful Simon,
A sober Pharisee or a wealthy Sadducee,
A charming Marquis, or Cobbler's son,
A recreant Pacifist or a disillusioned soldier.
The call is to you.

Arise and conquer while you can
The foe which in your midst resides,
And win you with the will of man
That kingdom which abides.

WHEN WILL YE BE WISE?

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

"Behold, with how little wisdom the world is governed."

—Oxenstjerna.

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THE QUESTION REMAINS UNANSWERED.

Dear Sir Stafford Cripps,

I have just been reading your address entitled "The Kingdom of God on Earth," which has been reprinted in a book called "In Search of Faith." The general argument of the address seems in reproof of Christians for not acting according to the teachings of Christ. The address ends:

"We must not be ashamed or half hearted in our convictions, or apologetic in our advocacy of Christ's way. We know God's purpose from the very lips of Christ Himself: in that purpose we go forward to conquer evil and to establish His kingdom of love and happiness here in our troubled and tragic world."

The question I should like to ask is, how you reconcile this statement with the position you occupy in being Minister of Aircraft Production, organising the production of aircraft which are being used for the systematic destruction of the civilian population in the cities and town of Germany and elsewhere by concentrated bombing. If you reply that the German Government would do the samething, I suggest (1) that is irrelevant on theargument of your address; (2) in fact the German Government did not do so in 1939-1940, when it had the ample means of laying waste English cities (which were quite unprotected then) but refrained from using those means.

Yours very truly,
C. H. NORMAN.

This letter of enquiry, putting a perfectly fair question, elicited no reply. Perhaps the question is too much of a poser even for the certainly acute brain of Sir Stafford! Anyhow, people who talk to others like Sir Stafford did and then do what Sir Stafford is doing by virtue of his office should be tackled whenever possible.

PRAYER FOR FIGHTING PEOPLES

Lord, stop our ears; lest we might hear
The voices of hypocrisy
Beneath the propaganda streams
That issue from the B.B.C.

Lord, close our eyes; lest we might read
Between the lines, and make a guess
At motives which may underly
The statements in the daily Press.

Lord, dull our minds; lest we might start
To understand just what we do;
Lest, 'mid the fog of hate and lies
A gleam of truth should struggle through.

Lord, steel our hearts; lest we might feel
Some pity for our tortured time,
And, horror-struck, in sudden shame
Turn with revulsion from our crime.

IVAN BEUTTLER.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

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AN ASTOUNDING INTERVIEW

BY E. E. BRISCOE

I had been sent by the Editor of "The Word" to obtain an interview with the Minister for Destruction. As I sat in the spacious anteroom, gazing around, I was struck by the strange contrast of theme among the pictures on the walls.

Over the imposing oak mantel, heavily carved with emblems of War and Peace, hung, on one side, a large reproduction of Holman Hunt's beautiful picture—"The Triumph of the Innocents": on the other side, an engraving, ugly and cruel, entitled—"Mars Triumphant." On the wall opposite, occupying nearly the whole of its space, was a huge allegorical composition, garishly painted in oil colours. The title was "Empire"; and the conspicuousness of the Union Jack left me in no doubt that it was British. The two remaining walls were covered with framed photographs. Those on my right were entirely Naval and Military in subject, representing battle ships, submarines, various big guns, tanks, and bombing planes, accented, here and there, with portraits of "great" men of War.

The photographs on my left were devoted to apparently peaceful subjects:—views of cathedrals, scenes at past Peace Conferences, with portraits of Church dignatories, and other champions of War for Peace.

From the pictures my eyes wandered to the furniture: and I was amazed to see that the legs of the chairs were highly polished bombs, and their backs portions of the wings of aeroplanes. Inspecting them more closely I saw that, in the centre of each back was a panel containing a scriptural text relative to Peace. Mystified and perturbed, I rose hastily from my seat and examined it; to find that its construction was uniform with that of the others. However, my agitation was somewhat allayed when I read in the panel—"Peace be unto you. Be not afraid."

At that moment the door opened, and the Minister for Destruction entered the room. "Good morning Mr.—er—er" he said, scrutinising my card, which he still held in his hand. I hastened to tell him my name. "Precisely", he replied: and proceeded rapidly:—"Well, Mr.—er—er, I see that you are a representative of "The Word",—an **excellent** periodical, but, if you will pardon my saying so, too positive in its attitude against war. Some time ago I purchased a copy, and read it. The result was, I suffered from insomnia for a fortnight, and became so unbalanced that I even began to think of resigning my post as Minister for Destruction. Thank heaven I am now quite well again, and working more vigorously than ever at our War for Peace programme." He paused a moment; and I seized the opportunity:—"Is this the War Department?" I asked.

"Yes", he replied: "although, strictly speaking, it is and it isn't. Ha, Ha. You may call it either the War Department of the Peace Office, or the Peace Department of the War Office. You see we interchange the terms whenever we find it advantageous to do so. How do you like the furniture? It is my own idea, and design:—an expression of the psychology of my department. You come in, and sit down: and then you know exactly where **we stand.** Ha, Ha."

He hurried on:—"Now Mr.—er—er, I understand from your editor's note, that you want me to tell you something about my War for Peace plans. Let me see; (he glanced at his watch) I can spare you just four and a half minutes, which should be ample, if you allow me to talk without interruption.

First of all, you should know that our War for Peace programme has the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury:—in short, the blessing of the Church. I will not say that I fully comprehend the Archbishop's point of view: but it certainly suits our purpose. Ostensibly, from his pronouncements, he considers that sin, and, of course sinners, are the enemies of Peace: and that until they are exterminated the world cannot become peaceful and Christian:—that we must therefore exterminate the sinners, which I can only suppose (believing, as he does, that **all** have sinned) means **everybody,** excepting, of course, those who are sufficiently rich, and "privileged", or shrewd enough to save themselves. Then, apparently, having cleared the world of its sinful contents, the Church will be able to imbue it with the true spirit of Christianity and Peace. That may not be a perfectly logical argument: but it is not for **me** to contradict the Archbishop. My province is to activate the Military machinery that is necessary for the practical application of his commonly accepted theory:—as the airman said, when he dropped all of his bombs on a cathedral! Ha, Ha, Ha!"

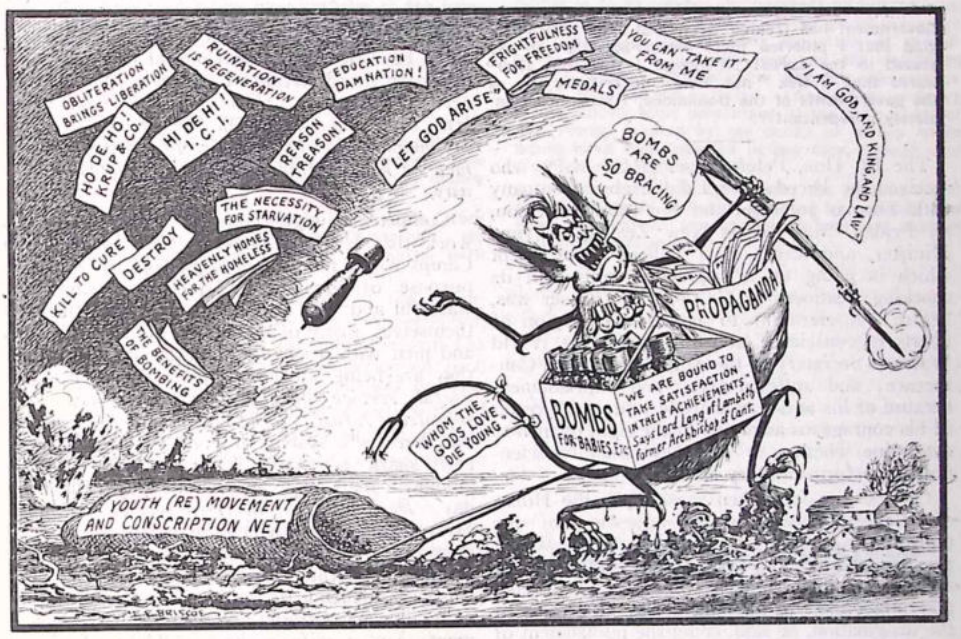
His insouciance roused my anger. Facing him fiercely, I said:—"This is heartless cynicism. Have you **no** consideration for the common people?" "Don't interrupt," he retorted. "The common people are relatively unimportant, Imperial Interests and Property with a big 'P' are the only things that really matter, and **must** be protected. The common people must protect themselves, if they can. If they are too stupid to do so—well, I **ask** you, are they **worth** protecting? However, most of them seem to be satisfied with their air-raid shelters, gas-masks, buckets and spades, Ha, Ha: so why disturb them, make them fretful, and possibly disorganise everything? Surely you realise that if they wake up, and become aware of their potentialities, they will make it impossible for us to carry through our War for Peace projects. Think of the billions of pounds we have already spent! All would be utterly wasted! It is positively outrageous to imagine such an absurd state of affairs."

He pulled out his watch spasmodically, and up went his eyebrows. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "Over five minutes! I'm afraid I have said too much."

"You **have.**" I speedily interpolated: but he ignored my remarks, and hurried on to his conclusion:—"Tell your readers to trust in the 'old firm'. Trust till you bust—tell 'em **that**—**very** appropriate, O, **very.** Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha. Good-bye, **Good**-bye."

He rushed away, laughing raucously. I put my fingers in my ears to shut out the excruciating cacophony: then suddenly became aware that————the alarum clock beside my bed was harshly rousing me to the commencement of another day.

THE MADNESS THAT IS MILITARISM



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe

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DEFAULTER'S CAMPS FOR C.O.'s IN NEW ZEALAND

LABOUR GOVERNMENT ENTHRONES PRUSSIANISM

BY THE REV. CHARLES H. COLE

(Ex-Secretary, No More War Movement, New Zealand; Minister, High Street Unitarian Christian Church, Portsmouth; Chairman Portsmouth P.P.U.; Minister Humanist Society of Friends)

From a letter written to C. H. Cole by the Duke of Bedford on the New Zealand Government's treatment of C.O.s.

It is really disgraceful the way the Labour Government has treated them and I am extremely glad that I pilloried these pseudo-Socialists in my speech in the Lords! Although I was told afterwards that it was "not done" to criticise one of the governments of the Dominions, I remained completely unrepentant."

The Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, P.C., M.P., who received the Freedom of Edinburgh in company with Thomas Johnston and Sir John Anderson, on Friday, May 12, is New Zealand's Prime Minister, and leader of a Labour Government which is piling up a disgraceful record in its shocking treatment of C.O.'s. Mr. Fraser was, before his elevation to power, a champion of liberty of conscience, and during the last World War was Secretary of the Anti-Conscription Conference; and suffered arrest and imprisonment because of his anti-war attitude, and as the result of his courageous advocacy of the right of men to determine whether or not they could conscientiously perform military service.

On one occasion, when speaking in the House of Representatives on the question of the punishment of C.O.'s he appealed for the widest possible tolerance and for an effort on the part of members to understand a point of view foreign and antagonistic to their own. By no stretch of the imagination, he said, could the punishment of C.O.'s be of any use to the State, but by persisting in its legislation the members of the Government were providing that *while they professedly set out to defeat Prussianism in Europe, they were enthroning it in New Zealand.* The whirligig of time has made Mr. Fraser Prime Minister in this war, and now, as the following record shows, he is responsible for the most intolerant and vindictive treatment of C.O.'s which has no parallel in any other country of the British Commonwealth. In other days, Mr. Fraser supported his then anti-militarist leader of the Labour Party, Mr. H. E. Holland, who declared that the vital principles of liberty for which Labour stands, and the Party's conference decisions, "imposed on us the obligation to fight against any intensification of militarism," and who regarded C.O.'s as men with a high sense of personal responsibility as citizens of the world to be reckoned among the nation's best assets. But in these days this erstwhile friend of C.O.'s is their implacable enemy and apparently has such a low opinion of them now that he allows them to be treated even worse than criminals in Civil prisons are treated.

History will judge whether Mr. Fraser was right or wrong in his attitude and actions towards C.O.'s in the last Great War or in this. For ourselves we have no hesitation in saying that just as he accused the Liberals in the 1914-18 War Cabinet of abandoning their Liberalism in their cruel punishment of C.O.'s, so he may be justly accused of abandoning the true spirit and principles of Labour in the attitude he adopts towards C.O.'s to-day.

The following notes are from a letter just received from Lincoln Efford, who was one of the four Pacifist candidates in last year's General Election in New Zealand, Secretary of the National Peace Council, and well-known in Christchurch for many years in Pacifist and Labour circles.

In New Zealand there are six Defaulter's Camps, where C.O.'s who have been refused exemption by the Appeal Tribunals and who continue to resist military service, are sentenced to be detained *for the duration of the War;* after having served a prison sentence in most cases of from one to three months for their non-compliance with the law, they are under the control of the National Service Department. The larger camps have huts in compounds surrounded by twelve feet high barbed wire fences. In some of them there are an inner and outer fence of this dscription, and the compound itself is divided up into compartments with barbed wire. The Shannon camps, from which there have been a good number of escapes, are strictly guarded. The area is floodlit during the night, and there are several roll calls. during the evening, and all detainees have to be in their huts by eight o'clock, thus preventing any social activities.

In one camp at least in the South Island the men have been saved from the degradation of being confined behind barbed wire, because the State Forestry Department official who is responsible for the direction of the men's work there refused to allow it. *He said he had fought in the last war and had seen too many German prisoners behind barbed wire to want to see any men he had anything to do with treated in that way.*

Competent judges consider that most of the work that is being done in the North Island Camps where men are engaged for the ostensible purpose of breaking in land for settlement, is wasteful and will lead to nothing. and the men themselves, many of whom are skilled tradesmen and men with academic qualifications, feel that they are being wasted. *Their offer to perform useful service outside the Camps has been repeatedly refused. The men receive no wages*—but there is a system of good conduct marks—each mark is worth ¾d.—and the maximum amount a man may earn in this way is 1/3 per day. *Dependents of the men receive nothing*—except 5/- per week which the detainees may send them out of their good conduct pay. Wives and children are treated in the same way as ordinary prisoners' dependents and receive certain mimmum allowances from the Social Security Department—e.g., a wife without children, if she is capable of working, gets nothing at all; or if she has children she is given £1 for herself, 10/- for each child up to three, five shillings for others, per week. *If they have savings in the Bank, this must be used up before these allowances are paid.* Many women are having a hard struggle. In many of the Camps there were educational classes and debating groups conducted by qualified C.O.'s, with the assistance of the W.E.A. *But when the authorities learned that discussions were taking place on the Christian attitude to politics, conscription, etc., they banned them, and some of the men responsible for organising them were sent to prison for the duration of the war.* There is now very little going on in the way of combined social activity or study, and as a consequence the men are becoming extremely depressed and feeling the effects of their long confinement in irksome mental surroundings. Those confined in these Defaulters' Camps are in a worse position in this respect than those in ordinary prisons where the W.E.A. and other recognised educational bodies are allowed to conduct classes, letcures, etc. Censorship, too, is far stricter than that imposed in ordinary prisons. Letters must contain no reference to the Government or politics or conscription or pacifism, or anything to do with the Camps or the administration or control of them. They must be confined to "domestic and personal matters only." It makes letter-writing very difficult, as many of the men have been accustomed to discussing philosophical matters, politics, religion and social affairs, and are, of course, still keenly interested in them. *The censorship cuts the men off from the outside world,* and its effect is heightened by the limitation on visiting and owing to the isolated location of many camps, the great difficulty imposed on intending visitors. Books are censored in such a way that not only are books on Pacifism, Socialism and kindred subjects refused admission, but also books on psychology which may refer to sex questions when dealing with psycho-analysis. "Someone sent in one of my election leaflets" (says Mr. Efford) "and all the detainee received was the least important part of it—my photograph." *No ordinary leave is granted for the men to visit their homes.* They are kept in strict confinement, and many of them have already been so confined for periods up to two and a half years—some for a longer period.

Special leave passes may be issued in cases where members of a man's family are gravely ill, and when a medical practitioner certifies that death is practically certain. The responsible minister has stated that *the prime purpose of the Camps is to segregate the defaulters from the community* and keep them from any opportunity of spreading their views, and it is the Government's policy to make this segregation as complete as possible—hence the barb wire, isolation, strict censorship, refusal of leave, the ban on educational bodies to visit Camps, etc., etc. Discipline is maintained in much the same way as in ordinary prisons, except that for offences regarded as serious, the men are taken before a magistrate and may be and often are given prison sentences for *the duration of the war.* This sentence can be imposed for any offence deemed "prejudicial to the good order and discipline of the Camp"—a very hazy term—and is usually given for "Refusing to co-operate"; which means that a man has refused to obey an order to work or something like that, and quite a large number of men are in prison because they have deliberately refused to continue to work in the Camps as a protest against the whole conscription system and the Defaulters' Camps themselves. *Others have been sent to prison for the duration, because they held meetings at which political matters were discussed.* There is an irregular flow of detainees to prison from the Camps in protest against the system, *and it will continue.* With some of these men, transferred from detention to prison, the magistrate did not even see them. In these cases his power of commital is more of an administrative nature than anything else. He simply commits at the request of the Camp supervisor.

For a long time no provision was made for Chaplains to visit the Camps. In fact no outsiders who might be considered sympathetic to the men were allowed in. But the Returned Soldiers' Association who have consistently urged strict and vindictive treatment for the men, was allowed to send representatives to inspect the Camps in order to see that the men were not loafing and having too good a time. However, after a good deal of public agitation, Chaplains have been allowed in, subject to strict Regulations. They are only permitted to see members of their own faith; *are not allowed to conduct preaching services*—only Communion services at which they may be permitted to give an exposition or such comments as are appropriately associated with that service; are not granted the liberty of the Camps, but confined to special allocated quarters; and their interviews must take place in the presence of an officer. An officer may also be present at any of the Communion services. They have no real right of entry to the Camps, and are usually confined to a hut at the Camp entrance.

That the treatment of these C.O.'s is unduly harsh and wrong is suggested by the fact that it is impossible to get decent types of men to accept positions as Overseers and Patrolmen in the Camps; or if any are engaged they soon resign because they find themselves unable to carry out the obnoxious duties assigned to them. Those who do retain their jobs are on the whole, crude, ignorant and obviously hostile to the men in their charge. Some of the Overseers seem to take pleasure in "driving" and behaving unpleasantly, and there are many examples of unnecessary pin-pricking. It has been said that on some of the jobs new overseers with reputations as "drivers" have been engaged to get more work out of the men. But in some cases the men have managed to resist the compulsory output per man per day being raised above what they consider a reasonable amount.

There is no provision made as in the ordinary prison for visiting justices to interview men who may wish to make requests or ventilate complaints, etc.; although the Government has been

pressed to make provision for this to be done. If visiting Justices were given the right of entry to the Camps it might help to prevent the petty abuses of authority that are always found in such institutions, and which cannot be combatted unless there is publicity, or at least contact with people outside. It is small wonder that many of the men are showing signs of mental strain, and that the natural result of their long continued confinement under unnatural conditions is depression and discontent. One of these men, a barrister and solicitor trained in England, who had had experience of military and civil prisons before going to a Defaulters' Camp, and who is now back in prison after refusing to work, has said that *he can maintain his self-respect better in prison than in detention; and he bitterly contests the legality and justice of the methods of the detention system.*

There has been much agitation for an improvement in the system—particularly for the setting up of Appellate Tribunals as in England; and for sentences of imprisonment or detention to be given for a definite period instead of as now for an indeterminate one—the duration of the war. But so far the Government has refused to make any alterations.

The New Zealand C.O. has few friends outside the Peace Movement to support his claim for fairer and juster treatment. *Labour M.P.'s will do nothing that might endanger their positions.* The Government would not allow a body like the C.B.C.O. to function. There is far more unreasoning antagonism to C.O.'s than in England, *and Labour and Trade Union bodies will do nothing that might embarrass Peter Fraser, the Labour War Lord and Leader of the Labour Government.*

We know that our comrade-readers in Britain will have thoughts of fraternal sympathy and solidarity with the 664 C.O.'s who are confined in the Defaulters' Camps described in this article; and we suggest that they might give a practical expression of this by writing to Fraser whilst he is in London, protesting against the harsh and vindictive treatment of New Zealand's objectors to military conscription.

After the last World War had ended, the first leader of New Zealand's Labour Party, H. E. Holland, wrote: *"The greatest victory—the real victory—of the war years was won by the C.O.'s of all countries. The Labour Movement acclaims their courage and honesty. The Labour Movement denounces their persecutors."*

If Labour Prime Minister Fraser truly honours the memory of his late Leader, he will reverse his present attitude, and admitting, as once he did, the courage and honesty of the C.O., will refuse any longer to be a party to their persecution. If he refuses to do this, he will condemn himself as a shameful betrayer of the spirit and principles of the great movement he was elected to serve.

BOROUGH OF AYLESBURY

At a meeting of the Town Council held in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, Aylesbury, on Monday, the 8th May, 1944, at 6 p.m., the following Resolution, moved by Councillor W. A. Narbeth, was approved and carried:—

This Council being desirous of proceeding at the earliest opportunity with its Post War Housing scheme, and wanting to be able to let these new houses at a rent comparable with its existing estate, and within the amount its Ratepayers will be able to afford, request the Government to lend them the necessary capital free of interest.

The Council desire to suggest that the Government could do this by issuing Housing notes, free of debt and interest: or by taking such steps as are necessary to restore to Parliament the sovereign authority over the Monetary system which was taken from it in 1694.

This Council calls upon the local Representative in the House of Commons to press for the introduction of such measures as are necessary to secure the aforementioned objective, and to support His Majesty's Government in the matter of any relative legislation.

It was further resolved that copies of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the Members of Parliament for North Bucks. and South Bucks.

DODGING THE ISSUE

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

In some of my speeches and writings, I have drawn attention not only to the manner in which the London Daily Press is controlled by the financiers, but also to the dishonest and evasive replies made by Chancellors of the Exchequer and other Government representatives whenever they are questioned by the few Members of Parliament who understand the Finance racket.

The following is a quotation from Hansard, from the proceedings of the House of Commons of the 18th April, 1944:—

Mr. Stokes asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will in future have recourse to the creation of new money without interest, instead of adding to the volume of bank advances to the Treasury, as this would be no more inflationary and would cost the country less (because taxpayers would not have to find the interest).

Sir John Anderson: No Sir.

Mr. Stokes: Will the Chancellor explain why it is preferable in the national interest to create new money with interest rather than create new money without.

Sir John Anderson: "My hon. friend knows very well that I do not accept his monetary theories. He really cannot expect me to argue the matter with him at Question Time.

This is no isolated example of the stone-walling tactics adopted by the Government, whenever the question of monetary reform has been raised. Mr. Stokes has experienced such treatment again and again, and so have the few other Members who have asked pertinent and intelligent questions on the same subject.

Not a word, however, of these exchanges ever appears in the National Press. Oh dear, no! If they receive any publicity at all, it is only in the monetary reform publications which unfortunately are not seen by the ordinary citizen.

Readers of *The Word* may remember that Lord Bruntisfield, in replying on behalf of the Government to my last speech, made an attack on Social Credit, which was not only bitter but also somewhat uncalled-for, seeing that I had neither mentioned Social Credit nor advocated the adoption of its distinctive reforms. He referred to the contempt felt for Major Douglas's scheme by all economists of national repute, *not* a very surprising state of affairs, as I think I pointed out in a recent article, under a system which takes care that no one shall be appointed to a post which will give him a national reputation as an economist unless he is known to be more or less in sympathy with the existing financial order, or can be relied upon, from a too narrowly orthodox "Left" angle, to keep people barking up the wrong tree at "Capitalism," "profit," or "private ownership"!

I wrote to Lord Bruntisfield in regard to the economic issues raised in his speech, and a little later asked him if some of the "experts" on whose unfavourable opinion of Social Credit the Government relied, could explain to me why "Salute the Soldier" was anything better than a clumsy anti-inflation tax, levied in a manner lacking in dignity and sincerity, because soldiers were likely to derive benefit from it less than almost any other section of the community.

Lord Bruntisfield made no attempt to deal with the points raised in my first letter and said that he had passed on my second to the Treasury. The Treasury, by way of reply, in due course sent me a speech of a member of the Government commending "Salute the Soldier." I pointed out that this speech, while it had the merit of being free from the customary attempt to deceive the public into thinking that the output of munitions depended on the sum subscribed, in no way answered my main objection. A formal acknowledgment of my letter was, however, all that I received from the Treasury in return—the old story once again!

Soon afterwards I was interested to see that even the more or less orthodox editior of the *Economist* had been moved to adverse comment of the latest war finance ramp:—

The target has once more been raised, and will no doubt once more be triumphantly attained. But what do these gigantic figures mean? They mean for one thing that there is no call on the banks this week to lend money to the Government against Treasury deposit receipts at 1½ per cent. in order that they may increase their subscriptions at higher rates of interest. They mean, for another, that all sorts of industrial and financial institutions are put under pressure to invest in the course of a single week funds that would have been invested in any case over a longer period.

Nobody nowadays believes that the amount subscribed will have any effect on the production of munitions or on any other physical aspect of the war effort.

The official defence is that the Weeks (Salute the Soldier) are a necessary part of the whole campaign to persuade the public to reduce its consumption. It is true that this method of restricting consumption, having been entered upon, cannot now be abandoned or even relaxed. It is true that, if the soldier is to be saluted, he had best be saluted with full success. But the object of the whole procedure—it cannot be insisted upon too often—is to persuade people to consume less and the degree of success attained will bear no ascertainable relation to the £165,000,000 collected. (Because no ordinary person knows what percentage of the total is either new money created by the banks or money which would have been invested in any case, though over a somewhat longer period).

It is impossible to fight down the reflection that this result could be better achieved by methods that were more direct, less ambiguous and less charged with pure illusion."

The conspiracy of obstruction, evasion and silence which meets every effort by a member of either of the Houses of Parliament to obtain an honest answer from the Government in regard to any question bearing on monetary reform, is highly significant and is especially worthy of more serious consideration by those who have hitherto been so obsessed by the evils of Capitalism that they have failed to pay adequate attention to the very distinct and much more important evil of Finance.

FINANCE AND FREEDOM

Duke of Bedford's Activity Valued.

The Duke of Bedford's "War Aims" speech should be read and circulated by every Socialist and Pacifist.

"Reality" the Ambleside weekly news letter edited by our friend, G. Hickling, in its issue for April 7, published several excerpts from the Duke's speech. Mr. Hickling comments:

In reply to a speech in the House of Lords on March 8, 1944, by the Duke of Bedford, a diatribe against Social Credit was delivered by Lord Bruntisfield speaking for the Government

Careful checking by the light of factual happenings, the evidence of which is indisputable, the Duke's speech displays courage, sincerity and good faith; whereas the Government reply relies on insidious assumptions, false labels, vain imaginations and pie-crust faith.

It need not surprise readers of the Hansard report to find that the Duke made no mention of Social Credit. Incidentally, the whole business affords an illuminating sidelight on the campaign against the Duke that the press and certain politicians have waged since the war began. The line of attack is usually abuse of his "pacifist" views but this is merely the opportunist tactic, it is not the real reason for the attacks. Yet there must be a reason. . . .

Most enlightened Social Creditors have first-hand evidence of their own of suppression of, and opposition to, the knowledge they hold. This being so, how foolish it is to accept the press reports of the Duke as any more reliable or honest than the treatment of Social Credit. . . .

Regarding the Duke, it is revealing to remember that over twelve years ago he plainly expressed at a public meeting in Glasgow his opinion that the property right of the nation's credit should be restored to the nation, and not borrowed from a private banking firm. He said, too, that he favoured Compensated price and the distribution of the National Dividend. It is reasonable to believe that this declaration would be noted by the Power-Finance interests, and that whilst he continues to hold those views, attempts may be expected to discredit him by any means and on any excuse, provided they could be devised in such a way that their real source is obscured, and the true motive of attack concealed.

Wars are Power-Financiers' harvests, providing periods flush with opportunity. Only during a war, or under threat of war, could the Duke be attacked as a "pacifist."

REGULATION 18B.

When the Duke of Bedford raised the question of the 18B Regulation in the House of Lords on January 28 last, the Lord Chancellor resented his suggestion that certain Judges showed a greater regard for the wishes of the Government than is compatible with Christian standards of justice. Seeing, however, that the Supreme Court has agreed to invest the Home Secretary with the powers of a dictator by laying it down that he need only say that he thinks he has reasonable grounds for doing so when detaining people without charge or trial, it seems obvious that, either there must be something very wrong with the law, or there must be something very wrong with the judges. From this dilemma there is no escape.

The character of some of the charges and the far-fetched nature of the arguments employed in the effort to substantiate them; the character of the persons whose evidence was accepted; the unnecessary and prolonged hardship of the conditions of detention; and the inconsistency displayed in arresting persons who, in different ways, had made themselves obnoxious to the Government, while others who expressed similar opinions were not detained, all point to malice and spite on the part of some person or persons in authority. These people may be only subordinate and the Government may shield them only from unwillingness to have its efficiency questioned. The results, so far as its victims are concerned is the same. In the charges brought against Captain Ramsay it was suggested that because he was anti-Semitic and anti-Communist, he was anxious to help a German invasion. This kind of reasoning, to quote the Lord Chancellor's words, is certainly one which "leaves all canons of good sense." It is hard, indeed, to find an explanation creditable to the Government. Captain Ramsay's case is anything but an isolated example.

As for the Duke's suggestions of influence being used possibly by financial interests to cripple, by any and every means, a political group which has monetary reform as one of the main features in its programme, while Lord Simon may find the idea incredible and even ludicrous, no one with experience of the battle against vested interests and of the tactics employed by entrenched finance will see anything ludicrous or unexpected about it.

With regard to the Duke's statement that Mr. Greene was "compelled" to withdraw his case when Kurtz repudiated the statements he had made in Mr. Greene's solicitor's office, there would seem to have been some misunderstanding on the Lord Chancellor's part in regard to the Duke's use of the word "compelled." The Duke meant that Mr. Greene was then compelled by circumstances to withdraw his case based on a charge of bad faith against Sir John Anderson, as a Judge would hold that a Home Secretary was not acting in bad faith in believing his agent if what the latter said was, after all, declared by him to be true.

The Duke's alleged failure to make himself familiar with all the facts relating to Mr. Greene's case is nothing like so extraordinary as Mr. Greene's release if it were really true, as suggested by the Lord Chancellor in maintaining Kurtz's veracity, that Mr. Greene had been associated with, and offering to assist, German agents in Great Britain; not to mention desiring to set up a National Socialist regime in this country with the assistance of the German armed forces!

The Lord Chancellor's words:

"It is not a crime to profess political opinions which appear to me to be the height of folly, or to support a reform in our finances which I, at least, am unable to understand. These are not crimes. None the less, these people in the crisis of a war, although they are not criminals, may be capable—some of them at least—in doing an infinite amount of mischief."

seem rather to contradict his earlier view that it was preposterous to hint that people had been interned for advocating financial reform and rather appear to suggest that the internment of monetary reformers might, after all, be in the public interest!

With regard to the Lord Chancellor's rather lengthy explanation that 18B detainees are not criminals and that their treatment is preventive and not punitive; if the Government had from the start treated all detained persons with the utmost humanity and consideration that circumstances allowed; if, after the first emergency (?), they had quickly moved all who might have had to be lodged temporarily in prisons to ordinary buildings; if they had provided them with good food and proper medical attention, especially in the case of women with young children; if they had made adequate allowances to the families of detained persons and seen that proper compensation was paid for the destruction of businesses; if a public pronouncement had been made by the Prime Minister, emphasising the fact that those detained under Regulation 18B were not criminals and should not be regarded as such; and if the war-time control of the Press had been utilised sternly to discourage attacks on detained persons as traitors, then Lord Simon's "defence" of the characters of the victims of Regulation 18B might have been studied with respect. In view, however, of all that has really happened, it is little better than hypocrisy. Because we are opposed to hypocrisy, no matter who may support it, and no matter what opinions may be held by the people who are victimised by it, we are opposed to Regulation 18B and plead the cause of those who suffer under it.

MORLEYS AGAIN SENTENCED

Dear Comrade Aldred,—My son Alan was arrested on April 25, 1944, on a warrant which was issued on December 29, 1943. He had been summoned to appear at the Moot Hall Police Court on that day to answer to a charge of refusing to obey a "direction" to take up forestry work. As this charge was concerned with regulations to assist in the prosecution of the war he felt that as a matter of principle he should not voluntarily submit to such regulation.

He was brought before the court on April 26 when the solicitor acting for the Ministry of Labour asked that he should be remanded in custody for a week to enable him to produce the necessary witnesses. In spite of the fact that Alan had pleaded "guilty" and admitted that he had failed to report, the bench agreed to remand him in custody and refused to agree to bail, although both he and I applied for it and we could have produced adequate securities. He appeared again at the Moot Hall on Wednesday, May 3, when he protested that as a sincere anti-fascist, he felt that he must refuse to obey a fascist direction from whatever source it originated. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment.

On March 29 my son Robert was summoned to appear at Moot Hall Court on a similar charge for failing to obey a "direction" for an interview. He likewise did not present himself and a warrant was issued for his arrest. This was executed on Tuesday, April 4. He was brought before the court the next day, when he said he was proud to plead guilty for he felt that he was thus in the line of men who had won our liberties in the past by refusing to submit to bad and repressive laws. He was given three months with hard labour.

Alan and Robert are serving their sentences in Durham Prison. I am confident that they will both emerge from prison without serious hurt to body and mind for they will be sustained by the conviction that they are most effectively preserving their liberty and self respect.

With all good wishes in the great struggle.
Yours fraternally,
JOHN MORLEY.

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ALBERTO PACITTI

In our April issue we directed attention to the internment under 18B of Alberto Antonio Pacitti and Gino Bertolini. The Duke of Bedford mentioned these cases in the House of Lords. These young men have been interned since June 1940.

The order for the detention of Alberto Antonio Pacitti was made because the Secretary of State held that he had reasonable cause to believe the said Alberto Antonio Pacitti to be of hostile associations and that by reason thereof it was necessary to exercise control over him.

The particulars related the following facts:

(1) **Has been for some years a member of the Glasgow Branch of the Italian Fascist Party.**

(2) **Was Secretary and Political Secretary of the said Fascio di Glasgow, and also Secretary of the National Fascist Recreation in Glasgow, and Commander of the Italian Fascist Youth Abroad in Glasgow.**

(3) **Was extremely active in organising Italian Fascist activities in Glasgow.**

Whilst we are and have ever been opposed to the Fascist movement in all its activities, since its inauguration, we believe in recognising the fact that Mussolini was eulogised by the present Prime Minister, visited and honoured by the late Ramsay MacDonald, and visited by the late King George V. These activities charged against Pacitti, therefore, do not argue anti-British feelings or activity.

It can be said that since 1923, in some way or another, Pacitti has been associated with Italian youth organisation in Glasgow. This fact does not indict Pacitti or justify his internment.

In September 1940, Pacitti had the honour, as he deemed it, of being the first to appear before the Anglo-Italian Advisory Committee. In a kind of braggadocio, he declared to his friends that it was logical to assume that he would be the last Anglo-Italian to be released.

Writing to a friend sometime ago, Pacitti explained his position:

Fascists are painted as double dyed villans, intolerant, narrow, bigoted, oppressors of the rights of man and bad eggs generally. I can truthfully state that I have never been taught to shout the other man down when he disagrees with me. Too often it has been found that all the rights do not belong to one group or party.

I have spent the past thirty-eight months as a detainee and all things considered it has been a very valuable experience. I have come across a fairly wide and representative cross section of society. Above all I have been convinced that "we're a' Jock Tamson's bairns." In the most trying and difficult conditions, Scotsmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, Italians, Germans, Welshmen, Dutchmen, etc., have shown that although their countries are busily engaged in the desperate strife now raging, they have been able to live together and pull together here inside the wire. This they have been able to accomplish not because they share the same political creed (hardly 40 per cent. of them are fascist) but simply because the vast majority of them realised that a man was a man before he was an Englishman or a German or an Italian. Although the national characteristics of each of us were and are fairly sharply defined, this barrier has proved to be most easily surmountable.

Why is it, that left to themselves, various nationalities can get on so well together?

I detest and abhor war—as I've always done. I have no hate in my heart for any people. In birth, manners, customs, education, even speech and thought, I am more English or rather British than Italian. I want to be allowed to live my own life in peace—to settle down and raise a family and be decent to my neighbours.

It must be remembered that the fathers of Alberto Pacitti and Gino Bertolini went down on the "Arandoro Star." The story of that ill-fated ship has been told well by Mr. F. Laffite, the adopted son of Dr. Havelock Ellis, in the Penguin Special (1940), "The Internment of Aliens." We shall retell this story later—one of the most sad and depressing of this war of many horrors, sufferings, and oppressions.

IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU. "Word" Special Investigation Report on 18B. A most important and informing document. **1s. Post Free 1s. 2d.**

CHURCHES AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

By The Rev. William J. Piggott

(Free Church Chaplain and Librarian Banstead L.C.C. Mental Hospitals, etc.)

[Reference is made in our Humanist pamphlet, "Why Jesus Wept," to the Rev. William J. Piggott, with whom I broke a lance over the question of Immortality in "The Spur" in 1915. At that time Comrade Piggott was a strong Socialist and Pacifist propagandist. He was victimised for his uncompromising Socialist Anti-Militarism in the Unitarian Church and was compelled to take refuge in the Presbyterian Church of England. Comrade Piggott is to-day Free Church Minister and Librarian at Banstead Mental Hospital, near Sutton, Surrey. He is Lecturer to the London County Council Evening Institutes. The present essay is reprinted from the "Carshalton Labour Herald" for June, 1937. It was a most powerful warning when written. It is a prophecy turned to challenge to-day.—Ed.]

For good or evil, mankind is now everywhere in the rapids of revolution and there is not one kingdom of human thought and action left unaffected. Everywhere the standards of revolt have risen or are rising fast and an extending crisis confronts the varying Churches of our own and every land.

For Rome, which is the largest ecclesiastical army, the decision has already been taken.

The shadow of Pagan Cæsarism looms behind her real rulers, however much vast multitudes of her followers profess a humbler and a kindlier faith. She has come to terms with Mussolini in Italy and she openly supports Franco in Spain and would willingly become the ally of Hitler, if only he would be reasonable enough (or shrewd enough even!) to let her alone. The genius of Rome is more and more openly Fascist. For Rome, every rising authoritative state is a natural sister for she will sanction and bless the grimmest nationalism in economics and politics, if only her international position in theology, and the hidden world of dominence by persuasion and agreement are allowed her.

For the Protestant Churches the position becomes daily more acute. Their growing financial needs have made internal federation a necessity and have also compelled a close relationship with the world of investment and finance.

A few outstanding men of commanding personality may still retain personal freedom, but even for them this largely exists because, so far, they have not clearly seen, let alone definitely challenged the arrogant claims of the Capitalist Oligarchy.

For the great mass of the rank and file, the central payment of stipends, the Advisory Boards, the superannuation plans, etc., are all part of a close and finely worked out system of control. Fewer and fewer rebels gain or retain promotion, and are more and more carefully sifted out.

The difference between an unbeneficed Anglican and the rank and file of the Nonconformist ministry on the one side and the married commercial or industrial worker on the other side, is steadily shrinking. Love for wife and children tend to compel both to a slavish submission, and lips are tied to a shameful silence in the presence of open wrong, by heart strings!

Far-reaching effects of mechanisation and rationalisation are also smoothing out the old difference between skilled and unskilled labour and between men's and women's output, and a new type of civilisation is being formed. If the Churches do not know that the hour of judgment and of visitation is upon them, they will try and maintain a defensive position as the ill-paid and scarcely respected mercenaries of Capitalism. They will become more and more an integral part of a dying culture, and, as in Russia, perish with that culture, because so saturated with its deadly outlook.

At present there is a lull in Britain, and the world of Trade Unionism and Labour, national and local, shows very little of a revolutionary spirit, but isolation from the wider international sweep of industry, trade and finance is impossible.

We are seeing the passing of an entire era, and a new age is visibly being born before our very eyes. Earth-wide changes in theology and religion *must* accompany the upthrust of a new civilisation, or the equally real danger of a world-wide collapse and barbarism. A judgment day of God visibly confronts Churches and men. For over 40 years I have been trying to show my fellow-Christians and especially my brother ministers, how inevitable this world crisis is.

The coming of efficient competition produces combines and trusts, and these give birth to monopolies, and these breed economic nationalism, and that reaches out to trading empires, and these expand to a point of tension, and so war breaks out. The very efficiency of new methods and machines causes less and less need of men, and that, with the growth of unemployment, means less and less home trade, and so the outer sweeping search for profit abroad grows swifter and wider, and the perils of wars for trade and colonies grows greater every year. If Democracy awakes and seizes the economic machine that means Socialism.

If the commercial and financial rulers of the economic machine capture and transform political democracy, then that means Fascism. Rome has openly accepted the latter and will, I believe, perish with it.

What will the Protestants do with the Christ enshrined in the Bethlehem of the Labour and Socialist Movement?

RELIGION AND WAR

BY C. H. NORMAN

The Duke of Bedford, in his comment on my article on this subject, suggests, as a criticism of the argument advanced therein, that it would involve "the acceptance of the idea that Christ was mistaken," etc. The following two quotations from a pamphlet written by me some years ago called "The Neutrality of God," will show that there is some reason for believing that the whole foundation of Christianity is open to serious rational criticism:

"Christianity has a second limb in its structure of belief, in that its leading prophet, Jesus Christ, is alleged to have been the Son of that Creator who described to the ancient Jewish prophets how he made the world, man anw woman, and that His Son was sent to the world by this Omnipotent Creator to redeem mankind from its sins, heralding forth a new morality and a new spiritual force for the upliftment of mankind. This redemption took the very odd form of the Creator sending His Son, Jesus Christ, among a small race of people living in a country called Judea, where this Son attacked the local ecclesiastics, who were Jewish rabbis and readers of the law, with the result that complaint was made against him of heresy and blasphemy, and he was arraigned before a Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed. The Creator, thus having sent His only Son, as the exponent of this theory tell us (though why Christ was the only Son on their own account of the matter is not at all plain) on this extraordinary mission, retired seemingly from any further active display of interest in the world of a similar kind, because no Christian writer has ever pretended that there has been any second visit of any representative of the Creator since this disastrous incident in Judea in about the year A.D. 35; though, no doubt, the more enthusiastic religious believers invite one to see the hand of the Creator in everything of a beneficent character occurring in the world. One is further told that Christ's body vanished shortly after His burial and that His spirit ascended into heaven, and rejoined the Creator, presumably having fulfilled His mission on which He had been sent. . . .

"If Christ were sent to this world as a messenger from the Creator to redeem human character, it is certainly unfortunate that His teachings, as translated from the Greek transcription of the Hebrew, are so ambiguous that exactly opposite conclusions can be drawn from the various texts. . . .

"Certainly the Quaker and conscientious objector who relied upon that interpretation of Christianity which acclaimed Christ as the 'Prince of Peace' found the Christian gentlemen and theologians sitting on tribunals did not take their view, so they spent a period in prison, where they might reflect upon the vanities of human interpretation of Divine principles and teachings when such interpretation happened to come in collision with the needs of State, the fears of humanity, and the greed of the secret forces manipulating mankind."

After further discussion of the improbabilities associated with the three main religions, the pamphlet concluded:

"Sensational though the conclusion may be, an honest mind cannot arrive at any other judgment than that the story of the world's creation contained in the Bible is utterly false; that there is no such spiritual being of the character of the god or creator of religion; and that, though Christianity has advanced some excellent moral precepts for the conduct of mankind (which the exponents of Christianity carefully avoid following in their daily practices on the ground that performance of these precepts is not possible), as an explanation of the universe Christianity has nothing to tell which can satisfy the intelligence of any thoughtful and impartial inquirer, anxious to discover whether the human intellect has gained the key which will open the door to the secrets of the universe, without reference to other realms, spiritual or astronomical, of which the human mind has neither knowledge nor comprehension."

These passages are sufficient to show that the difficulty that the Duke of Bedford has referred to had been present to the writer's mind in weighing the improbability or probability of various religious beliefs. It is clear that the whole conception of Christ's own existence in the manner presented in the New Testament may be a myth propagated, like so many other ancient myths, for the collective satisfaction of certain human minds.

It is a melancholy fact that many millions of men have died in sincere defence of beliefs which turned out to be false. It is obviously the case with most soldiers who died in the Crusades and other wars. The fact that a person is prepared to die for a belief is no evidence of the truth of that belief: it is only some evidence that that particular person sincerely thinks that the particular belief is true, which is quite another matter. The Duke of Bedford and the writer, for instance, consider that most beliefs held by British politicians and public concerning the true causes of this war and the last war are maleficent delusions. It is also a fact, unfortunately, that most major beliefs held by the majority of mankind in all periods of history have been founded on the most fantastic and ridiculous ideas: as the study of any encyclopaedia of religious or political doctrines will establish beyond question. It is the credulity encouraged by the variety of religions which renders the masses always so helpless against the political and religious charlatans of their time, as a truly educated community is impossible where the individual mind is at an early age warped and coloured by the superstitious uses connected with religious beliefs.

TO ALL COMRADES.

This is an urgent appeal. We ask **every** comrade to help. The deficit on our paper is growing despite increased circulation. And we have the following pamphlets in the press:—

(1). **A Call To Manhood.** A collection of about 20 essays written between the years 1907 and 1943.

(2). **At Grips With War.** Third edition of this long out of print work.

We need help to meet the paper bills, which will be heavy. The works will be issued at an early date at a popular price, less than the actual cost of production.

Please help all you can: **and help now.**

GLASGOW UNITED PEACE CAMPAIGN.

PEACE CORNER MEETINGS

ROSE STREET (off Sauchiehall St.) **Every Saturday**
BRUNSWICK STREET, every Sunday.

Speakers:

Rev. THOMAS PICKERING, WILLIAM HALDANE, WILLIAM DICK and others.

Meetings start at 7.15 p.m.

Questions. Discussion. Rally.

COSMO CINEMA

Sunday, June 25, 3 p.m.

GUY A. ALDRED. HENRY HILDITCH

THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCHIE

A Story of Two Wars and The Interlude

Other elements are opposed to the war because they don't see any fundamental difference between what they describe as British Imperialism and German Nazism. Some of the groups are knowns as militants and others as anti-parliamentarians.

—P. J. Dollan in "Forward." April 8, 1944.

Mr. Moffat may be right about some districts in Scotland, but is he sure that there are no political influences operating in other areas?

Does he deny that so-called groups of militants, Bedfordians, Trotskyists, and quick-step revolutionaries have been agitating in Lanarkshire for political rather than industrial reasons?

—P. J. Dollan in "Forward." April 15, 1944.

Like Judas of old, Sir Patrick Joseph Dollan is a pathetic figure. Judas is reputed to have committed suicide immediately after he had erred. Consciousness of his position destroyed him. He felt the urge of an inward soul. His tragedy was majestic. Sir Patrick survives without a soul. He is a man without a cause. His activity is reduced to a parade. Naturally, he has never liked the Anti-Parliamentarians. And now he has discovered another aversion—the Bedfordians! We congratulate him on his latest phrasing. "Bedfordians" is an exceellent term. It is more pleasing to the ear than the earlier phrase—the "Aldredites."

Dollan's career has been exposed very fully and in exact detail in these columns for June and August, 1939, and February, 1940. Unfortunately, these issues are obtainable now only in the three years' bound volume, and but a few of these volumes exist. They contained a very full factual account of Councillor P. J. Dollan's stand as a "conchie." It was an interesting exposure and brought together the following documentary and unanswerable record of Dollan's "conchie" pleading in 1917, and his war-recruiting activity in 1939. It contrasted the "conchie" Councillor against the militarist Lord Provost. Dollan did not suffer unduly as a "conchie." He did not suffer as a patriot, but benefitted enormously. There was contrast and sameness. It was an interesting study. Those who can should study the reports collected and published in the issues of this journal mentioned. We table them, although not necessarily in the exact order of our republication :—

(1) Report of the National Service Recruiting meeting addressed by Dollan and Sir Harry Lauder at the Lorne Cinema, Govan, on Sunday, May 28, 1939.

(2) Reproduction from *Forward*, for June 1, 1918, of Thomas Johnston's attack on Harry Lauder, accusing him of making a patriotic tour of the United States at £1000 per week return, or £66 per oratorical hour.

(3) Reproduction of Thomas Johnston's "War Points" attacks on Labour leaders who had accepted war honours, detailing their names, from *Forward*, September 1, 1917.

(4) Report of Dollan's arrest at the Central Police Court, Glasgow, on Tuesday, May 17, 1917, at the hearing of Councillor Shinwell's case for alleged assault at a peace meeting, which he defended against self-styled "patriots."

(5) *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, May 24, 1917, report of Dollan's appearance at the Central Police Court, charged with being an absentee.

(6) *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, May 26, 1917, report of Central Police Court proceedings, when Dollan was found guilty. Dollan was fined 40 shillings and ordered to be handed over to the military authorities.

(7) Report same proceedings from *Forward*, June 2, 1917, headed: "Councillor Dollan Handed Over."

(8) *Glasgow Evening Times* (6th edition) for Wednesday, May 30, 1917, report of application on Dollan's behalf to the Stipendiary Magistrate for Dollan's interim liberation, pending the hearing of his appeal. The application was unsuccessful, but the Home Office released Dollan pending the hearing of his appeal. Dollan was advised that, if the appeal went against him, he was to hold himself at the disposal of the Home Office Committee that dealt with conscientious objectors. Thus, although he did spend a short time in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, of which he subsequently made his literary most in the Socialist press, he never experienced sufferings like those who endured several court-martials.

(9) Glasgow *Evening Times* for Friday, August 31, 1917, report of the dismissal of his appeal, with £7 7s expenses. Unlike his hated Anti-Parliamentary critics, Dollan did not plead his cause before the High Court of Justiciary in person but was represented by counsel, instructed by solicitors in Edinburgh and Glasgow, for which the Labour movement paid. Contrast Dollan's experiences in court in Glasgow and Edinburgh against our own. But then we believe in Socialism and the power of logic. We believe in principles of law and jurisprudence, whether courts adhere to them or abuse them : in ethics of justice that must operate under any property system and are fundamental to human wellbeing and the rights of mankind. Dollan has not, and has never had, any higher inspiration than the instinct of careerism. We never sought the plaudits or approbation of the mob at the beginnings of our Socialist activity. We wait in no ante-room of the monarchy at its conclusion. Throughout our career we have asserted, as every true citizen should assert, principles of liberty and common sense and common good. We would be the voice of the common people inarticulate in their oppression and not the representative of their stupidity and ignorance. That is the difference, the essential difference, between the true Anti-Parliamentarian and the typical Parliamentarian : character versus repute, integrity versus career, principle versus opportunism.

In dismissing Dollan's appeal, the Lord Justice General employed the prejudiced and extra-legal but none the less scathing, militarist description of Dollan : "*Of recruitable age and otherwise eligible.*"

This terrible phrase would have remained a mere expression of idle abuse, condemning the judge who abused his position to utter it, if the "conchie" Councillor of 1917 had not developed into the militarist over-age Lord Provost of 1939. Only then, twenty-two years later, did it acquire force. Yet the capitalist-militarist press that endorsed it in 1917 was anxious to forget it in 1939. Such are the ways of destructive society's hypocrisy. By his own conduct Dollan qualified for the description : "*Of recruitable age and otherwise eligible.*"

(10) *Forward* for September 8, 1917 report of the Court of Justiciary decision against Dollan, picturing, as a conspiracy, the prohibition, by the Glasgow Magistrates, of a meeting of protest against Dollan's conviction.

(11) *Hansard* Commons Report for Tuesday, July 10, 1917, of MacCallum Scott's question concerning Dollan's exemption and the answer given by Munro, then Secretary of State for Scotland. Thomas Johnston now answers questions in much the same evasive way as Munro did in 1917.

(12) Article by William Gallacher (now M.P.) in *The Worker* for August 26, 1922, contrasting Dollan's behaviour as a "conchie" at Wakefield against his later conduct as a Glasgow Bailie.

After the war, en route to place, Dollan became quite a Bedfordian.

Consider Dollan's War Loan activities as Lord Provost of Glasgow during 1939-1941 and contrast against his activity in the Glasgow Town Council twenty years earlier. Remember that, but for that activity, he would never have secured the working-class support that enabled him to become Lord Provost.

Forward for Saturday, July 19, 1919, published a very full report of the Council meeting, from which we quote :—

GLASGOW TOWN COUNCIL

Labour Opposes "Victory" Loan

The fortnightly meeting of the Glasgow Town Council was held in the City Chambers on Thursday, 10th July, when Lord Provost Stewart presided. . . .

Labour Opposition to Victory Loan

The recommendation of the General Finance Committee that the Corporation should purchase £1,000,000 4 per cent. Funding Loan in the Victory Loan met with bitter opposition from the Labour Group.

Bailie Wheatley in moving that no investment be made, said that the whole thing had in it an element of farce. The Corporation had already invested £3,444,235 in War Loan securities, and every single penny of that enormous sum had to be borrowed. They had succeeded in repaying only £276,525 7/11, leaving still due to the banks and others before they embarked on this new proposal a balance of £3,167,709 12/1 still to pay. . . .

The Corporation, in fact, had no money. They had to go to the banks to borrow a certain amount of their paper, and hand it over to the Government. The credit of the Corporation was good, but the credit of the Government was better, for the credit of the Corporation depended on the credit of the Government. Therefore, would it not be better for the Government to borrow for itself? . . .

Councillor Dollan (Lab.), in seconding the amendment, said that the position was that they were going to borrow £1,000,000 at 5 per cent., and they were going to get 5 per cent. by investing it in War Loan, and then hand it over to the banks as their share of the plunder. . . .

When Wheatley said the money ought to be raised by taxing the wealthy people, a man sitting amongst them said it could be done if the Government were dishonest enough to do so. He wanted to tell them that if the people had acted like that man's firm, which had made huge profits during the war by plundering the people to such an extent that they had been able to recapitalise the firm, then one would have been justified in saying they were dishonest. . . .

Mr. Winston Churchill had stated that the Government were spending £100,000,000 a year in sending munitions, food supplies, and other war accessories to Russia, for the purpose of waging war against the people of that country. . . .

The whole thing was one of the most reactionary and unbusinesslike proposals ever brought before the Corporation.

On a vote being taken the Labour amendment was defeated by a large majority, only 11 voting for no investment.

In 1924 Dollan added to his "Socialist" repute by denouncing the Anti-Socialist activity of the Duke and Duchess of Atholl. His article in *Forward for* April 5 of that year was sub-headed "The Atholls Keep on Talking." The main caption jeered at "*The Dear Duchess.*" When Maisky, the then Soviet Ambassador to Britain, had a "secret" meeting with the Duchess at Eastwood House, Dunkeld, on Saturday, July 15, 1939, she became, to the "Communists," "*The Red Duchess.*"

Dollan's opening paragraph explained :—

The Duke and Duchess of Atholl have been appointed chief propagandists for the Tories in Scotland. The Duke is now the recognised leader of Scottish Toryism, and is much in demand for anti-Socialist propaganda. The Duchess is also receiving unusual publicity for her criticisms of Socialism and Socialists.

Dollan proceeded to comment on the fact that the Duke had raised £100,000 for Anti-Socialist propaganda :—

This huge sum was collected by a levy on rich individuals and businesses, who stand to gain by the retention of Capitalism. . . . the Duke and Duchess will attempt to convince plain folk that the workers and our old nobility have common interests to defend.

Dollan bitterly attacked the Duchess for a speech she made in Glasgow on Monday, March 31, 1924, warning local Tories "against the soothing syrup of the modern Socialist Government." Dollan summarised her speech and commented :—

She declared men and women at 21 years of age were too young to have the Franchise. Men, so the Duke might say, are competent to fill the trenches at 21; but that is an easy job compared with placing ballot papers in a ballot box in an election.

Having quoted from her speech passages eulogising the capitalist system, Glasgow, and the Empire, Dollan commented that her speeches did not help her object to maintain the system. He added :—

"Scotland's only woman M.P. thinks the system that has produced Glasgow and the Empire is a most excellent one, which ought to be preserved.

Dollan added :—

Her Grace evidently holds the view that a city which has 300,000 persons existing on doles and allowances, is something to be proud of. These 300,000 victims of private enterprise may not agree with her.

As Parliamentary candidate for Ayr in 1925, Dollan continued to denounce the aristocracy. A speech made the previous day was reported in

The Daily Herald for Friday, July 12, beneath the headings :—

TORIES' SORRY RECORD

Mr. Dollan's Vigorous Exposure

And here is the *Daily Herald's* account of what Dollan said :—

Mr. Dollan said that the worker was more important than a duke, and he claimed that the Marquis of Dungarees should have preference over the Duke of Portland. The working man's wife was the equal of any duchess, and the children of the poor were as much entitled to enjoy the fruits of labour as the children in Buckingham Palace. He claimed equal rights for all children.

Dollan continued in this anti-militarist posing as late as 1938, down almost to the time that he became Lord Provost. In *Forward* for October of that year he published an article headed :—"*Guns Before Social Services.*"

Dollan wrote :—

Make the National Government pay for national services should be the slogan of all Labour candidates in the Scottish municipal elections.

Denouncing the State for throwing the burden of Public Assistance on local authorities, and maintaining that Poverty was a national and not a local problem, Dollan added, in heavy type :—

The Cabinet, apparently want all the money for rearmament, and will spend it on guns rather than relief, if we allow them to get away with it.

And then came the Second World War!

"Of recruitable age and otherwise eligible," said the then Lord Justice General from the Bench of the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on Friday, August 31, 1917. Such was conchie Councillor P. J. Dollan. Beyond recruitable age and no longer eligible, was Lord Provost P. J. Dollan in 1939. Se he donned his uniform and went reviewing and recruiting. What a satire! What hypocrisy!

On National Service Cinema Sunday, 1939, Lord Provost Dollan spoke, with Sir Cecil M. Weir, K.B.E., M.C., Sir Alexander B. Swan, and others at the Regal, New Savoy, Paramount, and Cranston Cinemas on behalf of National Service. At other cinemas, Moderate Councillors and nondescript Colonels spoke on the same theme. In all, war appeals were made at fifteen cinemas. All who participated knew Dollan's 1917 record and attitude.

The *Evening Times* for July 8, 1939, published an article headed "'Mr. Dollan Goes to America," sub-title "Glasgow's Rousing Send-Off." The letter-press showed how little real social antagonism there exists between Labourists and Tories, how harmoniously they operate as representatives of class society. We make some excerpts :—

To the stirring rhythm of pipe music by the band of Glasgow Corporation Transport Department Lord Provost P. J. Dollan and Mrs. Dollan last night walked up the gangway of the Anchor liner Transylvania at Yorkhill Quay on the first stage of their visit to New York at the invitation of Mayor La Guardia.

Several of his colleagues in the Corporation were on board and gave him a "civic" send-off after he had been welcomed to the liner by Captain Bone.

Among the many telegrams which the Lord Provost received on board was one from Sir Kingsley Wood, Minister of Air, and one from Mr. John Colville, Secretary of State for Scotland, who both wished him every success in his mission.

Good wishes were also extended to the Lord Provost at a sending off ceremony on board by Sir Alexander Swan, a former Lord Provost of Glasgow; Mr. David Kirkwood, M.P.; Treasurer Ernest Greenhill, Commander T. D. Galbraith, and Mr. Howard A. Bowman, United States Consul.

He is accompanied by Mrs. Dollan, two secretaries, Council Officer Thomas Wilson, and colleagues Hugh Fraser, John F. Wilson and Hector McNeill.

Note David Kirkwood's good wishes. But how did Dollan's trip to the United States benefit the poor of Govan or the workers of Clydebank?

Ross Kennedy in "I Cover the Waterfront" article contributed to the *Scottish Daily Express* for July 8, 1939, gave Dollan's send-off a big head-line : "P. J. Gets 'Piping Send-Off.'" He wrote a series of typical boosting paragraphs from which we quote :—

Lord Provost P. J. Dollan was piped aboard the Anchor liner Transylvania last night by Glasgow Police band, with the civic flag flying at her foremast.

He was accorded the biggest send-off any one man has had from the Clyde in recent years. . . .

Ex-Lord Provost Sir Alexander Swan called the lord provost the fastest man Glasgow has ever had in the position. . . .

It was typical of the man, he said, that he would only travel in a Glasgow ship of a Glasgow company.

He offered the advice that the lord provost should take care of himself, not overdo things, and charged Mrs. Dollan with the greatest care of him. . . .

The lord provost remarked that since he took office he has known no party, no creed, no class, no naticnality, but has found the support of them all. . . .

This appalling rubbish was a pure mockery of the suffering of the common people. The Anti-Socialist blubber was poured out continuously in the capitalist press of Glasgow. Very little attention was paid to the visit in the New York press, in which the references were moderate and subdued. The contacts made were all capitalistic and Anti-Socialist.

Writing in the *Glasgow Evening News* for July 26, 1939, Dollan described his view of the Hudson River and Manhattan from the top of the Empire State Building. His guide was Al Smith, four times Governor of New York State. Dollan continued :—

The chairman and director of the National City Bank, Wall Street, one of the largest financial concerns in America, gave a luncheon in honour of Mrs. Dollan and myself.

We chatted long and seriously about British and international affairs. . . .

What could Dollan have to say to these people that mattered to the working-class of New York or to the working-class of Govan?

In the *Evening Times*, Glasgow, for August 11, 1939, Dollan published his first impressions of New York. We excerpt :—

When the Transylvania arrived it was boarded by groups appointed by the Mayor and Scots societies to give a welcome. This took more than an hour, during which I had to wear my robes and chain for the pleasure of the Scots exiles and the gratification of the New Yorkers, who had never seen such garments. . . .

Only three sentences in the entire article matter, and these make no suggestion of the Socialist solution in which Dollan is supposed by his Govan supporters to believe. Describing New York, Dollan says :—

It is a city of paradox and bewildering contrasts. Probably the richest city in the world, it has also 600,000 persons unemployed or on relief and over 500,000 families in what are officially described as slums or congested houses. It will need a tremendous effort to solve the poverty and unemployment problem.

Compare this reference to New York poverty with Dollan's 1924 comment on Glasgow's poverty. Like British capitalists, the capitalists of the United States have no intention to solve the problem.

The *Sunday Mail*, Glasgow, for July 31, 1939, published the following paragraph, with the heading in bold type, set out to occupy four lines :—

MEN IN DOCK BLESSED MR. DOLLAN

New York, Saturday.

The fact that Lord Provost Dollan visited Harlem district court to-day was a lucky break for seven offenders. Judge Bromberger let them off very lightly as a compliment to Glasgow's civic chief.

"God bless Glasgow" said one coloured man. . . .

Sat On Bench

One British citizen who was brought before the Court while the Lord Provost was there was put on probation for two years.

The Lord Provost was given a seat on the bench, permitted to examine papers in the cases and consulted regarding the Court's decisions. . . .

Lord Provost Dollan was greatly impressed with the care and scrupulous fairness shown during the trials.

This performance was merely so much cheap play-acting, pleasant holiday nonsense, mocking the actual sufferings of the common people.

On the night of July 24, 1939, Dollan was the guest of honour at a dinner aboard the Anchor Liner California at her West Tenth Street Pier. Captain Robert Smart, of the steamship, was the host at the dinner. Stanley H. Howe, executive secretary to Mayor La Guardia, praised Dollan as a man who had "captured the hearts of Americans as no other foreign visitor since Queen Elizabeth came to these shores."

Reporting the luncheon next day, the *New York Times* used the heading : "Mayor of Glasgow is Guest on Liner."

The same paper four days later (July 29) published a news article headed "Glasgow Executive Finds Trip Cheap." We excerpt :—

Mr. Dollan, who led 2,000 Scottish visitors here this month for the World's Fair, will sail Tuesday on the Anchor liner Cameronia for Glasgow.

"We have found that a trip to America need not be an expensive holiday," Mr. Dollan said.

The *Evening News*, Glasgow, for Tuesday, August 1, 1939, published an article from Dollan, dated "New York, Tuesday," headed "Mr. Dollan's tribute to New York." Here is an extract :—

Never in my 26 years of public life have I met such hospitality as I have received in New York. . . .

Last night Mrs. Dollan and myself were guests of honour at a farewell dinner in the Ritz Carlton, New York, presided over by Mr. George McAneny, Chairman of the World's Fair.

Dollan reached Glasgow on Thursday, August 10. His sojourn in New York extended over 12 week days. During that period he addressed 23 public meetings, not one of them a Socialist meeting. The Mayoral suite at the World Fair was placed at his disposal. He was principal guest at a civic luncheon, attended by a company of about 500, in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

The *Evening Times* for August 10, 1939, published a heading set out in four lines of large type :—

BRONZED AND FIT, MR. DOLLAN WELCOMED AT CORPORATION

There is no need to reproduce the letter-press.

On October 26, 1939, it was announced that Lord Provost Dollan was the first winner of the St. Mungo Prize of £1000.

Interviewed by the *Scottish Daily Express*, Dollan said :—

The work I have done for this city in the last three years is, if I may say so, just the kind of work in which I have been engaged since entering public life 25 years ago.

Which statement certainly took no account of Dollan's evolution from a "conchie" to a militarist.

The same day the press announced the cost of Dollan's visit to New York as follows :—

LORD PROVOST IN NEW YORK—£486

Glasgow Lord Provost's visit to New York and Paris cost the city £586.

Lord Provost Dollan, who was appointed by the corporation to visit the World Fair in New York, was accompanied by council officer Tom Wilson. Bill came to £486.

They visited Paris, accompanied by Mrs. Dollan, to attend the United Associations of Great Britain and France.

During the year Dollan visited London and Birmingham

Lord Provost Dollan—fifteen days on official visits to Birmingham (three days), London (12 days). Travelling expenses, £23; personal expenses, £47—total £71.

In due course Dollan accepted a knighthood.

The *Evening Times* for January 7, 1941, published the following report :—

MR DOLLAN ON WHY HE TOOK KNIGHTHOOD

The Lord Provost told members of Clyde Trust at a meeting to-day in Glasgow why he accepted the honour of knighthood when he replied to their congratulations. . . .

"I feel from the messages I have received from all parts of the world that my decision was right. Those messages have come, not to me in my capacity as Lord Provost, but to Glasgow in recognition of the great contribution the city has made in the war effort."

Which is a rather neat statement from a man who owes his career to having been a "conchie" Councillor and a Socialist anti-militarist!

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PEACE PLANNING and the Post-War World

By Stephen Hobhouse

[We print below the more important portions of a small pamphlet recently issued by the P.P.U. entitled "An Open Letter to Peace Planners." The writer has the support of active members of the P.P.U., F.O.R., and the Society of Friends. The pamphlet can be obtained, 4d. post free, from the P.P.U., 6 Ensleigh Street, London, W.C.1.—Ed.]

Many who are able to look beyond the conclusion of the war are now engaged in thinking out or even drafting the outlines of a post-war world-settlement for stable peace, to be commended for adoption by the Governments of the "United Nations" or at least by those of Britain and America. Some of us feel that, admirable as are many of the provisions included in these drafts, the diagnosis of the existing world-situation is usually superficial, the depth and extent of the spiritual evil and of human deterioration is underrated, and too little attention is paid to the guidance of history. Against such a background and for the reasons set out below, present-day planning of a good world-peace appears to us most unlikely to be productive of anything practical in the nearer future.

Political prophecy has always been hazardous, even for an Isaiah; yet realistic considerations, both material and psychological, seem to point as a major probability to a situation, at the end of this phase of the war that started in 1914, in which the Anglo-Saxon capitalist-democracies will at most have only a very temporary and superficial control of the great bulk of European and Asiatic peoples. Some, perhaps most, of these are likely to be ruled by severely totalitarian Governments on the Russian Communist model, others by rulers more of the fascist type.

But, whatever the precise post-war political situation may be, history seems to indicate that the reorganisation and redemption of society on really human, that is, on Christian lines will not in the future any more than in the past be best promoted from "above", but from "below", by groups of pioneers, the true "Church", not necessarily all Christian dogma, but increasingly akin in their humane and and religious outlook. We may expect them to be intermittently, sometimes savagely, persecuted; later on to be tolerated as valuable economic or cultural assets to the state. After a time these groups would, by permeation and example, come to have a very powerful effect for good on the autocratic materialists who are likely to be ruling the world-state or states, leading them on to experiments in true democracy, i.e. a régime based on liberty and justice and a vigorous social conscience that is predominantly pacifist.

In spite of the very different outlook prevalent today and the present weakness of "community" groups and pioneering Churches, we think that it is to similar agents, rather than to the organisation of the world by Governments, that spiritually-minded men will again look for the gradual building up of a truly democratic and economically harmonious world-civilisation in a later era better educated and readier for it.

One of the major causes of present disasters is the fact that the spiritual leaders of Europe have in past centuries failed to accept and develop the faith taught and practised by Christ as regards (i) goodwill and forgiveness towards enemies, (ii) refusal to take part in the infliction of "retributive" punishment, and (iii) the gradual working out of "non-violent" methods of resisting and neutralising evil men and unjust rulers, so that ultimately it may even be possible to police the world without swords or machine guns in the cupboard.

On the side of economic and social justice another major cause has been the failure of the "Churches" (in the widest sense) to deal with the new and terrible problems thrust upon us by the application of machinery to human industry and life. This, not only as regards the allowing of production for private profit to take the place of production for use, but in accepting an all-devouring system of standardised, power-driven mass production. We believe it can be shown that the almost fully mechanised industrialism of today is one of the primary causes of both chronic unemployment and total war, as well as of the gradual degradation of the image of God into the half-mechanized, half-hypnotised "mass-man" who is becoming more common now than ever before.

One of the greatest miracles of the machine-age is the radio, and notwithstanding certain admirable features the total effect of broadcasting, as it functions in war-time, must be reckoned as definitely harmful to the love of truth, goodness, and beauty. Some of it does, however, serve the useful purpose of revealing, to those who have ears to hear, in all its naked ugliness and pathos, the situation into which our industrial civilisation has brought us.

Thus there is a terrible significance in many of the "feature" programmes from the war-industries "front", as produced by the B.B.C. with great ingenuity and elaboration. One of these recently took as the hero, so to speak, of its story a shell from its birth in a British factory to its death, in a blaze of glory, among a company of German lads on a North African battlefield. We listened to men and women workers expressing joy and pride in the progress of their united creation, and speeding it from workshop to its ultimate billet in mangled human flesh.

Punch! Punch! hammer! hammer! . . . in frequent broadcasts one may hear the cheerful voices of women who had left their place as home-makers to spend each day endlessly repeating the same mechanical process, as their share in the manufacture of a single part of some elaborate instrument of death.

"I'm a girl in a Royal Ordnance factory. I started as a clerk in the office there; but Jim, he's on a fighting plane. I wanted to fill his shells; six hundred of them he fires off in one minute. Oh dear! it's an awful lot. How many can I help to make in a minute? Quick, turn that handle on the left, press that handle on the right . . . Oh no, it's not dull, it's so exciting, every bit of it. It's my first night-shift, you know . . . I wonder . . . I suppose . . . yes, all over Europe girls have been driven through this cold night to factories, hidden away just like this, to make bombs and shells—yes, thousands of German girls filling shells all to kill my Jim! God make him, make them all come back!"

Oh, the infinite pity and torment of it! All over the "civilised" world girls and mothers working in feverish haste to feed the cunning artificers of death, the fiery death that is to blast their beloveds. Hearing words like these, part of a carefully prepared propaganda talk by a gifted actress, one need only have a little common-sense, to perceive in this fatal enslavement the near, the dangerously near approach of our human society to the logical and historical finale of the age of the unrestricted machine.

To sum up—with preponderatingly pacifist convictions in both people and Government, without some well-balanced combination of common ownership and co-operation with free craftsmen, without a public opinion, moreover, ready drastically, where the need arises, to restrict by general agreement the use of machinery and of applied chemistry and biology in the interests of simple living, health and beauty, of "joy in widest commonality spread"—without all these, no peace will be secure. The prophetic voices able and ready to lead mankind into a society of this character are too few or too weak as yet. Most of our leaders in Church and State have no conception of the tremendous forces of ill-will, disruption, and, by mere reaction, of selfish inertia, which worse, much worse perhaps than in 1918, are being unleashed by the present prolonged savagery.

We find ourselves faced today with an utterly unprecedented world-orgy of distruction, a kind and degree of war to which there have been harnessed nearly all the brains and hands of a world of mechanized mass-production with its manifold prejudices and illusions stimulated by the hourly propaganda of wireless, printing-press, and films; and there is forced upon us the inescapable conviction that this total war must inevitably, by the moral laws inherent in history, continue to produce after its ostensible conclusion an almost irrestible tendency to anti-social acts of violence and greed, which will find many fresh channels of development against real or imagined enemies, within and without the State. Every additional week of war, each new masterstroke of monstrous devastation, darkens the prospect before us.

In the lovely summer days of this year we all read or heard of the destruction by young British airmen of the great dams of Western Germany, resulting, as could not fail to have been anticipated, in enormous consequent loss of human lives and homes and means of subsistence. A writer in the "New English Weekly" has truly said that the almost complete absence in the British Press (and, I think, radio) of anything but admiring praise for this sinister exploit, this "unloosing upon a whole population of a vast natural catastrophe comparable to a tidal wave or an earthquake," is "ominous for the future of Europe." "Were we a Christian people, we should at least have decreed a day of mourning for so sombre and menacing a success."

Such exploits are surely setting in motion, in that spiritual medium which controls the consciousness of humanity, currents of destructiveness which will need to work themselves out during long years to come in other forms of demoralising and corrupting activity. The only alternative possibility would be the occurrence, unexampled hitherto in history, of a moral miracle, dependent on the widespread grasping by men and women of the supernatural powers available in that spiritual region only reached by the contemplation of God's perfections, a miracle coming perhaps soon enough to cause the abandonment now of the dominant demands for a knock-out blow and unconditional surrender and the willingness to take some military risks in the interests of humanity and justice. Otherwise, such public selfishness and apathy as made it impossible in peacetime to bring to an end the daily slaughter on our roads, the product of our craze for machinery and speed, must be intensified, tenfold perhaps, by the inevitable reactions following the strained enthusiasms of war.

Instances are cited by the author of religious groups and movements in past centuries which purified social life "from below."

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THE DISEASE CALLED WAR

A SOLDIER'S VIEW

In these columns for May, 1939, we reported the lecture delivered by Coy. Sergt. Major Franklin, M.C., to the Inns of Court Training Corps, on July 19, 1918. The lecture was published in pamphlet form and distributed among members of the corps, inscribed "not for publication." The lecture was endorsed and applauded by the commanding officer, Lt. Col. H. L. Stevens, D.S.O. The pamphlet recorded, in cold print, official encouragement to kill wounded German soldiers and German prisoners-of-war. Subsequently the War Office suppressed the pamphlet. Some copies fell into the hands of the No More War Movement and it was broadcast in pamphlet form, with an introduction by Lt. Col. Arthur Osburn, D.S.O. We reproduced the lecture and Lt. Col. Stevens' eulogy but not Lt. Col. Osburn's criticism.

Lt. Col. Osburn's military credentials were as follows:

Educated King's College and Guy's Hospital. Boer War in the Queen's Own Dorset Hussars as a private, afterwards a temporary captain. Medal and three clasps. Served in Artists' Rifle Volunteers. M.R.C.S.(Eng.), L.R.C.P.(Lond.). Entered R.A.M.C. Service in India, China, Burma, etc. Served in Great War with 4th Dragoon Guards. D.S.O. and Bar. Five mentions. Thanks of French Government. 1918 Commandant of Training Depot at Addington. Commandant, School of Military Hygiene, Carrickfergus. Staff Officer to G.O.C. Irish Rebellion and to G.O.C. Army of the Rhine.

Declaring that the real case against war or mass murder was the horrible moral declension that accompanied it, Lt. Col. Osburn continued:

Our war-mongers are fond of abusing the neurotic and effeminate, the perverted and abnormal types who, they suggest, are often to be found in the Pacifist ranks. But it is these very types which war conditions must eventually produce. The strain of war conditions on pregnant mothers and very young children, the deprivation of wholesome foods and, in particular, the prolonged strain on the potential fathers inevitably produce in the succeeding generation a high percentage of under-sexed or inverted types, amongst whom the craving for drink, drugs and excitement is very noticeable.

Dishonesty, violence, corruption and all the evils our "patriots" and war-mongers feel must be resisted, even at the cost of fascism and civil war, are prevalent. This degeneracy is but symptomatic of the demoralisation which originates in sadistic incitement to Mass Murder. Bellicose fathers complain that their eldest son or daughter—a "war baby"—is effeminate or neurotic, ineffectual or abnormal, delicate in physique and uncertain in mind; but they fail to realise that these peculiarities in their offspring are the indirect effects of their own pugnacity. It is not Peace but War that multiplies the degenerate and kills off the more high-spirited and generous of our youth. Privation and terror always increase the percentage born of the physically and mentally unfit. The hysterical sadism and moral confusion in post-war Germany has been a striking example. Our pugnacious patriots pretend that war should be a purifying influence—it is and always must be the very reverse.

War may once have been necessitated by scarcity of food or over-population, but modern discoveries promise us unlimited food supplies and the power to curb by rational means a too rapid increase in population. So the two fundamental causes of war are no longer operative, and it has become meaningless, futile and unnecessary. Since war was always unpleasant and wasteful, it now fulfils the definition of a real Perversion. To-day it is not the Pacifists who can be accused of perversion, but the war-mongers. Personally in the three wars in which I have had experience, both as a combatant and a regimental doctor, I have been something of a profiteer. Medals and decorations, promotion, well-paid jobs and a pension have all come my way, but I feel war is no more a healthy outlet for surplus energy than is a bout of Delirium Tremens or an attack of Diphtheria—but is just a noxious disease which all brave and sensible men and women would wish to put in quarantine because it is debilitating and demoralising. . . .

Unemployment, the dreary routine of our drab cities and the absence of gaiety make many of our young people long for war as an adventure, though there is plenty of fighting for them to do in combating disease, poverty, profiteering, ignorance and stupidity, as well as in opposing the forces of nature that for ever menace the happiness and prosperity of the race.

THE FORGOTTEN INDIVIDUAL

Dr. C. E. M. Joad has written somewhere that: "In the life of modern society the individual is conceived as an expression of the State's will, as a drop of blood in an ocean of racial purity, as a cog in a proletarian machine, as a unit in an industrial ant-state." Our job who believe in man as the Divine creator is to work to rescue him from the clutches of all those authorities which would subordinate him to their will and power. The only justification for any kind of authority—Political, Industrial, Educational—if our view of the importance and value of the individual is true is, that it should make it possible for man to develop his God-given faculties; to live his life in perfect freedom, to live that full and abundant life which Jesus said was every man's right. But as Oscar Wilde said many years ago, "Society forces man into a groove in which he cannot freely develop what is wonderful and fascinating and delightful in him."

And that is still the condemnation of society—that in the multifarious demands it makes on man, it tends to crush out his individuality, his personality, and to reduce him from his God-like stature to the degrading level of a mere mechanical Robot. Authority demands that when it issues its decrees we shall submit ourselves to them with unquestioning obedience—"ours not to reason why, ours but to do and die"—to dance to its tune, to respond, and quickly to the crack of its whip and to surrender, at its dictation, the promptings of the Divine Spirit within us. The conscience which is the voice of God in our souls and the mind with which we are endowed to reason and think for ourselves . . . The citizen of a Democracy has the right and the obligation to resist all attempts to impose upon him any way of life that would limit the full development of his faculties, and would deny him the free exercise and expression of conscience and reason, which would trample on his essential dignity as a human being in whom dwells the Divine Spirit; and the Christian ought to protest against and to resist with all the energy he can, all those tyrannous demands made upon him by any outside power which would cut at the very root of his God-given personality. "With the Nazarene, join the small elect circle of God's splendid rebels, learn the lesson of the Divine necessity of the rebel. Join the prophets and help usher in a world free and untrammelled: a God-like world, full of initiators, inventors and creators, and co-workers with the Immanent Spirit"; and if and as we do that we shall help ourselves and encourage others to recover their forgotten individuality.

—From an Address given at the Portsmouth Unitarian Church by the Rev. Charles H. Cole.

RICHARD CARLILE

We have published several press notices of the books issued by The Strickland Press on Richard Carlile: "Life," by Aldred, 1s 9d; *Jail Journal*, by Carlile, 2s 3d; *Carlile and The Surgeons*, by Brook, 2s 3d. These prices include postage. The three will be sent, post free, for 6s. They are invaluable records of the struggle for freedom of thought in Britain from the time of the French Revolution to the hungry 'forties.

The Countryman, published at Idbury, Oxfordshire, in its Spring 1944 number, gives the following notice to Dr. Brook's book:—

Carlisle city and Carlyle (Thomas) everybody knows, but too few have heard of Carlile. . . . you may read the story of this gallant reformer in "Carlile and the Surgeons" and marvel at the social advance in a century. Shelley and Keats protested against a sentence of three years and a fine of £1,500; the Duke of Wellington wanted the sturdy bookseller transported. Refusing to pay the fine or find securities, he remained in prison for six years (see his "Jail Journal," same publisher, 2s.) Indeed he served three terms of imprisonment. He it was who said, "It is not in the power of man to insult me; human nature is capable of a dignity that will not leave room for insult." His cell in Dorchester gaol was shared for two years by his devoted wife, and one of his children was born there.

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PACIFISM AND NUMBERS

Under the heading "Provocative Pacifism," *The Cheshire Observer*, in its issue for December 13th, 1943, attacked our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., for his pacifist activity, and commented on the smallness of a meeting he addressed in Chester. Comrade Davies replied in a strong letter published by our contemporary in its issue for January 1 of this year. We quote part of Rhys Davies' reply:—

There is a great Cathedral in Chester and dozens of other churches, all built ostensibly to propagate the same gospel propounded by the Saviour 2,000 years ago. His audience on occasions was even smaller than our; it numbered only 12, with a Judas thrown in, by the way. You should peep in on a Sunday to see how many attend your places of worship at Chester!

At one time, with Mr. J. H. Thomas on the same platform, I spoke to several thousand people on your Radio, to find to my regret later on that political thought in Chester is as immovable as its ancient Walls, and that Chester is the Noah's Ark of British politics.

Then, I have sat in the House of Commons on more than one occasion in the past, when our present Prime Minister had no more than the proverbial dozen listening to him.

The largest visible audience I ever addressed was at Thingvadler in 1930, when 30,000 people gathered together at the millennary celebrations of the establishment of Icelandic Parliament; and although the crowd cheered me vociferously, I was assured that not more than a dozen understood a word I said.

And so, numbers do not influence me when I am on the platform, especially when I endeavour to debunk Government Press and Radio propaganda, and try to dispel hatred between nations artificially engendered for ulterior motives.

I have lived too long and travelled too much to be affected by such foul slogans in my lifetime, as the "Brutal Boers," "French Froggies," the "Unspeakable Turks," the "Bolshevik Baboons," or the "Cruel Huns." I detest this vulgar arrogance and conceit on our part. . . .

There must have been at least 2,000 wars waged since the birth of Christ, and most of them, like that of 1914-18, have created many more problems than they set out to solve, and the present conflict will fall into the same category.

You are obviously of the majority who support every war in which our country is engaged; I am of the minority who believe that the genius of the British people could be better employed in preventing wars and keeping the peace. Your patriotism probably regards warfare as a glorious adventure; I, on the other hand, believe it to be the foulest instrument that men ever devised.

In any case, war and peace are arranged by Governments; the common folk everywhere are just the fodder that feed the furnaces of the few. I believe that my kinsmen have entered into too many international commitments; more than our small island population can sustain, and if my feeble appeals to small groups will not avail them, they might ponder over the weighty words of their hero, General Smuts, who, by the way, during the Boer War, was regarded by the majority of our people as just as much of a scoundrel as Hitler is to-day.

The militarists of every country are as insane as the old woman of the fable who spent all day begging candles and matches, so that she might do her housework at nights. And, as some of the people who read your paper may profess Christian principles, they might allow a paraphrase into modern language of the verse which would then read thus: "And the condemnation is this, that light came into the world, and the people, including 'The Cheshire Observer,' preferred the black-out."

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SOCIALISM IN LANARKSHIRE

A great deal is being published in the capitalist press concerning Socialist activity in Lanarkshire. We feel justified, therefore, in reviewing the work of our Motherwell comrade, W. E. Currie, who is responsible for the Motherwell I.L.P. Open Forum, and has persuaded parliamentary and anti-parliamentary comrades in Lanarkshire to come together in a grouping of the United Socialist Movement.

Comrade Currie, and his immediate comrades, are not concerned with party or sectarian divisions. Their aim is to develop the widest possible movement; a movement of varied Socialist thought and reading, all tending to final unity in struggle. They wish to evolve a living witness of protest against the horrors of war; and, taking Lanarkshire as the area in which they live and work, within its boundaries to create a practical fellowship of thought and action that will influence, inspire, and recreate the Socialist movement throughout Britain.

The United Socialist Movement in Lanarkshire would liquidate, in a vital movement of direct proletarian contact, all sectarianism and all opportunity towards careerism. All activity would function in an environment of actual criticism. The concept is one of sweeping regional unity and a nation-wide federation of district-powerful Socialist activity. So-called national bodies would be reduced to mere propaganda and cultural agencies of thought. A most important function. But action would be dictated not by national parties but result from district association and understanding. A real movement of the common people impelling and compelling unity of action combined with individual freedom of thought and power of criticism.

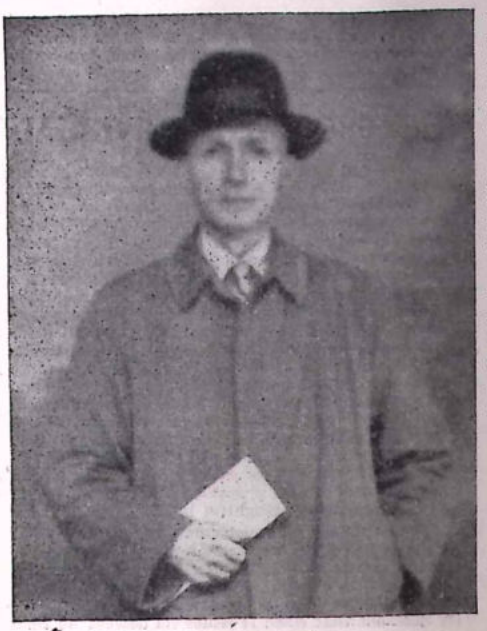
Comrade Currie has been struggling to make this movement possible since the conclusion of the First Great War. It is of interest, therefore, to review his activity. The story is that of an awakened and disillusioned soldier who said, "Never again," and meant it.

Comrade Currie served in France during the last war from 1914-17. Towards the end of the war, he became an avowed pacifist and suffered imprisonment for his opinions and stand.

Upon his discharge from the army, Currie played a prominent part in the fight for what was termed "adequate pensions for disabled ex-service men." He appeared with numerous cases before the Appeal Court. A Socialist and Pacifist, he was the ex-serviceman's champion. Under the seven years' limits many claimants were denied pensions on the grounds that their disability was not due to war service. Currie's consistent agitation was instrumental in having the seven years' limit abolished. Consequently many claims for pensions were reviewed. He was commended for this work by Tom Johnstone, now Secretary of State for Scotland, and presented with a full length portrait by the Rev. James Barr, then M.P. for Motherwell. Tribute to his pacifist activity was paid by George Lansbury and Dick Sheppard.

Currie organised anti-war meetings in many parts of the country and W.E.C. Peace slogans became famous throughout Britain. Many of these slogans were displayed during Peace Week in Glasgow, and in March, 1938, were published in the *Scottish Free Press*, the organ of the Scottish Socialist Party, on the recommendation of P. J. Dollan, so soon to become Glasgow's militarist Lord Provost.

In April 1938 Currie organised "No More War" demonstrations in Motherwell. In the same year he assisted in the presentation to Mr. Chamberlain of a mass petition on behalf of prematurely aged and disabled ex-Servicemen the majority of whom had no pension at all. This petition was ignominiously rejected by the then Prime Minister on the plea that the nation could not afford to grant these claims. (To-day the same country is spending untold millions daily on death and destruction.) Denouncing charitable funds and flag days for disabled ex-Servicemen, Comrade Currie's slogan was "Pensions, Not Poppies."



W. E. CURRIE

In May 1939 Currie formed a branch of the No-Conscription League in Motherwell. He issued a Manifesto against Conscription, which was widely distributed. He organised public meetings and demonstrations throughout Lanarkshire protesting against the passing of the Conscription Bill. In June 1939 he was awarded a diploma by the Union of Democratic Control for an essay on Peace.

On the outbreak of war hundreds of young men, Socialists and Christians opposed to war, from all over Lanarkshire who were liable for registration under the *National Service Armed Forces Act* attended the meetings in Motherwell. A Special Committee under Comrade Currie was set up to give advice and to provide representation for conscientious objectors attending the Tribunals. From the outset of the Tribunal hearings the services of Comrade Currie were in constant demand, both at the Glasgow Tribunal and the Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh. These activities became known to the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group of the Labour Party, and Comrade Currie assisted at meetings addressed by Rhys Davies, M.P., and the Rev. James Barr, M.P.

In March 1941 Comrade Currie forwarded a widely signed petition from the people of Lanarkshire to the Peace Aims Group for presentation to the Prime Minister, the opening sentences of which read :—

We, the undersigned, shocked and horrified by the devastation and endless toll of human lives caused by the indiscriminate bombing between civilised nations, call upon the Prime Minister and Members of His Majesty's Government to agree to an armistice and the setting up of a World Conference at which all nations will be represented, not to accept the dictated terms of either side, but to formulate a just and lasting settlement that will give peace and security to the peoples of all countries.

In April 1941 Currie was appointed a member of the Peace by Negotiation Committee at the Central Halls Conference. With the entry of Russia into the war all efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities were rejected.

With the enrolment of women for the Services and industry further demands were made on the services of Comrade Currie. While conscientious objectors were not so numerous among the women, a greater number sought exemption or postponement on the grounds of hardship. This led to a greater increase in the number of cases appearing before the Hardship Committees and Women's Panels.

Comrade Currie, in addition to appearing before these Committees and Appeal Boards, put up a splendid fight against the transfer of local girls to England. Although compelled through illness to resign the chairmanship of the Motherwell Branch of the I.L.P., Comrade Currie undertook and carried out successfully the duties of Organising Secretary. Demonstrations have been held calling for a "Socialist Britain Now," at which the I.L.P. Members of Parliament and other prominent speakers have taken part.

Realising that the need for Socialist unity is greater to-day than ever before, Comrade Currie organised an Open Forum in Motherwell for the purpose of rallying the forces of reason, truth and progress.

During the last war similar demonstrations were held and addressed by James Maxton, Guy Aldred, and John M'Lean. Comrade Currie bases his present attitude of Socialist anti-war solidarity on this experience and a statement made by Maxton when commenting on these examples of solidarity :—

I have never been in the same party as either McLean or Aldred although appearing on platforms with them when particular fights on special issues made such alliances the obviously right course to take.

The Duke of Bedford, who made a tour of the Lanarkshire coalfields in 1943, attended an I.L.P. meeting in Motherwell accompanied by Comrade Currie and a group of miners from Burnbank. So greatly impressed was the Duke with the Pacifist activity of the Socialist anti-war comrades that he accepted an invitation to speak against war and the power of high finance in the Empire Theatre, Motherwell. That meeting the pro-war "Communists" made a vain attempt to boycott. Later, Comrade Currie organised the successful Burnbank meeting at which the Duke of Bedford spoke.

Having experienced the horrors of war, Comrade Currie protests against the folly of the workers pursuing the path of military glory until the road to some leader's or Government's "victory" is strewn with the torn and mutilated bodies of men, women and children.

NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN

If they attended, and it looked as if some of them were there, the jingoes, imperialists and militarists must have received a shock in being present at one of the most crowded and enthusiastic meetings held in the heart of London during the present War.

The meeting was held during Lunch hour at the Kingsway Hall, on Wednesday, April 26, under the auspices of the "Bombing Restrictions Committee." The Rev. A. Belden occupied the chair in the absence of Lady Parmoor who could not attend owing to indisposition. The speakers were Vera Brittain, Rhys Davies, M.P., and Professor Stanley Jevons.

When the Resolution was put calling upon H.M. Government to amend its ways in this connection, only four put up their hands against.

If that meeting, held mid-day, is any indication of the minds of the public then it is obvious that Decency and Reason are beginning to show their heads once more in the largest Metropolis in the world and the centre of the biggest of all the Empires.

The Merseyside Region of the P.P.U. held two public meetings on negotiation, addressed by Harry Hilditch, Negotiated Peace Campaign organiser for the P.P.U. The first was at Chester on Thursday, April 27, and the second at Liverpool on the following day.

Opening his first address, Harry Hilditch quoted E. D. Morel's famous challenge on the Versailles Treaty, "If this treaty is not altered, those of you who have little children can kiss them goodbye to-night, as the mark of death is already upon them."

Negotiation, he maintained, depended for its lasting effect, not upon the trustworthiness of particular statesmen, but upon the justice of the terms. During 1916 and 1917 the British Cabinet was considering the possibility of negotiating with Germany, but even if they had all been in favour of negotiation, they could not have carried out their wishes, because they had poisoned public opinion against it. Their own propaganda had boomeranged back to tie their hands. Perhaps the same was true to-day.

Pacifists must create a public opinion willing to negotiate. The prolongation of the war must lead to worse and worse peace terms being signed. However little effect peace lovers might think that they had, it was their duty to bear unending witness to their faith.

NOW READY

"A NEW WORLD ORDER"

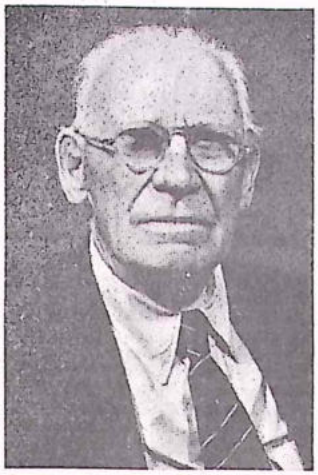
by

Rev. H. J. Dale,

QUAINTON, AYLESBURY, BUCKS.

Price 1/- (by post 1/2).

PARKER HOLMES SERCOMBE



Parker H. Sercombe, named after Theodore Parker and Oliver Wendell Holmes, died at Los Angeles, California, January 29, 1944, at the age of 83. He was born on a farm in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, at 3 a.m., June 24, 1860. His parents, Ephriam Thomas Sercombe and Harriet Minerva Westover, were great lovers of Poetry, Music and Literature. They provided an excellent cultural atmosphere for their family of six on long winter evenings in days when cinema entertainment was unknown and modern avenues of research were inaccessible. Parker attended the Milwaukee High School, but quit in the third year to become a Teacher in Milwaukee County.

In rather rapid succession Parker became Post Office Clerk, State Champion Bicycle Rider, agent for books, typewriters, and cash registers. He had the distinction of building the first "stake body" auto truck in the world.

Because of his wife's ill health he went to Mexico City in 1894 and became Editor of the "Daily Mexican Herald." Two years later, he became President of the American Bank and Vice-President of the Mexican Trust Company. He later visited the United States as the personal guest of Elbert Hubbard. He then became Editor of "To-morrow Magazine" in association with Clarence Darrow, Oscar L. Triggs and ten others.

Sercombe was for a time with the Chicago Board of Education. He was always a "misfit" among those who employed the theological method of reasoning. He was a life-time Humanist and contributed much to the Humanist movement. At the time of his death, he was the Senior Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends, of which we are the British representative. "The Truth Seeker," New York, contained a tribute to Sercombe's memory, written by our old comrade, Cassius V. Cook, who addressed many searching questions to us on Anarchism in the columns of "The Herald of Revolt" in 1914. We shall reproduce these questions and answers later, partly because Sercombe would like no better tribute paid to his memory than recalling of questioning leading to the extension of truth. Our dead comrade was no mediocrity and no querulous conventionalist in his approaches to life. Cassius Cook refers to him, rightly, as "veteran libertauian and unique entrepreneur."

Sercombe made a considerable fortune and spent it, promoting thought. He died believing in the need to spread widely Humanist, Libertanian, and Radical ideas.

His parents came from England and often entertained Robert G. Ingersoll in their Milwaukee home. But Sercombe went far beyond his father as a libertanian.

Prof. Oscar L.Triggs lived in this home after he was dismissed from the Chicago University in consequence of a free speech affair. Upton Sinclair also lived there while working upon his first most successful book—"The Jungle."

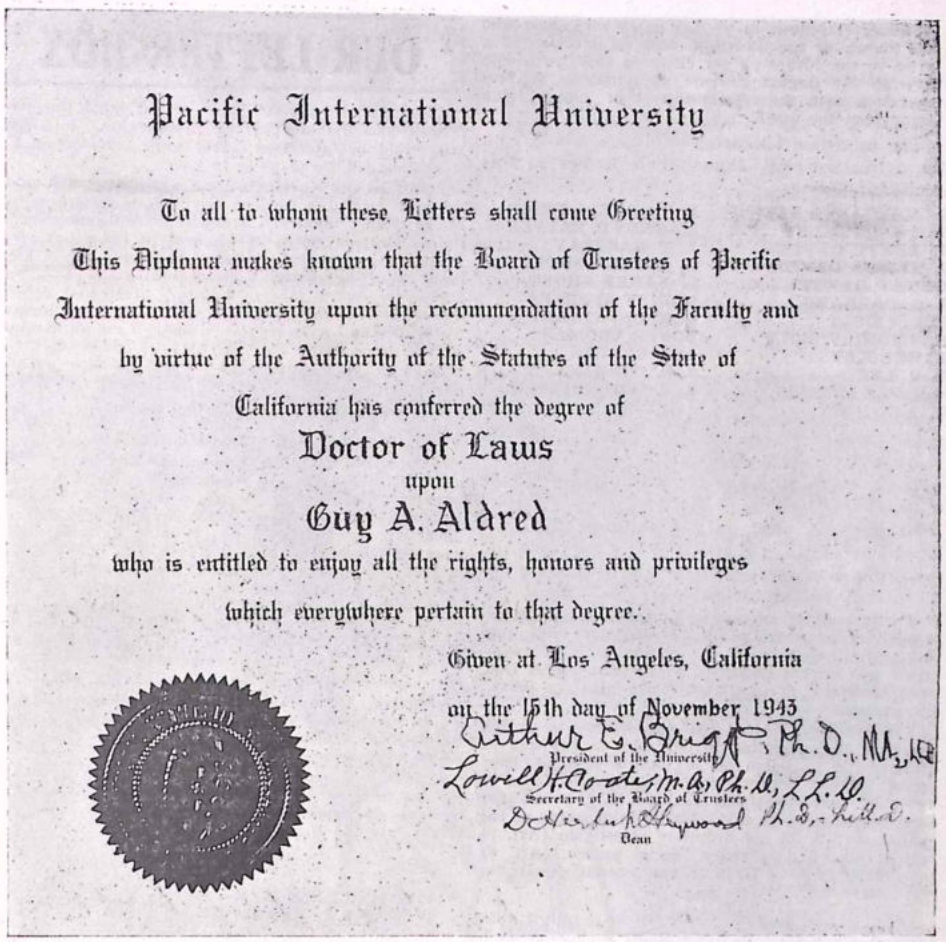
Parker Sercombe was the father of three children—Charles Snydex, Herbert Spencer, and Romanie. They live in Los Angeles and are Humanists.

When the family came to Los Angeles from San Gabriel, a Get-together Celebration and welcome was given to them, to Kathleen Burke, the actress and to Rudolph Rocker, who was welcomed erroneously, as time has shown, as an Anarchist and an anti-Militarist.

WHY NOT LEARN?

Captain Liddell Hart's little book "Why don't we learn from history?" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.) is very thoughtful and thought-provoking and, though not written from the pacifist standpoint, contains more than one argument which workers for the cause of peace are likely to find new and useful. The book also contains a searching exposure of the schoolboy diplomacy of our politicians and Foreign Office and it is one which readers of "The Word" would do well to study.

BEDFORD.



Pacific International University

To all to whom these Letters shall come Greeting

This Diploma makes known that the Board of Trustees of Pacific International University upon the recommendation of the Faculty and by virtue of the Authority of the Statutes of the State of California has conferred the degree of

Doctor of Laws

upon

Guy A. Aldred

who is entitled to enjoy all the rights, honors and privileges which everywhere pertain to that degree.

Given at Los Angeles, California

on the 15th day of November 1943

Arthur E. Briggs, Ph.D., M.A., LL.D.
President of the University

Lowell H. Coates, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.
Secretary of the Board of Trustees

Dean

We reproduce above (reduced to two-thirds original size) the diploma received from the Pacific International University, California. Our American colleagues wish their appreciation of our Humanist struggle and "clear legal and constitutional definitions and defence of Free Speech before the High Court in Edinburgh and the Court of King's Bench, London," to be placed on record. They ask that the legal, as well as ordinary, reports of all our trials in England and Scotland, 1909-1921, be collected and published in volume form for reference and study.

HUMANISM AND UNITARIANISM

Early in June 1933, *The Inquirer*, London, reproduced *in extenso* the American Humanist Manifesto which was published in *The New Humanist* in May 1933. This manifesto has been reprinted several times in the United States since it was signed on May 1, 1933, and appears in the 1943 Annual Number of *The Humanist Friend*, official organ of the Humanist Society of Friends, published at Los Angeles, California. Many Unitarian ministers signed this manifesto. They included the following:—

E. Burdette Backus.

Raymond B. Bragg.

Ernest Caldecott, Minister, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles.

Albert C. Dieffenbach.

John H. Dietrich, Minister, First Unitarian Society of Minneapolis.

R. Lester Mondale, Minister, Unitarian Church, Evanston, Ill.

Frank S. C. Wicks, Unitarian Church, Indianopolis, Ind.

David Rhys Williams, Minister, Unitarian Church, Rochester, N.Y.

The Inquirer for June 17, 1933, published a letter from a number of Unitarian ministers protesting against the reproduction of the Humanist Manifesto.

The same issue published an editorial comment headed "God and The Humanist Manifesto." We cite the mildest passage:—

"We are convinced that the time is past for Theism," declares a group of prominent American humanists in the manifesto printed in our last issue. And along with theism go deism (why rake up this "effigy" of the eighteenth century?) modernism and "several varieties of the new thought." They all belong to the out-moded and superstitious past; throw them on the scrap heap where discredited doctrines rightly belong; proclaim a new religion shorn of all cosmic or supernatural guarantees, based on human values humanely apprehended. . . .

In short, we deeply regret the publication of a Manifesto capable of creating the impression (for certain American Unitarians have signed it) that the name Unitarians is consistent with non-theistic humanism. Our churches exist for the worship of God and the service of man.

Humanism does not rule Theists out of participating in Humanist gatherings and services. Its organisation is completely congregational and cannot do so. It simply rules Atheists in. Before Theistic Unitarians indulge further their theological bias against Humanist Unitarians they should recall Coleridge's complaint against Unitarians for denying that Trinitarians are Unitarians. We agree with the Unitarians on this question. By the same process of reasoning we favour the Humanists against the Theists. Actually, Theism, like Atheism (of which we personally approve, although many do not), is but the theology. Humanism is the real spiritual or religious content. It embodies the vision or idealism which mankind sometimes describes as divine. It is the living flame of truth or service. Humanism defines and expresses dedication. It is the essence of all true religion and expresses equally well all that matters in Buddhism or Christianity, in Theism or Atheism.

In June 1933, expressing the belief that *The Inquirer* was justified in publishing the Humanist Manifesto, a number of Unitarian ministers published the following statement in our contemporary's columns:—

The document is one which merits the attention of all who are concerned with the future of Free religion.

We do not identify ourselves with the religious and philosophical outlook expressed in the Manifesto, but we feel that it is essential to the progress of Unitarianism that its adherents should have the fullest freedom of thought and expression.

Whatever fellowship we may enjoy with those who are known by the Christian name, in our view it is vital to the future of our churches that we should develop the largest measure of sympathy and co-operation with the representatives of Free religion throughout the world.

The following Unitarian ministers, who are on the active list still, signed their names to this declaration:—

A. MARGARET BARR	**E. SHIRVELL PRICE**
WM. BOTTOMLEY	**MAGNUS C. RATTER**
T. BRETT DAVIES	**R. F. RATTRAY**
J. TYSSUL DAVIES	**H. LISMER SHORT**
HENRY DAWTREY	**L. BAKER SHORT**
L. A. GARRARD	**SIDNEY SPENCER**
FELIX HOLT	**GORDON STUART**
RAYMOND V. HOLT	**ROGER THOMAS**
ETHEL KAY	**ADA TONKIN**
E. G. LEE	**J. B. TONKIN**
WALTER M. LONG	**S. P. WHITEHOUSE**
G. MEWHORT	

Of these ministers, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., and the Rev. William Bottomley, now of Melbourne, Australia, need no introduction to our readers.

Against this view, in *The Inquirer* for June 17, 1933, H. G. Chancellor, M.P., placed the following somewhat—and for him surprisingly—reactionary comment:—

I note that the signatories of the Humanist Manifesto include several Unitarian ministers, who, presumably, accept stipends for ministering to congregations in churches dedicated to the worship of God. The Manifesto declares that "the time has passed for theism."

I would deny to no man the liberty to preach atheism. I am willing to hear him in any hall or forum, and to weigh his arguments with an open mind. But to preach from a pulpit, in a house of worship, that worship is obsolete (Art. 9 and 10) and that there is no God (Art. 6) is an abuse of the pulpit that no ad hoc definition of religion (Art. 7) can make religious, and no social passion (Art. 8) can make honest. Have the ministerial signatories considered that point?—

Why should not one urge from a pulpit that formal worship is obsolete, if one feels that such static expression is not the way of Truth? Why should a Church be bound by a formal definition of an anthropomorphic concept of God? Is that the only way in which to define idealism or to express wonder and vision?

We believe that Atheism is true as opposed to Theism. But Atheism is merely negative Theism. Humanism liquidates this theological discussion which, so long as it continues, sacrifices the well-being of humanity to the metaphysical contentions and interest of theology. Atheists are theologians as well as Theists: and theology is not a science but an abstract reasoning, the perpetuation of which creates a shadow world barren of all use to mankind. Theology should be destroyed in the interest of science and human well-being. With Richard Carlile we look forward to a time when humans will neither call themselves Atheists nor Theists. The question of theology will not arise. But idealism and vision will inspire the realism of their living as never before.

The Humanist Society of San Francisco exists to stimulate interest in a more intelligent and humane way of life, based on rational ethics and the scientific view of man and the universe as opposed to supernaturalistic religious and outgrown traditional views. The Society will mail Humanist monographs free each month to any address in Britain or U.S.A. Names and addresses to: Hugh Robert Orr, director, P.O. Box 4401, San Francisco.

BARREN THE WORLD THESE DAYS.

Barren the world these days, and wintry-cold,
The icy blast of Greed has stopped the flow
Of every kindly water, and the leaves grow
Limp and yellow that should be green and bold.
For Power and Ease all beauty has been sold,
Skies have gone dark, no coloured flower is seen,
No bird is heard, only the vulture spleen,
High on the mountain of unwanted gold.

Oh, foolish Man that has become so blind,
So weak in Faith to doubt his strength and worth,
Why should he trust in Greed on this fair earth
That can produce far more than please his mind?
Thus millions live in want, while those who gain,
Leave naught behind them but a bloody stain.

—JOE CORRIE.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I thank you so much for your letter about Richard Carlile's descendants. I thought you might be interested in the work I am doing, the work that led me to write to you.

I worked on Shelley in graduate school, and after graduate school I became particularly interested in Queen Mab. Suddenly, I found myself immersed in the radical movement in England in the years after Waterloo and before the first Reform Bill. I have been collecting material for several years now, and hope some day to publish a history of English reform movement in this period. Most of the standard histories that I have seen are dreadful, and all detailed studies begin with the Chartists. I think that the men who came before the Chartists are equally important. Carlile seems to me particularly important.

I am particularly anxious to find out more about Carlile's friend, Julian Hibbert. In 1815 a large portion of Queen Mab was published in a free-thinking magazine called "The Theological Enquirer." The editor of the magazine seems to have been someone close to Shelley and he signs himself "Erasmus Perkins." I have found other articles by him, and under one was written Julian Hibbert, as though that were his real name. However, in "The Republican" in 1826 Carlile says "Erasmus Perkins was one George Cannon." I have been trying to track down both Cannon and Hibbert for a long time. There is a mystery about Hibbert's year of birth. Most sources say 1801, but accounts of him in the public papers sound such as though he were an older man.

I have never been able to lay hands on "The Theological Enquirer," but I would certainly like to do so. I have hopes of the Carlile family having letters and documents that they would be willing for me to see.

I have been emboldened to go on spouting about my favourite subject, owing to the fact that we seem to have the same heroes—Carlile, Paine, Jefferson—I would only add Henry David Thoreau.

Sincerely yours,
ADELINE E. GLASHEEN.

Wheaton Coll., Norton, Massachusetts,
U.S.A., 30/3/44.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Correspondents of ours in New York City forwarded the February, 1944, issue of "The Word" to us away out here in Idaho. I read every line of it and most of it with interest. I enclose a very critical issue of our little village paper of which I am editor and publisher. We had quite a struggle with the Post Office Department at Washington over mailing rights and were accused of seditious pacifist publishing, but finally won out.

My two youngest sons, Clark and Boyd Cornell have served a year in prison camp for refusing to register. Boyd, the youngest, has been in a C.O. camp since September, 1942.

We did not miss publishing an issue of the paper during the time we were denied 2nd class mailing privileges.

Please send "The Word" regularly and also the Duke of Bedford's House of Lords' speeches; "Why Jesus Wept"; and "What a Game!"

Sincerely,
A. CORNELL,
Editor, "Boise Valley Herald."

Boise Valley, Middleton, Idaho, U.S.A., 13/3/44.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I thank you very much for parcel of pamphlets and the copies of "The Word," the March copy of which reached me yesterday and is of deepest interest to me.

Considering the different back ground of yourself and the Duke of Bedford and your lack of agreement in religious matters (as there must be to a certain extent), I think you both are examples of broad-minded men who respect each other's sincerity and bravery in devotion to a cause which only brings derision and unpopularity at present (while war hysteria carries everything before it) and people seem blind to the evils that accompany war and are following in its wake. To quote from the last copy of "The Word" received:

"To-day there is no bold spokesman for the right of conscience in the House of Lords other than the Duke of Bedford. He stands completely alone. The loneliness of the Duke of Bedford in his defence of conscience and his maintenance of civil liberty is a scandal of this war, a grave scandal peculiar to this war."

The enclosed cutting from "The Gazette" here, was written for Holy Week on "The Loneliness of the Great." It says:

"The loneliness of the great is one of the ironies of human life. The great are lonely, because they are great; had they peers and companions they would cease to be what they are in relation to those around them. This holds good of greatness in all its forms, whether greatness of station, greatness of genius, or greatness of character."

Another paragraph states:

"History is full of examples of men whose benevolence and kindliness and activity have at first won general applause and admiration, but who have been deserted, hated, denounced, perhaps even put to death, when the real character of their greatness was discovered."

I am glad to see defenders turned up for the Duke, even in the House of Lords, in the persons of Lord Ponsonby and Lord Morris.

As one of your distant readers I send you my good wishes and admiration for your efforts to support liberty and publish the truth.

Yours very truly,
CATHERINE FRASER.

Montreal, 25/4/44.

Dear Guy Aldred—my good Comrade,—"The Word" still maintains its high level and I find it of great use. It helps to satisfy my great curiosity as to what other people are thinking! The "Humanist Society of Friends" appears to me to have a platform on which all could meet who practise Christian ethics, while rejecting Christian doctrine, e.g. Unitarians, Theists, and even Liberal Jews! And I think that such a "United Front" would be all to the good. From my observation of the "Quakers" of late I should say that the majority are drifting towards humanism and that a small, though strong, number are beginning to feel that a non-credal, non-sacramental faith cannot be maintained and are beginning to turn their eyes towards Catholicism, where their mysticism has always found a home. I do appreciate honesty, and that the "Humanist Friends" seem to possess. "Entre-nous" I can never understand why the Unitarians bother to call themselves Christians.

I cannot help feeling profoundly pessimistic as we drift towards totalitarianism. The Church, too, is being more and more used as a war-propaganda instrument. Yesterday in Bury "Salute the Soldier" services were held. The irony of the situation was that it came at the end of a "Religion and Life" week. All good wishes.

Yours in the struggle,
A. K. SHREWSBURY.

Chevington, May 15, 1944.

Sir,—Interest in Esperanto has grown so much during recent years that a well considered plan would easily obtain 50,000 new members in 1944 for the main Esperanto societies in this country.

What is lacking, among other things, is large scale, continuous, attractive and enterprising press advertising by the Esperanto movement, which could well afford to increase ten-fold its present expenditure on publicity.

Thirty of us have spent over £120 in five months on various forms of publicity. The 3,000 members of the British Esperanto Association and the much larger number of Esperantists outside that body could vastly overshadow the efforts of our small group.

W. J. BRIGDIN, Hon. Organiser.

Wandsworth Borough Institute,
125 Drakefield Road,
Tooting, London, S.W. 17, 25/4/44.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Emrys Hughes, yourself, the Duke of Bedford and a few others deserve more support, and when this bloody mess is over will be found standing high amongst those who love truth. The world is only looking at the doorway of Democracy, it is not yet on the doorstep. The Labour Leaders have sold their principles for office and Parliamentary careerism and the liberties of the British Isles been made farcical for those leaders to pose as champions of Socialism outside of Trade Unionism is a false claim. I have no quarrel with Trade Unionism, it has done much for the workers, but these humbugs have betrayed their trust.

Best wishes to you.—Yours faithfully,
E. C. SQUIRES.

Woturn Sands, 30/4/44.

NATURE NOTE.

A Grey Wagtail is nesting in the roof of our house. He is a neat and beautiful little bird, with much bright yellow about him. Frequently as he flies back to his nest, he catches a sight of his reflection in a window, and then ensues a furious battle with this other wagtail who dares to come on his territory! Sometimes the window is marked and even blood-stained after one of his hard attacks. How VERY like Man, who goes on fighting so bravely and so very futilely, against this terrible "other fellow" who, in reality, is so extraordinarily like himself!

E. F.

WAR AIMS.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

Speech Delivered House of Lords, Wednesday, 8th March, 1944, by

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

2d. Post Free, 3d.

Read and circulate this great ignored speech. Discuss it with your friends.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

VOL. V. No. 12. JULY, 1944. Price: TWOPENCE

WAR AND FINANCE

The International Monetary Fund

After the Education Bill had passed its third reading on Friday, May 12, 1944, on the motion to adjourn, Mr. Stokes raised the question of the International Monetary Fund (Joint Statement). We reproduce his speech from the official report, columns 2268-2270. Mr. Stokes was followed by Commander King-Hall, who said that he crossed the Atlantic with Lord Keynes, and knew the passenger list. Commander King-Hall asked that a more popular account of financial matters be published by the Treasury and that there be less mystery-making and mumbo-jumbo. Mr. Assheton (the Financial Secretary to the Treasury), in his reply to Mr. Stokes, requoted Mr. Stokes' question and his answer of May 11, 1944, and added:—

I stand by that reply, and my hon. friend knows that a Financial Secretary is peculiarly accustomed to that position. It is one of the tasks of a Financial Secretary, from time to time, to say "No," and on this occasion I am bound to say "No" again. I will, however, go so far as to say this to satisfy the hon. Member's curiosity. Leaving aside the noble Lord to whom the hon. Member has referred, there were officials in Washington, and they did not include a single part-timer or anybody appointed "ad hoc" because of currency experience. On the other hand, they did include certain whole-time temporary civil servants who have been in the service of the Government since the beginning of the war. Beyond that, I am afraid I cannot go, and I suggest to the House, and to the hon. Member, that it is quite contrary to the traditions of the public service that members of it should be other than anonymous. As the hon. Member knows, the House recognises that tradition and I think hon. Members will wish to recognise it once again to-day.

Which, did we take the capitalist system seriously, must be a most unsatisfactory state of affairs: a most dangerous and menacing situation: all-powerful, anonymous government concealed behind a facade of democracy.

There were not 40 members present when this revelation was made, and the House adjourned, after being counted out.

It is time the common people studied and circulated widely our work on "Socialism and Parliament," which will be sent post-free for (the two parts) for 1s 4d. Democracy rests not in parliament but in the understanding of the people.—Ed.

Mr. Stokes (Ipswich)—It is, perhaps, somewhat of an anti-climax that, after the passing of a great measure, I should wish to go back to one of my hobby-horses. I have apparently learnt nothing by the Bill. I gave notice to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that I proposed to raise a matter which was the subject of a question that I addressed to him yesterday. My question was:

"whether he will give the names and qualifications of the British experts who collaborated in drawing up the Joint Statement by Experts on the Establishment of an International Monetary Fund."

I got the most unsatisfactory reply. The Chancellor said:

"No, Sir. The experts in question are working for His Majesty's Government and it would be contrary to traditional practice to give the names of those who have collaborated in this task."—[Official Report, 11th May, 1944: Vol. 399, col. 2108.]

The Chancellor, who has got as far away from me as he can get without falling over the edge, has gone to Edinburgh. I do not blame him for that, any more than he can blame me for raising this matter. I have been pursuing this particular side of the matter for 15 months—I have been raising the whole subject, actually, for about two and a half years. I have never yet got any satisfaction. Now I hope that the Financial Secretary, out of the goodness of his heart, if for no other reason, will tell the truth for a change—at any rate, the whole truth. About a year ago I raised this matter, and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer gave me an exceedingly unsatisfactory reply about what was going on in America. The reply would indicate that there were no Treasury officials engaged in discussions. Knowing that discussions had been going on, I assumed, therefore, that there were people who were not Treasury officials engaged in discussions on our behalf.

Later in the year I raised the matter with the present Chancellor. He assured me that the discussions—which I had understood had not been taking place—had come to an end! Rather bewildered, I assumed that there had been an interim period and that Treasury officials must have joined the unofficials. Meanwhile, I was not smart enough to raise it sooner, or perhaps the House was not sitting, and then the next Chancellor told me that the discussions were drawing to a close. This year I pursued the Chancellor, and asked him for an assurance that there would be no commitments entered into by the Government until this House had discussed the subject. He assured me that there would be no commitments entered into until that had happened. I am all the more perturbed because there was

[Specially drawn for "The Word," by McPhail

DUAL PERSONALITY

a debate two days ago, which was almost universally condemnatory of the White Paper; yet one of the papers which cannot be regarded as completely dissociated from the Government, the "Financial News," said, in a leading article to-day:

"Although the Commons have accepted the International Monetary Fund scheme in principle, their acceptance has been somewhat timid and reluctant."

Could that possibly be regarded as a correct description of the debate which took place last Wednesday? Of all the speakers who spoke, including even the Chancellor, there was not a single person—well, perhaps, there was one who gave a half-clap to the scheme, but all the others who spoke were condemnatory of the scheme. Yet the "Financial News" says that:

"The Commons have accepted the International Monetary Fund scheme in principle."

They have done nothing of the sort; and the sooner the world, and particularly our cousins in America, know it, the better. I want to ask why I, and the House, should not know who was responsible for carrying on these discussions in America. Everybody knows that Lord Keynes was there. That is no secret: you have only to read the document to know that he was. But who else was there? There is some mystery about it. If the Financial Secretary can tell me that only Lord Keynes and accredited Treasury officials—not part-timers brought in for the job—

Mr. Bowles (Nuneaton)—Did the hon. Member say brought in, or bought in?

Mr. Stokes—Both: brought in, and paid. I do not want any of these "temporary gents"—that is an old Army expression from the last war—regarded as permanent officials. If the Financial Secretary tells me that there were Treasury officials only, I have no more complaints to make, and I will sit down. I do not regard a Treasury official as a part-timer brought in by the Government, and paid by the Government for the job. I want to know what commercial associations anybody engaged in the discussions had. Why should we not know the actual names of the people involved? I feel very strongly about this. I may have never made it quite clear yet, but I want to make it clear now, that I have never liked this Government. I think they have spent their time suppressing the truth. We are never allowed to know what is going on. We lose half the Empire, and are never allowed to see the despatches. Singapore and Burma were lost; Norway, Greece, Crete, and other campaigns were a fiasco; and we have never seen any of the despatches. We are not even allowed to know what happened at Teheran, when they tore up the Atlantic Charter. In the British Isles to-day 45,000,000 people, who are concentrating on the war effort, are fighting for reasons known to the Government of which they have no idea whatever. My suspicion—and I hope that I shall be forced to withdraw it when my right hon. friend replies—is that you are juggling with what is the lifeblood, the monetary machinery, of the people. You are in fact arranging for the next war.

Mr. Speaker—I hope I am not.

Mr. Stokes—I beg your pardon, sir. The Government are doing these things. I entirely exonerate you from all those accusations. They are playing about with the monetary system. No less a person than the right hon. gentleman the Minister of Labour said, not many years ago, that if we really examined the causes of war we could not excuse ourselves, on account of the dominating part we had played in the financial affairs of the world between the two wars. If there is juggling with the financial system there are things going on that may lead us into another holocaust. I ask the right hon. gentleman to say definitely that nobody but Lord Keynes and professional officials were at these discussions; and I hope that if there was anybody else at all there, he will tell us who they were and what were their associations.

FIXING THE BANK RATE

THE METHOD CRITICISED

The following letter bearing on Mr. Stoke's speech on the International Monetary Fund from the pen of Mr. R. Fletcher, M.P., was published in the *Manchester Guardian* for Thursday, December 28, 1939:

Sir,—On November 7, in the House of Commons, my friend Mr. Stokes endeavoured to elicit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer some information as to the identities of the individuals who fix the Bank rate and the principles on which they do it. Sir John Simon replied that the Bank rate is fixed by the Court of the Bank of England and that in doing so the Court are solely actuated by the public interest. In fact, the Bank rate is settled by the Treasury Committee of the Bank of England, which consists of the Governor and Deputy Governor and seven members of the Court. We were not told the names of these seven members, but we do know, however, that they are drawn from the directorate of the Bank. The members of the directorate have very varied and important interests. The capital of the various companies they assist to direct amounts to hundreds of millions of pounds. Fluctuations in the Bank rate must be of supreme importance not only to their own fortunes but to those of their shareholders.

Yet a secret junta drawn from the ranks of these gentlemen is capable, when the Bank rate (with which their worldly fortune, prestige, and status are bound up) has to be altered, of going into a dark room and passing into a state of Nirvana in which everything but the public interest is blotted from their minds. In this state they are jointly delivered of a decision about the Bank rate which is invariably good for the public interest. It is safe to say that if Sir John Simon believes such nonsense he is the only man in the country who does. We can be certain that nobody believes it less than those directors of the Bank of England to whom he ascribes unfailing altruism and nescience.

Even if these gentlemen could achieve the impossible and dismiss from their minds all save the public interest, may one ask by what yard-stick they measure the public interest? And what sections of the public do they think deserve to have their interest considered? It may fairly safely be assumed that those of them who have any politics own allegiance to the Conservative party and that all of them think in terms of the property-owning class.

The other side of the matter is this. We are a democracy, supposed to be fighting for democracy. I know this is true because every Cabinet Minister says so whenever he makes a speech explaining why any proposals that we should state our war aims must be stoutly resisted in the name of democracy. Now the essence of democracy surely should be that any matter vitally affecting the lives of the people may be debated in the House of Commons by the representatives of the people.

Short of the issue of peace or war (which is also to all intents and purposes kept out of the purview of the people) there can be no questions more profoundly affecting our lives than those bound up with all that is implied by an alteration of the Bank rate. Yet this operation is performed by individuals whose names are not known and over whom the House of Commons has no jurisdiction. I am very glad, however, to have noted for some time now an increasing tendency on the part of many connected with commerce and finance who are not at all on the Left in politics to realise and admit that in view of the vast influence which the Bank of England exerts in every phase of the national life the Bank should become directly amenable to national direction.—Yours, etc.,

R. FLETCHER.

House of Commons, December 26, 1939.

Mr. Fletcher was then Labour M.P. for Nuneaton. Since 1942 he has sat in the House of Lords as Baron Winster. We criticised his seat-taking in these columns for March, 1942.

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THE "FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISARMAMENT OF GERMANY."

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Readers of *The Word* will be aware that in some of my articles I have suggested that this is a financiers' war. The financiers of the City and Wall Street, who control the British and American politicians by bribery, intimidation or propaganda desire to overthrow the Axis Governments because the latter do not allow scarcity of money to hinder any desired object for which labour and materials are available. Such (in peace-time) revolutionary ideas might, it was feared, spread to other countries, to the detriment of the moneylenders' interests.

Striking proof that I was correct in my supposition has been afforded by certain of the debates in Parliament during the month of May, highly significant phrases such as "the financial and economic disarmament of Germany" having been used by certain members.

Now what does the "financial" disarmament of Germany really mean? It can hardly mean that the German Government is to be prevented from voting sums of money for military purposes as, in the event of an Allied victory, Germany (until her help was desired as a partner in the next war!), would be forbidden to have any armaments, and Allied inspectors would see that there was no secret re-arming. There would be no point in preventing the German Government from voting money for the construction of armaments they were already forbidden to have.

The "financial disarmament" of Germany could scarcely mean, either, measures to prevent inflation in order to escape part of the burden of reparations payments. Reparations, if demanded, would take the form of *a specified quantity of goods*. They would certainly not be paid in marks, for German money—the only kind of money Germany has the right to create—is of no use outside Germany.

It is quite clear, therefore, that "financial disarmament" would simply mean that Germany would no longer be allowed to be an exponent of enlightened monetary practices alarming to the moneylenders. No longer, if labour and materials were available and a job needed doing, would her Government be allowed to order the banks to create the sums required. The creation of money would in all likelihood be restricted by some form of gold standard, limiting the money-supply, not by the country's capacity to produce and import goods, but by the amount of gold the international financiers thought fit to allocate. We may be sure also that barter trade would be firmly discouraged because it deprived bankers of commissions on trade Bills of Exchange and "the freedom of the exchanges would probably be insisted on to allow gambling in currencies and the shifting of private fortunes from one country to another. The "economic disarmament" of Germany would doubtless mean the creation of various hindrances to Germanys export trade, *i.e.*, to her capacity to export goods for satisfy'ing the wants of the people of other countries so that in turn she might obtain imports to satisfy the urgent needs of her own people—a *thoroughly* sensible and humane policy, and *so* likely to promote lasting peace!

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LORD SNELL: A STUDY

The death of Lord Snell on April 21, 1944, at Highgate Hospital, where he had been a patient for many weeks, suffering from a bronchial affection, gives rise to much reflection. In Lord Snell, C.B.E., C.H., etc., Deputy Leader of the House of Lords, a post he had occupied since 1940, older members of the Freethought Movement recognised the Harry Snell of the Freethought open-air platform of over fifty years ago. He had been Secretary of the Nottingham Secular Society and Chapman Cohen recalls meeting him in Victoria Park in 1890, soon after his arrival in London. He was then twenty-two years of age and had migrated from Nottingham to Woolwich on his famous penny-farthing bicycle.

From the Freethought platform Snell turned to the Ethical movement and came more and more under the influence of Dr. Stanton Coit and Moncure Conway. His connection with the Secularist Movement became very slight. He visited South Place, and in 1898, at the invitation of Dr. Coit, he accepted a salary of £150 a year for three years as a lecturer and organiser in the Ethical movement. In the summer of that year, our comrade, Mr. F. G. Gould—nephew of Mr. F. G. Gould, the well-known Socialist and Freethought writer of the South Place Ethical Society, first listened to Snell's open-air addresses in Victoria Park for the East London Ethical Society. Here Snell attracted large audiences.

We met Snell in Camberwell in 1904 and spoke with him under the auspices of the Ethical Society in the local Town Hall. Snell introduced us to Stanton Coit, but there seemed to our mind to be a little too much beauty and almost ritualistic incense about the Ethical movement to please our sense of rationalism. We were in sympathy with the philosophy expounded by Snell and Coit, but we did not like the atmosphere in which they expounded it.

Snell now devoted most of his time to the Ethical Union and was its secretary from 1906 down to the outbreak of the Great War of 1914. As an officer of the Union, he was allowed to visit Wandsworth Prison and hold services for conscientious objectors who were Ethicists and Free thinkers.

Commencing with 1910, Snell made three unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament. In 1922 he was returned for East Woolwich. Nine years later he became Under-Secretary for India, with a seat in the House of Lords.

Lord Snell was associated closely with the Rationalist Press Association. He was a supporter of the Secular Education League, and he presided at the celebration of the 150th Anniversary of South Place on February 14, 1943. His last essay, written from his death-bed, was an appreciation of Stanton Coit, contributed to *The Literary Guide* for April, 1944. It is in connection with Lord Snell's Rationalistic and Atheistic repute, as evidenced by this activity, that we wish to review his political record.

Harry Snell was born on April 1, 1865. He was seventy-nine years of age at the time of his death. He has left an account of his career in *Men, Movements, and Myself*, published by J. M. Dent & Sons, in London, in 1936.

Describing his conversion to Freethought, when he was sixteen years old, Snell says (pages 30-31):—

It was at one of the meetings held in the great market-place at Nottingham that, in the year 1881, I first heard of the name and the fame of Charles Bradlaugh. . . . The meetings that he addressed were held on a Sunday in the old Alhambra Music Hall, in St. Mary's Gate, and I attended the one that was called for the afternoon. . . . Bradlaugh was already speaking when I arrived, and I remember, as clearly as though it were only yesterday, the immediate and compelling impression made upon me by that extraordinary man. . . . from that hour until the day of his death, ten years later, I was one of the humblest, but most devoted of his followers. . . I knew Bradlaugh more intimately as I grew older, and my devotion to him increased with my experience. . . . It is now forty-five years since he died, but I hold his memory as one of my great possessions.

We ask the reader to note this declaration of loyalty to Bradlaugh's memory and acknowledgment of discipleship. Remember it when you come to read of Lord Snell taking his seat in the House of Lords.

Describing C.O.'s in prison, Snell has a paragraph full of invaluable moralising (pages 197-198):—

While the war was in progress I was called upon to visit Wandsworth Prison, where several young men belonging to ethical societies were detained as "conscientious objectors" to military service. Like other prisoners they, were entitled to receive the spiritual consolations of the religious body to which they belonged, and the Union of Ethical Societies was asked to care for their spiritual needs. In the course of a few months they were joined by some young Socialists, and for a long time I had twenty-seven prisoners on my list. . . . Here were twenty-seven young men, some of them highly educated, all of them intelligent, who had been compelled to face a great and urgent moral issue, and who, rather than betray a moral intuition, were willing to suffer the continued degradation of prison life. It appeared probable, therefore, under these circumstances, that when the war was over they would associate themselves with peace societies, Labour, and other organisations and, for the rest of their lives, endeavour that no son of theirs should ever be faced with a crisis such as they had known. The armistice came and they were released. I have, with one exception, never since seen or heard of them.

Snell describes the Woolwich bye-election, when Ramsay MacDonald was defeated. To recall that election must be galling to the 1914-1918 semi-Socialist Pacifists, like Thomas Johnston, who now rejoice in the propaganda of the jingo press. What did Horatio Bottomley do but blaze the patriotic trail of falsehood for these humbugs to follow, these rogues who built up their careers on the denunciation of Bottomley and the pence-sacrifices of a deluded but admiring working-class. This applies specifically to the present Secretary of State for Scotland, who owes his status in this war to a capacity for semi-pacifist charlatanism in *Forward* during the Great War.

Snell writes (pages 204-6):—

Some time before his death, Crooks had been compelled through continued ill-health to withdraw from public work, and to resign his seat in Parliament. The election of his successor was the occasion of an unexampled orgy of violence and slander. A more discreditable election never took place in any community. The Labour Party chose as their candidate Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who lost his seat at the general election of 1918. . . . He had been one of the foremost opponents of the war policy of the Government, and his alleged association with the still-born Council of Action had brought upon him every epithet in the British Journalist's rich vocabulary of abuse. . . . MacDonald seemed doomed to be defeated, and he was. . . . Any one who opposes the war passions of a people must expect to be scourged by them. MacDonald had pleaded for a sober peace when they were drunk with war: and they revenged themselves upon him. The task of organising the patriotic indignation of the constituency was assumed by or entrusted to the late Mr. Horatio Bottomley, and thousands of the delicate-minded followers of that edifying patriot invaded the borough and conducted the kind of rough-house campaign which was appropriate to their character, and dear to the heart of their leader. The Tory candidate was a man exactly suited to the occasion. Captain Robert Gee, V.C., was a brave man and a fine soldier: but as a politician he was both inconsiderable and naive. An indifferent speaker, he was always ready to challenge any one who corrected or interruped him to come upon the platform to fight. The Tory Party in the borough were delighted, and the constituency went patriotically mad and dirty. Labour women were assaulted, MacDonald was stoned, execrated, and defeated: England's honour was saved—by Horatio Bottomley! . . .

When sense came, Snell was returned for Woolwich. He tells the story on pages 204-206:

When the general election came in 1922, the patriotic anger of the by-election had been superseded by a grim anxiety respecting unemployment. Woolwich, for a period, was one of the black spots of the land. . . . during the years of the war the Government had imported into the borough many thousands of men for the manufacture of armaments. When it no longer needed them it left them more or less a burden on the local rates. . . . The constituency returned to its old allegiance to the Labour Party, and elected me by a majority of nearly five thousand votes.

And then came the House of Lords. How Snell took his seat is recorded by him on page 250:—

Looking back upon what I suppose was the most striking episode of my life I can with complete sincerity affirm that the social distinction supposed to be associated with the peerage meant nothing at all to me, nor membership of the House of Lords modify, in the least degree, either my political outlook or my habit of life. It imposed upon me some disadvantages and financial sacrifices, and gave to me but few obvious compensations. . . .

It was perhaps the strong puritanical strain in my character which caused me to shrink from the ordeal of my introduction to the House of Lords, in full robes and cocked hat, more than from any other event in my life, and I endeavoured to keep as secret as possible the day and the hour when the ceremony would take place. Therefore, as the "Birmingham Post" remarked the following day: "There were not many eyes to watch the official entry of the new Labour baron into the ranks of the peerage. "My Lords" numbered a mere handful. A few comrades from the House of Commons looked in. . . . "Hansard" coldly will record that Lord Snell of Plumstead took his seat and subscribed to the oath of allegiance "in the usual manner," . . .

We do not understand why a Labourist, a Radical, and a Freethinker had to bow to this robing and ceremonial nonsense. Why could not Snell have made a stand instead of hiring a robe for five pounds for indulgence in all this mockery and masquerade? But if he had to have the robe, if he felt undressed without it, why did not he, a Freethinker, a disciple of Charles Bradlaugh, who had fought for affirmation, have the moral courage to insist on his right to affirm? Of what value his Freethought reputation if he bowed before orthodoxy and convention on every occasion. We consider Snell's oath-taking a disgraceful exhibition. We are surprised that the entire Freethought Movement conspired to make no comment upon it.

Contrast this conduct against the Duke of Bedford's calm and untrammelled insistence on the right to affirm when he took his seat in the House of Lords on Wednesday, December 3, 1941. Unquestionably, the Duke is the outstanding man of integrity in British politics to-day. How puny by comparison are these "Socialists" and "Freethinkers" who must swear, who must conform, and are totally devoid of the moral courage essential to uphold their principles. But if they cannot uphold their principles why are they in public life?

Lord Snell has been in the House of Lords, sitting on the Government Benches whilst Government spokesmen were denouncing the Duke of Bedford for his Pacifism and opposition to war. Did Snell believe that the patriots of 1939-44 were superior to the patriots of 1914-1918. He knew better: but he remained silent.

Lord Snell was not without thought nor ability. But he wrapped his mind in platitudes and ended his days in esteemed mediocrity. This is the paralysis that obstructs the progress of mankind and sacrifices civilisation to the conservation of slaughter. The pursuit of politics wasted Snell's power of heresy and declined his service to humanity.

A SPECIAL APPEAL.

Our new pamphlet, consisting of about 20 essays, published in various journals between 1907 and 1943, is in type and will be printed as soon as possible. It is entitled "A Call to Manhood." We shall price it as cheaply as possible. Meantime we appeal to every comrade who wishes to help this work to send a donation. Every comrade making a donation to this special effort will receive a free copy of the book as soon as it is issued. Mainly anti-war and anti-militarist, this work covers a wide range of social enquiry and discussion.

The loss on this journal is heavy. Some comrades suggest cutting down the size. Others suggest increasing the price. We could combine these suggestions. Actually, we wish to do neither, for we are at war with ignorance, and we cater for the poor, the very poor. Culture is without price, like wisdom, and should be spread widely. We ask "every reader"—and that "means you, comrade"—to make a special effort. If possible, as soon as you receive this paper, make your gift. A complete response would end the need to beg for "the duration," as the militarists say. Please respond.

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THE JEWS AND THE NAZIS

BY C. H. NORMAN

In the great controversy which has taken place in Europe in recent years founded on the anti-Semitic attitude of the Nazi Party towards the Jews in general, the commentators on this controversy have not much heeded the peculiar similarities existing between the Jewish attitude towards the non-Jewish peoples in the religious sense, and the attitude towards the Jews of the Nazis in both the religious and racial sense. The matter is of some importance as this racial and religious enmity between the Jews and other peoples is a fact of European history: it is not a cruel innovation of the Nazis. The argument presented against the Jews by the Nazis can be summarised thus. The Jews are alleged to have views and ideas and ideals which isolate them from the general body of the community; those ideals and views taking the form that they are the people chosen by the Almighty as His selected race. One recalls the lines which were current some years ago in London intellectual circles on that topic, which perhaps express a wide opinion on that remarkable claim of the Jews:

"How odd
Of God
To choose
The Jews."

The Nazis also assert that the Jews have peculiar views on the subject of finance, which enable them to secure an advantageous position in society at times when national affairs are passing through periods of stress. The great enrichment of the Jews in Germany during the period of inflation is pointed to in support of that criticism of the Jews. It is to be noted that "The Times," in its articles on the economic position in Germany in 1938, after the confiscations of Jewish property which had been directed under the Hitler regime, stated that the Jewish population of Germany still owned "half the land and capital of the former Reich," a truly astonishing state of things, when one recalls how small the Jewish population is in Germany relatively to the non-Jewish, though no exact figures have been obtainable in recent times. One cannot help observing, too, that Jewish names figure largely in the "black market" and other prosecutions which have taken place in England under the special war legislation controlling food and other commodities. The quick business instinct of the Jews is not always used to promote the best interests of the community among which they live in times of stress.

The Nazis are criticised for adopting certain racial theories about the "purity" of the "Aryan" race which are generally regarded by impartial scholars as quite unsound. Much has been made of the fact that intermarriage between Jews and Germans is forbidden under heavy penalties. But what is not seen is that this attitude is only an extension of the Jews' own religious attitude in marriage questions towards non-Jews. The daughter of the Rothschilds who married Lord Rosebery was very much criticised at the time by the strict religious English Jews. The religious Jew has always frowned upon marriage between Jews and those of the non-Jewish persuasion. Indeed, Christian women who married strictly religious Jews were expected, certainly till recent years, to undergo a period of preparation under the tuition of the rabbi before the marriage was recognised as proper by the Jewish community. The peculiar powers exercised in England by the Beth Din, by the Jewish Board of Guardians, and by the rabbis in the matter of divorce are only examples of the specialised attitude which has secured a certain legal recognition in England, adopted by the Jews when living in a Christian or non-Jewish community.

The religious Jews put forward the early books of the Old Testament still as direct instructions from Almighty God to the Jewish people. Some may think that the Nazis are not entirely unreasonable in challenging that claim. The early books of the Old Testament, to some minds, may have coloured the human mind unduly in their great circulation, contributing much to that savagery which, is so widely prevalent in the world, which the Nazis are specially accused of themselves propagating. The doctrines of the Old Testament are the doctrines of vengeance, hatred and malice, which, being attributed to the Almighty Mind, can have had nothing but ill effects on the moral progress of the human race.

The habits of the religious Jews in their special feeding practices are again an assertion of their own superiority over the ordinary community, whose feeding habits are regarded by the religious Jews as unclean and contrary to the laws of health as given to Moses and Aaron. The Jews are quite entitled to hold these beliefs, but there can be no doubt about their provocative character when maintained and practised in non-Jewish communities. Indeed, the curious paradox of anti-Semitism, as preached by the Nazis, is its close relationship to the ideas and practices of the Jews themselves. In secluding the Jews from the national communal life, the Nazis have simply followed out the attitude of the strict Jews themselves on many vital matters towards the non-Jewish communities among whom they live.

At one time the Jews, being under heavy political disabilities in England, were much influenced by the doctrines of Liberalism, but the removal of political and social barriers in the last fifty years has led to the transfer of the Jewish influence largely to the Conservative Party. But the writer was certainly surprised to find that the Jewish Press had so far departed from any belief in the tolerance from which the Jews have benefited much in the past, that it was supporting the internment of people without trial or charge for an indefinite period under the war regulations, and indeed complaining that this monstrous theory of indefinite detention of untried persons (remembering that the Government has no difficulty about trying spies and other war felons by the ordinary machinery of justice), had not been carried far enough. It is perfectly true that the Jews are not singular in this conduct, but that does not relieve them from the criticism which it is bound to call forth from those who know that none have suffered more than the Jews from the exercise of such arbitrary powers of detention and deportation.

The Jews are also very provocative (here again the Nazis have imitated them in their anti-Semitic propaganda), in their assertion of the high mental qualifications of the Jews compared with other races or communities. The Jews generally only claim they are the chosen race in the religious sense, even though some pro-Semites press the contention into the realm of pure race, asserting that the Jews, racially and religiously, are the "chosen of the Lord."

In many respects, the Jews have contributed a good deal to progress in various aspects of human activity; but it is worth remembering that the leaders of literature are not recruited from the Jewish race: Dante, Shakespeare, Euripides, Cervantes, Goethe, Moliere, Tolstoy and Omar, were not Jews, though Lessing can be fairly placed at the head of the second rank of literary genius. The Jews stand high in the musical art, but very few great inventions can be attributed to them from what is known in historical times. The claim of the Jewish race to special recognition on the ground of extraordinary mental attributes compared with other races is provocative, interesting, but unsound.

There can be no question that anti-Semitism is a pernicious doctrine which represents almost the highest point (except the belief in witches and witchcraft) which human unreason has reached, apart from the belief that war has ever done anything but debase every government and every person who has engaged in it. On the other hand, a detestation of anti-Semitism should not take one to the other extreme of regarding the Jews as other than they are, a race with certain anti-social characteristics, whose qualities do not outweigh their defects. In that, they are no different from many other races existing and passed away. But, as one should treat anti-Semitism as a poisonous attitude of mind, so one should also be wary of the pro-Semitism so harmfully rife in many places to-day under the guise of anti-Nazism.

There is the further fact to remember that the state of terrorism so widely prevalent in Europe to-day is traceable to the Russian Jewish revolutionary statesman and writer, Leon Trotsky. The Russian revolution produced two notable contributions to modern political thought. The first was "The State and Revolution," by Lenin, the principles and teaching of which have been completely abandoned by Mr. Stalin in recent years. The second was "The Defence of Terrorism," the most poisonous political book written for centuries, the author being Leon Trotsky, and the followers of its teaching being the repressive governments of Europe wherever they may be situate—in exile or at home. It is ironical that the Jew, Leon Trotsky, should have propounded a doctrine of repression and suppression which is being actively practised throughout Europe and in many other parts of the world. All the terroristic activities of the time, whether in Russia, Germany, Poland, France, Britain or elsewhere can be traced to the doctrines enunciated in this book, which are exactly contrary to the works of the Jewish writers known to English people as the New Testament.

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Onward, Christian soldiers—
Go and fight our war!
Bomb and burn and slaughter;
That's what you are for.
And if you're blown to atoms
We'll find plenty more!

Everyone conscripted,
Doing what they're told,
Taxed to suffocation,
Bringing us the gold
So that we can keep things
Going as of old.

Laws, in tens of thousands
They are made to keep—
Every movement governed,
Even when to sleep.
Praise the Lord for making
Humans so like sheep!

Unthinkingly obedient
To the song we sing—
We know how to stir 'em!
What a lucky thing
They respond to phrases
As "For God and King."

While the war still rages
Post-war plans we thunder,
We must work like mad
To keep the people under,
And to deal with those
Who dare to doubt or wonder.

Finance, State and Army—
Lo, the mighty Three!
To our fearsome edicts
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O Land of Dope and Story,
Smother of the Free!

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"If we do the works, we shall know the doctrine."
—JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY.

We believe the above words to be profoundly true. Conversely we believe that if we do not know the doctrine, if there is doubt and perplexity about it among our brother pacifists, then it follows that we are not "doing the works."

That there is doubt and perplexity among us, cannot be denied. The recent Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union was notable for its impression of a people seeking after a sign and for their obvious uncertainty of "the way." We believe that this attitude of doubt is tinged with hope. Had its opposite, a rigid adherence to a cut-and-dried party line, been the keynote, we should have despaired. At the same time, we feel that too often was there a tendency for honest doubt to be led all too easily to a more comfortable seat on the Laodecian fence and that there was an inclination to intellectualise ourselves out of the first basic resistance to war implicit in the pledge.

Renunciation has been the first step preceding the positive work of any worth-while faith; our renunciation says succinctly:

"I Renounce War, and will never Support or Sanction Another."

Before any more complex level of pacifism is reached, we insist that this pledge calls upon us to refuse completely to assist the war in any and every way humanly possible. If, at any time, it happens that we lack the courage to carry out this refusal in any particular, then let us, in the name of honesty, know it as "a compromise" and not by some intellectual euphemism which blinds us to reality.

We believe that wars will cease when men refuse to fight. Even if this has the obviousness of a first proposition, it should be stated, nevertheless. (Too often do pacifists tend to neglect the obvious truth for obscurantist complexity.) To this end, we believe that one of the duties of pacifists is to attempt, by word and deed, to dissuade men from fighting; to allay, with all the persuasion we can muster, the war-mindedness of our individual acquaintances, and to co-operate in any corporate effort of pacifism to stop this war.

"We are at the faint and tender beginnings of a new movement—a new political and religious movement which contains in itself the germs of a new society."
—John Middleton Murry.

At this stage we approach another level of pacifism. The causes of war are complex, but we will tabulate them under two broad headings:

(1) The folly of man, by which we mean his admixture of unintelligent valour, sheep-like docility and ignorant fear which make him a suitable pawn for war-making.

(2) The capitalist system, which sooner or later results in a clash between rival economic blocs each or all trying to extend their spheres of influence to gain markets.

We believe, therefore, that pacifists must make a two-pronged attack. We believe that this folly of man has to be corrected, and we ask for the co-operation of all our fellow-pacifists in this task even where this process is known as "re-integration." Yet we know that this is not all of the task. We believe that the "structure" of society must be changed also; that these two great tasks should be synchronised: that pacifists should not only be people reintegrated and reintegrators, but should be politically minded and demanding the ending of a system which makes for war. We believe that there should be no exclusive "plugging" of either one of these tasks, and that we should shun the twin devils of wooliness on the one hand and partisanship on the other. "We are," as the sapient words which head this passage say, "a new political and religious movement." Or as others would put it:

"We are a political movement with a soul: a religious movement with an intellect."

We now ask that a more definite plan of action be formulated, and to that end we make the following proposals:—

1. The integration within the Peace Pledge Union of this "political party with a soul" with these reservations:
   (a) No paid officials.
   (b) Paid assistants to have no power to make decisions affecting policy.
   (c) No adulation of personalities, and to this end a constant watch upon the tendencies to hero-worship.
2. The declaration by the Union of a policy demanding "Armistice Now" and pressing our Government to declare publicly the terms upon which it would agree to a cessation of hostilities.
3. A declaration that we stand unequivocally for universal disarmament.
4. A declaration that as an essential step for such universal disarmament, we demand that the Government renounce all claims to imperial possessions and allow full self-government to all peoples within the British Commonwealth and Empire.
5. That the Union states its absolute opposition to conscription for war and industrial purposes, and refuses to operate or assist either forms.
6. A declaration that we are opposed to capitalist economy because it is the chief cause of modern wars, and that we pledge ourselves to work for its overthrow and the substitution of a system of socialism based on liberty, equality, and fraternity, as well as economic security.
7. That we establish a fund to aid dependants of war resisters throughout the world.
8. That we have close co-operation with international socialists.
9. That we have full co-operation with international war resisters.

The ways and means of our policy are essentially pacifist and non-violent, virile and realistic, and we call upon all friends for support and suggestions.

All comrades who approve of this programme should write to the Hon. Secy., Newcastle War Resisters, Frank Gillender, 5 Hood Street, Swalwell on Tyne, Co. Durham.

NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN

Henry Hilditch, National Organiser of the Negotiated Peace Campaign, visited Manchester on May 9 and addressed a meeting of pacifists. He suggested the possibility of a National "Negotiated Peace" Week on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of war (September 3rd).

On May 10 a large crowd listened attentively for two hours when Comrade Hilditch spoke and answered questions on "Peace by Negotiation" at Platt Fields Park. **Although this was the first open-air meeting to be held on the subject in Manchester, the turn-up exceeded all expectations, and it was obvious that many of those present were in substantial agreement with the views put forward.** Alderman Titt, a former Lord Mayor of Manchester, and seveal British and American soldiers were among those who attended the meeting.

Comrade Hilditch said that in 1917 every member of the War Cabinet—with the exception of Lord Curzon—was in favour of a negotiated settlement, and had there been a body of informed opinion in the country at that time we might have had such a peace. Unfortunately, as Lord Buckmaster points out in his Memoirs, the Government of the day was unable to control the war feeling which it had itself helped to incite earlier in the conflict, and there was no strong opinion in the country to support the starting of negotiations. In the present war it was the job of the pacifist movement to form an opinion favourable to negotiation.

If the mistake of 1917 were repeated we might discover in ten years' time—and many would regret their inactivity then—that a negotiated settlement could have been concluded in 1944 if there had been support in the country for such a move. Lord Grey expressed regret in 1925, for example, that he had not heeded the mediation proposals of the American President, and said the prospects for the future would have been much fairer if peace had been possible in 1916, as "two years of war, in which expenditure of life and national treasure were at their maximum, would have been avoided." A rigid adherence to-day to "Unconditional Surrender" would simply mean a repetition of the tragic error of the "Knock-out Blow," as Capt. Liddell Hart has shown in his recent book: "Why Don't We Learn from History?" Negotiation was not a case of "Trusting Hitler." "Whether or not a treaty is kept," said Mr. Hilditch, "does not depend upon the names at the foot of it, nor yet upon the trustworthiness of statesmen, but upon the terms that are in it."

To show the absurdity of the belief that "the Germans are different," he quoted the great historian of the Napoleonic period—Stubbs—as describing Britain and Germany to be the two great peace-loving nations of Europe. "One has only to substitute Germany for France in the propaganda of that time and it might have been written to-day."

Speaking on the very night of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Mr. E. D. Morel had said:

"If this treaty is not altered drastically—those of you who have little children can go and kiss them good-bye."

This prophecy has been fulfilled in the present war. The alternative to a repetition was negotiation.

In 1917 Germany—then at the height of her military power—had been willing to negotiate. How much more likely was it that she would be to-day, when her strength was waning?

As a Socialist he did not believe a negotiated settlement would be wholly satisfactory, but it was the first step and would be infinitely better than going on to repeat all the old mistakes—for that was what Churchill's policy meant. We could not even begin to eliminate the evils of the capitalist system until peace had been restored. If E. D. Morel's words were not to come true a second time—and the lives of their children were to be saved—then this war MUST be ended by means of negotiation.

The warmongering of this hour, which takes the particularly obnoxious form of discouraging all peace talk, or rumours of peace, or even work for peace, is a thing to prompt despair. Is war so desirable that we would delay its ending, or peace so undesirable that we would delay its coming, by so much as a split second of time?
—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

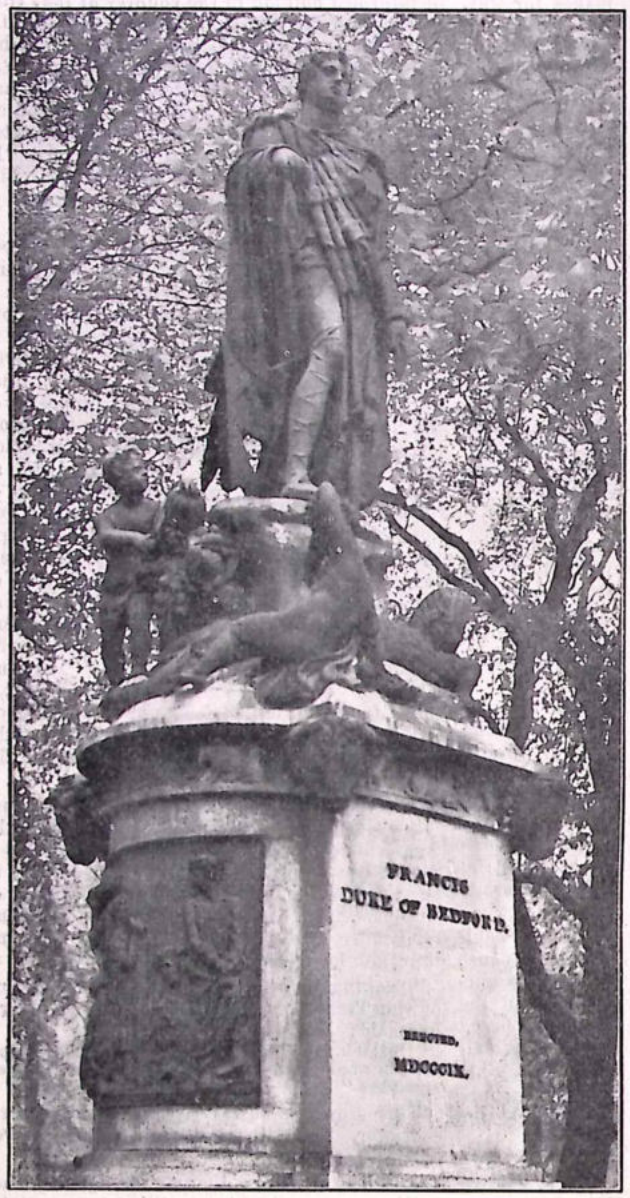
GLASGOW UNITED PEACE CAMPAIGN.

PEACE CORNER MEETINGS

ROSE STREET (off Sauchiehall St.) **Every Saturday**
BRUNSWICK STREET, every Sunday.

Speakers:
Rev. THOMAS PICKERING, WILLIAM HALDANE, WILLIAM DICK and others.

Meetings start at 7.15 p.m.
Questions. Discussion. Rally.



The statue of the fifth Duke of Bedford which stood behind iron railings in Russell Square, was disfigured on October 26, 1941, as a protest against the war views of the present Duke of Bedford. Strange to relate, the fifth Duke was opposed to war, and defended a negotiated peace with Revolutionary France, in a famous speech in the House of Lords. The statue was sculptured by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A., and is considerably more than life size.

The fifth Duke's Anti-War Speech is reproduced on page 139.

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THE MARK OF VANDALISM

Patriotism is deemed a virtue. Yet it is never identified with the idea of life. Always we think of death—death to the species, the outrage and slaughter of humanity. Militarism has captured the slogan "patriotism" so absolutely that we think of a patriot always as a destroyer. His symbol is always a weapon; his attitude, one of menace. "Salute the Soldier" is patriotism. "Salute the Physician" makes no conventional appeal.

Patriotism is never international. Always it strides across frontiers to ravage and to conquer. How strange that such a concept of provincial braggadocio should prevail in the twentieth century of the Christian era!

Whoso will not participate in the fools' parade of death and criminal glory, will not join in the march of homicide, is an anti-patriot. Whatever relates to him becomes an object of vandalism.

We attach no importance to vandalism in a world where human beings are destroyed by the thousand without regard to age or sex. The destruction of a monument, or the stupid disfiguration of a statue, is a minor offence compared with the murder of a human being. Vandalism is an evidence of bad taste and irresponsible temper. Only as an evidence of the sorry outlook of patriotism do we treat of its stupid error.

Vandals are puerile exhibitionists, vulgarians who prosper in war-time and in periods of crisis. Nazism is an expression of vandalism. Vandalism is the creed and conduct of people who are prepared to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children and the sins of the children upon the memory of the fathers. Either way, torture the living, defame the dead, and let ignorance enjoy its masquerade of pomp and ceremony to the chant of devastation.

The story of the Bedford Estate railings in London broke in the British press on October 24, 1941. The best summary of it overseas appeared in the *Melbourne Argus*," Australia, the following day. This gave big headlines to a despatch from its London correspondent—

DUKE WON'T GIVE IRON RAILINGS

The letter-press stated, in part:—

The Duke of Bedford, whose notoriety has increased since it was revealed in the House of Commons on Tuesday that Mr. Morrison, Home Secretary, had refused him permission to visit Ireland, has now declared that he will not take down the iron railings around his Russell Square, Bedford Square, and other Bloomsbury properties . . . and make them available for use in the making of munitions. The King was the first to contribute the famous iron railings which surround Buckingham Palace.

"I am not willing to take my railings down to help the war effort," the Duke of Bedford declared . . .

It is estimated that there are enough railings in one square mile of the Duke's Bloomsbury property to make 10 medium tanks.

What other attitude did the militarist press expect a pacifist to adopt? We can conceive of many better uses for railings than conversion into tanks. It is strange that railings should become objectionable only in war-time and only because they are not turned into instruments of death.

Note the picture! The untrue implication that the Duke had sought to go to Dublin—to see the Nazis! The sacrifices of the loyal King. The disloyal Duke and his wicked railings. The ten tanks per square mile **not supplied!**

And then the correspondent added this note at the foot of his despatch:—

On Wednesday the Duke showed a reporter a copy of his latest pamphlet entitled "What a Game!" He admitted that there was a risk in publishing such books.

Risky literature publication! What a study in sinister conduct! What a story to rouse vulgar hatred! This story girdled the English-speaking world. As did its sequel.

During the night of October 26, 1941, the statue of Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, in Russell Square, London, was splashed on the face and breast with yellow paint.

"V" signs in paint and chalk had been printed all over it. Immediately under the figure of the Duke were inscriptions in yellow paint. On the bronze figures on one of the side panels was chalked "Melt me."

Those who passed the statue the next day found that the fifth Duke bore a paint-pot on his head. A red, white, and blue scarf was draped round his neck, and a bottle, with a paint-brush, dangled from his wrist. The base of the statue was inscribed:—

GRANDFATHER OF A QUISLING—DOWN WITH TRAITOR, 1941, AND HIS RAILINGS—DOWN WITH DUKE

The statue is considerably more than life-size. It is of bronze and, as the militarist press next day carefully stated, contains a large proportion of war-valuable copper.

Big approving headlines were given to this act of stupid and feeble vandalism.

And then came the unaccepted truth about the railings.

The *Daily Express* published this paragraph in its issue for October 28, 1941:—

STATE CAN TAKE MY RAILINGS, SAYS DUKE

The Duke of Bedford writes to the Editor of the "Daily Express" concerning his railings round Bloomsbury Sq., Russell Sq. and Bedford Sq.:

"As I am a pacifist, I naturally would not take the initiative in presenting the railings to the Government.

"Naturally, if the Government wish they will take my railings. It would be useless for me to attempt to oppose them, as in this democratic country the State possesses the power to take anything it chooses from anybody."

Time and Tide, London, in its issue for November 1, 1941, pretended that the conscription of British railings made an end of a lot of ugly and pretentious ironmongery all over the country, and would give the meek access to a few quiet and shady places. It is inconceivable, in view of the vandalism that has developed during the war, and the property interests that the war has not destroyed, that such measures of unrestricted access to what are still private squares will survive the war. Hence this comment was merely so much war-time hypocrisy. It served as an introduction to an attack on the Duke of Bedford for his pacifism:—

The Duke of Bedford has let down Bloomsbury badly and while it may seem hard that the sins of the children should be visited—in yellow paint—upon the fathers or grandfathers, there was certainly provocation for the act of vandalism that took place in Russell Square on Monday night.

The *Daily Sketch*, London, for November 6, 1941, published an editorial stating:—

THIS MUST STOP

The case of the Duke of Bedford grows more serious. . . .

The Duke of Bedford is attracting very much more attention by his eccentricities than he has ever done by any service to his country.

And it should be put out of his power to circulate his defeatist and seditious opinions.

Under the somewhat abusive and most irrelevant heading, "Jerry and the Duke," the *Eastern Daily Press*, Norwich, next day published the Duke's correction of some of the press references to the railings. The Duke explained:—

I had never heard anything about the requisitioning of these railings until the Press started asking question about them, when I replied that, as a Christian pacifist, I naturally should not offer the railings to the Government for the making of armaments, but that if the Government requisitioned them I had neither the power nor the intention to offer any opposition.

My agent decided, with my approval, to schedule the railings round the Gower-st. Garden as being of special historic or artistic value. The others surrounding the only two squares over which the estate has control are doubtless being requisitioned.

The Duke wrote to the same effect in the *Liverpool Echo* the following day. His letter was headed by our contemporary: "A Duke's Railings."

Whilst the Duke was making these corrections of the railings story, "Idler," a staff writer in the *Torbay Herald and Express,* was publishing notes in that journal, stating that the Duke was in Northern Ireland waiting on a visit from John M'Govern, M.P.! That story was not corrected until twelve days later. Published November 8! Corrected November 20. A lie with twelve days start!

Evening Standard for November 10, 1941, stated:—

The valuable 5ft. high railings in Russell Square, owned by the Duke of Bedford, were to-day being removed by men from the Ministry of Works and Buildings. . .

The railings round Russell Square and Bloomsbury Square are to come down. Those at Bedford Square will stay because of their historic value.

That day the *Yorkshire Observer* published a story which queried the integrity of the compact patriotic majority slanderers. The staff-writer courageously wrote:—

The Duke of Bedford is more than a headline to me—he is a vivid, personal experience.

It was about a year ago, after he had returned from Dublin with certain peace proposals.

He was saying something about these proposals to an audience which included a number of half-tipsy Irish labourers, earning £10 a week on war work. They did not like the proposals, nor did they like the Duke of Peace. They became angry and threatening.

The Duke was deploring the loss of British, Norwegian and German lives, and someone shouted "Why not put the Germans first?" When the Duke retorted, "As a believer that all men are equal in the sight of God, I'm prepared to do that," I looked round for the nearest exit.

I left the meeting convinced of the courage and sincerity of the Duke. Now he is defying Mr Morrison, who is earning a reputation for shutting up people and closing down papers.

To upset the *Observer's* slight suggestion of justice, the *Manchester Guardian,* in its miscellany three days later, made an extraordinary comment beneath the subheading: "More Work for the Police":—

That statues in public places should not be daubed with paint or otherwise disfigured is a proposition that no normal person would challenge. At the same time it seems slightly horrifying to read that "a day-and-night police watch" is being kept over the statue of the fifth Duke of Bedford in Russell Square in order to prevent further attacks on that memorial . . . the ancestral effigy of an increasingly wayward and self-satisfied peer who has managed to make himself thoroughly unpopular with the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen. It is a nuisance that there should be silly people who try to daub statues. It is an even bigger nuisance that they should have been given any excuse for their mistaken activities.

Was a more ridiculous comment on public vandalism ever published by a responsible paper?

The *Torbay Herald,* Torquay, for November 20, 1941, published the Duke's letter, beginning:—

Sir,—May I be allowed to point out that Mr. McGovern did not ask the Home Secretary for permission to go to Northern Ireland in order to see me? Mr. McGovern desired to go to Northern Ireland to make some inquiries with regard to the detention of Mr. Cahir Healy under Regulation 18B.

The "Western Independent," Plymouth, for November 23, published an article on "the great house of Russell," mentioning that the Duke of Bedford was its head. The study concluded by a reference to the first Duke, who entered politics as M.P. for Tavistock, in the Long Parliament: and to his martyred son, Lord William Russell, who also sat for Tavistock. The writer concluded:—

So did the sixth Duke, who became a member of the Society of "The Friends of the People." So did the Duke's third son, the famous nineteenth century reformer, Lord John Russell.

Two years and one month later, another Plymouth paper, the *Western Morning News,* published a picture of a wreath being placed to the memory of Pym on the memorial of the seventh Duke of Bedford at Tavistock. A correspondent recalled (December 11) memories of Pym and his close connection with the Duke of Bedford:—

It was the Duke's ancestor, the fourth Lord Bedford, as the historian Froude records, who gave Pym his seat in Parliament; and the eldest son of that ancestor, William Russell, the future first Duke of Bedford, was Pym's fellow-Member in the representation of Tavistock; and it was, in turn, his eldest son who died on the scaffold, under Charles II, in the same cause of Constitutional liberty for which Pym had lived and worked.

It is of interest, too, to recall that Clarendon, in his history of the Rebellion, records that in 1641 King Charles I, anxious to conciliate the Commons, had the intention to appoint the fourth Earl of Bedford Lord High Treasurer, or, as we should say, Prime Minister, with Pym as his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But before the King had carried out his purpose, Bedford caught the smallpox and died. With him, too, died the wise project of the King. . . .

Never, perhaps, in the history of our country has so much hung on the life or death of one man.

Photographs could be taken of all existing monuments and the monuments demolished. Most of them are blots on the landscape. Let the removals be done decently and usefully, for the well-being of humanity, and not in a spirit of vandalism.

Among the patriotic fanatics—actually warmongering hate-mongering anti-patriots—who applauded the Russell Square vandalism were religious fanatics and even irreligious fanatics. We heard atheist-patriots, to their shame, applaud the yellow-paint daubing, etc., of the statue of the Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford. What thoughtless fools! These persons despise the Bedford monument but would approve a monument to Ingersoll. Let them beware. Ignorance has a case of hatred against Robert Green Ingersoll just as ignorance has a case against the present Duke of Bedford.

(To be concluded.)

THE FEAR OF PEACE.

To hear some people talk you would think Sherman had said "Peace is hell!"

The thought of going back to a quiet, orderly world of brotherly love throws them into depths of pessimism. Of course, the men and women who are doing the fighting don't feel that way; it's the folks far behind the lines with none of their loved ones at the front.

The less danger they're in the more they're nervous about waking up some morning and finding peace staring them in the face. . .

It's just too bad. Maybe Washington should begin now to do something to build up peace morale; to condition people for struggling on through peacetimes. Maybe there should be an office of OPI (Office of Peace Information) created immediately to keep the fidgety folks fully informed of the dangers ahead.

The Government could even create some medals for Distinguished Conduct in the Face of Peace.

With special ribbons for the fellow with nerve enough to hear a peace rumor and say, "Fine. It can't come too soon to suit me. I'll take it over war any old time."

—H. I. PHILLIPS, in the "New York Sun."

PORTSMOUTH UNITARIAN (HIGH STREET) CHAPEL,
62 KINGSTON CRESCENT, NORTH END.

Service at 6.30 p.m.
Minister: REV. CHARLES H. COLE.

SUBJECTS FOR JULY, 1944.

July 2nd. "A Free Faith for a Free World."
,, 9th. "What DO Unitarians Believe?"
,, 16th. "Unity—The Note of the Age."
,, 23rd. "Where shall we seek for Truth?"
,, 30th. "The Fate and Future of the Church."

YOU are cordially invited to come and see whether, in a **Church not Bound by Creed,** you can find a Faith and a Fellowship that would be acceptable and helpful!

PERMANENT PEACE—HOW?

Speech delivered in the House of Lords, January 27, 1795, by Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford, respecting Peace with France.

[. . . The following report of the speech made in the House of Lords by Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, makes excellent reading at the present time. The fifth Duke succeeded to the title when he was six years of age and was twenty-nine when he defended revolutionary France in the House of Lords. The arguments he advanced against the policy of permanent peace through unconditional surrender apply with the same force to-day as in 1795, notwithstanding the lapse of time, and the contrast between France and Germany. Like the 12th Duke, he spoke to a hostile house. It is an event of interest that, as pointed out in another column, his statue should be defaced because his descendant, the present Duke, dares to stand out against war also. This gives point to what the fifth Duke said in 1795 and invites consideration to his great and wise speech.]

Reproduced from the Official Report.

The Duke of Bedford called their lordships' attention to the motion upon which they had been summoned. If their lordships should think fit to negative it, they would render the prospect of peace more desperate than even the proceedings of ministers, or more particularly their language and the language of their friends. Their lordships had often heard it asserted that this was a war *usque ad internecionem*—a sentiment so fraught with cruelty and so dangerous to the principles of all good government, that to call upon their lordships to contradict it was to call upon their policy as well as their justice. Whenever a proposition for peace had been brought forward, it had been contended that to do so would tie up the hands of ministers, and oblige them to accept of whatever terms the enemy thought fit to grant. His motion had no such tendency. All he asked their lordships to declare was that they were ready to accede to peace as soon as it could be obtained with safety and with honour.

His motion would bind their lordships to no particular time, but leave both time and terms to the discretion of ministers who were responsible for their exercise of that discretion. The common arguments against every proposition were, that no peace concluded with the present government of France could be permanent; that to sue for peace would be as injurious to our interest as inconsistent with our honour. Now, no man who recommended removing the obstacles to peace had ever proposed suing for it. Next was alleged the danger to this country from the introduction of French principles; our Allies, it was said, were preparing to make greater exertions; and the desperate situation of the French finances rendered it impossible for them to continue the war on the same extended scale of operations that had hitherto baffled our efforts. Then, feeling the insufficiency of their own arguments, ministers attacked the passions of their lordships, and told them that the war was the cause of humanity, of religion, and of God.

To negotiate, ministers said, would be dishonourable. How, they asked, could we make the first overtures for peace, when it was notorious that the French had been the aggressors? The question of aggression was by no means so clear as they chose to represent it; but, admitting it to be so, let their lordships consider what endless scenes of blood Europe must have exhibited, had it been the predominant principle of courts that no states could, without dishonour, manifest a disposition to peace, unless it had been the aggressor in the commencement of war. We had often offered to treat when our arms were successful, although we had not been the aggressors; and in the American war, which was unsuccessful, we had even suspended offensive operations as a preliminary to negotiation.

To prove that the French had been the aggressors, the decree of November 19, 1792,

had been much insisted upon: and the argument came with greater weight from being urged soon after their lordships, in a dutiful address, had expressed their approbation of a speech from the throne in which his majesty told them that he had carefully abstained from all interference in the affairs of France, and that in all the disputes between the continental powers he had observed a strict neutrality. He was ready to admit that we had a right to interfere in the internal government of France, if the French declared an intention of interfering in ours. But let their lordships call to mind how anxious the French had been to retract this declaration. Their minister for foreign affairs offered any explanation that might be required. The same inclination was shown by speeches in the Convention.

After a speech by Danton, setting forth that although friends to the liberty of all mankind, they ought to correct the errors of momentary enthusiasm, a decree was passed declaring that the French would not interfere with government of other countries; and in their new Constitution an article was inserted, that they would not interfere in the government of any other people, nor suffer any other people to interfere in theirs. They had therefore renounced this offensive principle, and we ought to do so too.

In answer to the assertion that no permanent peace could be made with the present French Government, he would ask what was a permanent peace? Where, in the history of Europe, was a permanent peace to be found in the absolute sense of the word? A permanent peace, in any rational and practical acceptation of the term, was a peace on such condition as each of the contracting parties had a right to expect. An equitable peace was the only one likely to be permanent; for a nation, compelled to accept of any other, smarting under a sense of injury, would observe it no longer than weakness and necessity compelled.

Were he to argue on relative permanency, he should think that peace with a republic must be more lasting than with a monarchy, either absolute or limited. In a republic the question of peace or war must be debated and canvassed by numerous bodies of men; whereas in a monarchy, a single individual might decide; and while human judgment was liable to mistake, the decision of one person must be less to be relied upon than that of several.

Their lordships were exhorted to persevere in the war, because of the danger to be apprehended from the introduction of French principles. Were Englishmen, then, so disaffected to the Constitution; were they so partial to the institutions of other countries, in preference to those of their own, as to be ready to abandon them on the first suggestion? French Jacobins, it was said, would come into this country. Who were these Jacobins? Were they the members of the Jacobin Club?; or was it meant to brand the whole people of France with the name of Jacobin?

But, in what situation would the French Jacobin come here? Was there anything so peculiarly captivating in his language or address as to make him formidable? He must tell the people of this country, "Do as we have done in France; destroy your monarchy; abolish the House of Lords; dismiss the House of Commons; sweep away all your ancient institutions, and establish liberty and equality." The Englishman would hardly be so dull as not to ask, "What have you established in the room of all you have abolished; and how do you know that what you promise would be better than what I possess?" he would ask, "How came you to forsake all the blessings of your own liberty to come here, where you say there is none?" If the Jacobin should reply that his universal philanthropy had induced him to become a voluntary exile, to relinquish the blessings of liberty at home in order to preach liberty to strangers, the Englishman would probably ask, "What have you gained by your liberty, and what have you suffered? Is not your agriculture impaired, your manufactures and commerce ruined, poverty and want brought upon your citizens who have survived the prisons, or escaped the executions and the slaughter to which you have been led without distinction?"

The next argument for persisting in the war was drawn from the increased exertions to be made by our allies, and the desperate state of the French finances. But could their lordships hope for greater exertions on the part of these allies? Even if they were willing, they were not able. With respect to the finances of France, his general conclusion was that they were by no means so exhausted as ministers wished us to believe. But supposing them to be exhausted, could we ruin the country? Certainly not. While there was prosperity in the country the Government would find means to get it for the purpose of maintaining their armies; while the people were convinced that the war was a war of extermination or submission to the will of a foreign enemy they would sacrifice their property. If we could not ruin them in finance, could we hope to outnumber them? Their population was 1/7 of all Europe, and add to this the extensive acquisition of all Holland, where they had not entered as an enemy, but had been received as an ally. He had heard their lordships' feelings played upon by being told that they were embarked on the cause of humanity and of God. Was the death of 50,000 British subjects who had fallen in the war, and of hundreds of thousands of innocent soldiers on all sides a circumstance favourable to the cause of humanity?

It was agreed on all hands that the present state of France was preferable to that in which it had been very lately. Surely this was a circumstance for humanity to rejoice in. But what was the language of our humanity? We saw a nation emerging from guilt and blood, its rulers in some instances punishing, and in many endeavouring to repair the mischief they had done. Should we not hail this as a favourable omen? "No," said ministers, "you shall not restore order and justice, but by our means; nothing shall satisfy us but carrying war to your frontiers, and famine in the interior."

By this course we should never conquer the armies or the opinions of France; but we might perhaps regenerate the system of violence and blood. Were we to assume to ourselves the task of punishing the French nation on the pretext of their impiety? If the principles in which his youth had been instructed were true, it was not for feeble and erring man to assume the office of dispensing the vengeance of God, and wrest the thunderbolt of justice from the arm of omnipotence. It could not be denied that the war was less popular in this country than it had been; and in proportion as it became unpopular must our exertions be enfeebled. If their lordships were to declare that they supported the war, not for the purpose of dictating a form of government for France, but to obtain equitable terms of peace, and the French people, or their rulers, obstinately persisted in continuing the war, what feeling would actuate every Englishman but that we were engaged in a war of necessity; that we were fighting for our liberty, for our existence, and that every sacrifice and every exertion must be made?

The noble duke concluded with moving:—

"That any particular form of government which may prevail in France should not preclude negotiation or prevent peace consistent with the interest, the honour, and the security of this country."

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THE ONLY CARROT

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

I am glad I am not a soldier; not merely because I feel war to be wrong and because a soldier's life these days is apt to resemble that of Man in his Natural State, described by Hobbs as "nasty, brutish and short"; but because it has become so glaringly and increasingly obvious that the Serviceman has nothing worth-while to look forward to as a reward for his sacrifice, if he should achieve the only war aim—victory—which has not been thrown overboard.

It was different in 1914-18. Then some really juicy-looking carrots were dangled before the soldier's hopeful nose—"War to end war"; "War for Freedom and Democracy"; and best of all, "A land fit for heroes to live in!" But this time . . .

"Owlglass," in one of his witty articles in "Peace News," reminded his readers how E. A. Hulton of "Picture Post," urging the need to "combat the state of mind which cannot visualise the possibility of another war," writes, "Vast Russia has forged a wonderful fighting machine which her generals may feel disinclined to disband. . . . Britain must keep her wits about her to preserve that equality, which is the surest guarantee of peace"; and he goes on to say that we must "make up for our numerical inferiority by devoting a greater portion of our production to armaments, than the Russians."

"Owlglass" further calls attention to the fact that the B.B.C., summarising a recent Debate on post-war housing, announced that: "In years to come vulnerability to bombing will affect house planning."

In the same number of "Peace News" the opinions of a Mr. Stuart Gelder are quoted from a May issue of the "News Chronicle." Mr. Gelder, it seems, has a low opinion of the present Chung-king Government and says that—

> If the present Anti-Liberal trend in Chungking continues, the final result of the defeat of Japan in China might well be the emergence of something very like a Fascist dictatorship which would use Lend-Lease weapons to suppress any popular attempt to overthrow it . . . A Fascist China might in time be as dangerous as an Imperial Japan

Now the degree of interest to be attached to these Press and B.B.C. statements does not depend entirely on the good or bad judgment of their authors: it lies even more in the fact that they were made at all. The Press and the B.B.C., as we all know, are owned or controlled by inveterate warmongers. They are also subject to Government censorship, so that no article is published or statement broadcast which our rulers regard as highly obnoxious and dangerous to their war aims and war effort. It follows, therefore, that the Government has no objection to the people being gradually accustomed to the idea that there will be more wars when this one is finished and more air-raids; and that we may have to fight Russia, or China, or both, on some future occasion. Mr. Hulton and Mr. Gelder do not go quite so far as actually to mention war with Russia or China in so many words—as we have not yet finished with their services in the present enterprise, to have done so might have savoured of rather indecent haste—but the suggestion is there right enough. The bit about "equality of armaments being the surest guarantee of peace," besides being rubbish from the standpoint of the evidence of history, is the thinnest of thin camouflage when taken in conjunction with what follows; while if it is right to have a war with Japan because her imperialism is dangerous, it follows logically that it may be equally right to have a war with China if her Fascism should prove just as bad.

Seeing that war with Russia or China will be a big undertaking, it will be essential to have Allies, and if the necessary arrangements can be fixed up at the proper time, what Allies could be more useful than Germany or Japan? In this war it seemed to me to take about a week's propaganda to switch the proper geese who compose 90 per cent. of our unthinking population from fear and hatred of Soviet Russia over to an admiration of ever-deepening intensity.

I calculate that in the next war it should not take much more than three days to accomplish the reverse switch-over to love of Germany and Japan. The technique of war propaganda (like the efficiency of bomber aircraft) will have been improved considerably by the time the next show is due to begin; while the citizens of a slave-State, such as we have now become, are even less capable of original thought, memory and critical judgment than those of the semi-democracy which we were when this war started.

Yes, I am glad I am not a soldier—bigger and better wars the only carrot left!

This article was written before the Second Front began and I feel that I should not like to conclude it without expressing my very deep sympathy both with soldiers and their relatives. If I have written cynically it is only because I feel that the foul racket of war deserves cynicism.

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TOWARDS THE GREATER VICTORY

An Appeal to True Patriots

By FRIEDA LE PLA

FOREWORD.

The following essay was written shortly before Christmas (1943) for private use only. In revising it now for unexpected wider service, however, I have not altered the Christmas setting because Christmas is far more than an external festivity confined to a fixed date. The Christmas spirit and atmosphere are urgently needed all the year round, and we can bring every day our gifts to the feet of the Christ-Child whom we acclaim our Prince of Peace.

I should perhaps also make it clear that this appeal was written to my non-Pacifist fellow-citizens rather than to the Pacifists, and response to it would not in any way compromise the position of those who are honestly unable to accept Pacifist principles and methods. It is therefore to our non-Pacifist fellows that in one paragraph herein I point out that the war need not even be interrupted if they decide to give fair trial to the alternative to prolonged war suggested in these pages, and that in any case if the proposal failed to win the desired response from our opponents the war could be continued.

But to avoid misunderstanding on the part of my Pacifist fellow-citizens it is necessary to make clear at the outset that I personally am against the continuation of war under any circumstances whatever, for even if the alternative herein proposed did fail, there are also other alternatives which could be tried out, all far more humane, more Christian, more civilised, and more permanently effective than war could possibly be. But to set forth *all* the various alternatives here—other than the one which could be immediately tried even by the most anti-Pacifist and enthusiastic of war-supporters—is beyond the scope of this pamphlet and has already been done elsewhere.

Whether we could win this greater, more permanent, and more glorious victory depends on whether our own Nation and her Allies could themselves be great enough and Christian enough—and also heroic enough—for such a conquest, a conquest truly worthy to bring to the Christ-Child for his blessing and approval as our birthday offering to him.

The Greater Victory.

Many humane and Christian people to-day, shocked and distressed by the increasing savagery of the war-methods adopted by both sides, are asking in anguish of heart: "But what else can we do to shorten the war? How else can we end it quickly so that there are still populations left in Europe to be liberated"?

Before coming to our practical suggestion the following points should be kept in mind—and in our hearts:—

1. Thousands of innocent children are daily being starved either to death or to permanent physical and mental deformity, while others are being killed or tortured and mutilated by bombs which hurl them down and bury them alive beneath the debris of their own wrecked homes or schools, sometimes to lie there for hours in pain, hunger, and terror before they are found—if they are found. *Modern war involves war against children*—surely a crime that should be rejected with horror and indignation by any humane and Christian nation, and brought to an end without any delay.

2. Jan Masaryk, the Czech leader, said some time ago (according to a report in the *News Chronicle*—"If this war lasts much longer, Europe will be one vast cemetery."

3. The distinguished military expert, Captain Liddell Hart, wrote in 1940, before the war was even two years old: "As to peace, we must always remember that a long war tends to a bad peace. . . . I still insist that (military) victory has less to offer than an indecisive war that ends in an agreed peace. The idea of complete and overwhelming victory is the greatest folly on earth. Such victory only leads to bankruptcy, moral as well as economic."

4. The vastly superior military position now attained by the United Nations—so that ultimate military victory is assured to them—already gives them the power to lay down terms for an armistice.

5. For some months there have been recurrent rumours that the Axis Nations would be willing to consider and were even planning peace proposals. Any such desire on the part of opposing nations, whatever the underlying motive, implies a willingness to yield much to obtain peace. It may also imply the recognition that the Allies are already victorious in the military sense. All which means that the Allies *could almost certainly gain those nobler ends for which they had started the war, and so win for the ideals they then claimed to be theirs.*

6. Earlier in the war allied spokesmen had repeatedly declared that it would be a crime against Humanity (and surely against their own professed ideals) to continue the war one day longer than is necessary to attain the ends stated at that time to be theirs—namely, the liberation of the captive European nations and the downfall of Fascism and Nazism.

To what practical suggestions, then, do these six considerations lead? If it is our earnest desire, as a humane and Christian nation, to save the children of the world from further torture by starvation and bombing, and to save Europe from becoming "one vast cemetery" (which is certainly what it would risk becoming with invasion added to starvation and bombing); if the United Nations are to be saved from being guilty of that "greatest folly on earth" and the moral deterioration and bankruptcy against which Captain Hart warns the nation; and if the allied statesmen are sincere in their assertions that it would be a crime, and that they have no wish, to prolong the war a single day longer than is necessary to attain the ideals with which they had started the war—then surely the first practical step for them is that they should become great enough and Christian enough to give up their more recent and very unworthy demand for "unconditional surrender"—which is doing more to prolong the war and play into Goebbels' hands than anything else is—and immediately propose an armistice (or a "truce of God") on terms consistent with the Christian ideals they have claimed as theirs—which terms would of course include the immediate cessation by the Nazis of their persecution of the Jews, and the Axis Powers' withdrawal from the occupied countries, together with an invitation to all the Axis Nations to co-operate with the Allies in relief and construction work. Fascism in Italy is already doomed; and Nazism would speedily collapse with the removal of the external menace to Germany on which its hold on the German people is largely based. To insist on "unconditional surrender" (which absurdity has already been exposed many times by such distinguished writers as Commander King-Hall and Count De La Bedoyere) is not only to be false to the very aims which our people had earlier declared to be theirs: it also means, as already said above, needlessly prolonging the war, playing right into Hitler's and Goebbels' hands by stiffening the German people's will to resist, whereas the offer of generous armistice terms would almost certainly weaken that will to resist, weaken Hitler's hold on them, and help to bring about his defeat and downfall.

If our people are to realise how valuable a gift they have made to Goebbels by their adoption of the slogan "unconditional surrender" we must bring out its real meaning before going on further. It does not mean, "If you will accept our ideals we will end the war." It means: "Even if you, our enemies, do happen to be willing to stop persecuting the Jews and to withdraw from the occupied nations, we are not going to trouble ourselves even to ascertain if this is so, for even if it were so, we intend to go on trying to smash you just the same. Moreover, even

when you are down and weakened so that you cannot any longer fight a winning battle—which was Italy's position before her surrender—we shall go on beating and beating at you, bombing, burning, and blasting you and your children till we force you to say: 'Because we have no power to do otherwise we will agree to everything you dictate, whether moral or immoral, honourable or dishonourable, and whether it means annihilation or enslavement for us, body and soul.'" For that is just what *unconditional* surrender means—the demand that our victim should deliver himself up to us, blindly, body and soul, to do our dictated will. It also means a greater concern to get an absolute victory for ourselves (with that aforesaid absolute domination over our victim) than the achievement of victory for our ideals—which latter victory could be won far sooner and far more permanently by the offer of generous armistice terms at once than by prolonging the war with its accompaniment of long-drawn-out torture of thousands of children.

Of course Hitler and Goebbels would much prefer that we hold to the "unconditional surrender" slogan and flourish it as ferociously as we like—our gift to them. But we do not really want to help Hitler, do we? And surely that slogan is a base and unworthy demand, a dishonourable demand, to come from a nation calling itself Christian and professing to be more concerned for winning people to our ideals than for domination of others?

A truly great and Christian nation would welcome even the faintest signs of willingness for peace on the part of its opponent—*never* spurn it as an "offensive" action. (And here let it be said that it is surely one of the most disgraceful things in a Christian nation that its people or its Government should speak of any readiness for peace by its enemies as being "offensive." The Christian Churches in particular should be ashamed to let such a term be used about any peace suggestions without protesting vigorously about it.) Welcoming warmly any dawning desire for peace, we should immediately test its sincerity by proposing honourable terms for an armistice—terms which would be an honour to the nations proposing them and to those accepting them, terms as we could bring to our Lord Christ for His approval and blessing.

There is nothing to be lost or risked (and let this be emphasised) by courageously adventuring out on this path to the immediate cessation of military hostilities, for the offer of generous armistice terms can be made without interrupting the war; and if the Nazis should prove false (which would be very unlikely under the circumstances), the Allies could resume their war and could then carry it on with far less guilt, for their consciences would be clear of any charge that they had persisted in their bombing, burning, slaughtering, and starving of thousands of human beings long after they could have attained their ends (or those of their ends which are righteous) by offering armistice terms of an honourable character. To continue the war for even one week after the Axis Nations had shown any readiness to consider armistice proposals, without testing that willingness by offering decent and fair terms, is a grave crime against God and Humanity—as grave as anything committed by the Nazis, for it would make us wholly responsible for the prolongation of Europe's—and China's—agony, and for the moral deterioration inevitable to belligerancy.

Fellow-citizens, in the name of the starving children of the world; in the name of the truest and noblest patriotism, and in the name of the Prince of Peace whom we profess to take as our Lord—will you not see to it that our Nation shall lead the way in this great, daring, and heroic adventure in a more humane and Christian type of victory, a victory we could bring with joy and pride as a Christmas gift to the Christ-Child on His Birthday? And let us remember, the Star of Bethlehem was not only the Star of Peace; it was also—as the three kings or magi found when they started out to follow it—the Star of Adventure.

APPENDIX

To the difficulty felt by our non-Pacifist friends, and indeed by many Pacifists also, that a negotiated peace would not be a stable peace and would be a compromise peace, there is a six-point reply.

1. As Captain Liddell Hart pointed out in the article from which the quotation already given was taken, history proves that a dictated peace is usually the most unstable of all. Did the "peace that followed the 1914-18 war prove stable? Holding within itself the seeds of the next war it produced nothing but a very uneasy truce.

2. The only stable peace is that born of terms fair to all nations concerned, and agreed to by all—by the people, not only by their governments.

3. The complete defeat of any nation or group of nations is no guarantee of a stable peace because present-day economic conditions, as well as all wars ending in crushing defeat, hold within themselves the seeds of further conflicts.

4. An unstable peace does at least provide an interlude which is less un-Christian and inhuman than certain war, because it is minus the addition of war's still more glaringly anti-Christian and torturingly brutal operations, and it gives time for passions to cool and for the blinding war-clouds to subside, paving the way for a clearer, truer vision of the tangled situation and its healing.

5. A "peace" of any kind, however bad and unstable, does provide opportunities—which war-time restrictions cut off—for the more Christian, humane, and reasonable elements in the various nations to effect contact and co-operation with each other in working against evil systems, the Christian and anti-Nazi forces in Germany and Britain and other nations thus carrying on the struggle together instead of wastefully killing each other in indiscriminate military warfare.

6. An unstable peace can by progressive stages and persistent effort be transformed into a stable peace if the aforesaid Christian and reasonable forces in the various nations have unrestricted scope for joint action. And there would be plenty of time for this, for even if the present war ended to-morrow, the belligerent nations would be far too exhausted—both morally and economically—and far too war-weary, even to think about another war for many years to come.

For all these reasons, therefore, a negotiated immediate armistice or peace has far more promise of stability, and offers far more scope for the Christian and peace-loving groups in every nation to build up a permanent and Christian peace, than war ending in crushing defeat of either side can ever hold. Again—in the name of Christ and "these my little ones", in the name of the highest patriotism, test the possibilities of ending this colossal carnage called war by abandoning the desire for unconditional military victory and substituting instead the immediate offer of such honourable terms as we could bring to the Lord Christ for His blessing—and so win the greater victory.

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(Concluded from column 3.)

Mr. Morrison—These cases are often difficult to understand. I have tried, in the special circumstances of this case to be as helpful as I can and I will do so, but I do not think I ought so to speak, to usurp directly the functions of the local authority in the matter.

Earl Winterton—Could not the right hon. gentleman make it quite clear that local authorities are not to be interfered with by questions in this House, in the carrying out of their duties under the law?

Mr. Morrison—I think that point is covered by the answer which I have given.

Rhys Davies Active

It is impossible to record justly the unremitting vigilance of our comrade, Rhys Davies, in the House of Commons. He maintains an uncompromising stand in defence of pacifism, the conscientious objector, the victim of industrial conscription, and the oppressed soldier. Below is a typical day's record of his persistent questioning.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Thursday, 15th June, 1944.
ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.
NATIONAL WAR EFFORT.
Coal-Mining (Directed Youths.)

1. Mr. Rhys Davies asked the Minister of Labour how many ballottees have refused to enter the coal-mining industry; how many have been prosecuted for refusing; and how many of them have been imprisoned.

The Minister of Labour (Mr. Ernest Bevin)—I have no exact figure of the number of ballottees who have refused to enter coal-mining. Up to 31st May, there had been 285 failures to comply with directions to undergo training, but this total, no doubt, included a certain number of cases in which there were good reasons, such as sickness, for not complying immediately. Up to the same date, 135 ballottees had been prosecuted for failing to comply with directions either to coal-mining training or to a working colliery. Of these, 32 were sentenced to imprisonment, but within a few days 19 of these were released, on promising to comply with their directions.

Mr Rhys Davies—In view of the reluctance of some courts to convict in cases like this, because the boys prefer to enter the Forces rather than the mines, and in view also of the fact that the High Court of Justice in New Zealand has recently decided that compulsions like this are akin to the serfdom of the Middle Ages, will not my right hon. friend reconsider his policy?

Mr. Bevin—No, Sir. Some things in the Middle Ages were worth preserving.

UNITED STATES FORCES, GREAT BRITAIN (DEATH SENTENCES).

23. Mr. Rhys Davis asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of persons sentenced to death in this country by foreign powers; and how many of these have been executed on British soil.

Mr. H. Morrison—I am informed that sentence of death has been passed on fourteen members of the United States forces by United States courts martial in the United Kingdom. In three cases the sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment; four cases are still subject to review; and in seven cases the sentence of death has been carried out by the United States authorities in this country. In every case in which the death sentence has been carried out the offence charged has been murder; in one of the cases rape had been committed as well as murder. So far as I am aware no sentence of death has been passed in this country by the courts of any other foreign power, but their courts martial do not try cases of murder, manslaughter or rape.

Mr. Rhys Davies—Would the right hon. gentleman say whether all those who have been sentenced to death were negro soldiers, or whther there were any whites among them?

Mr. Morrison—I could not say without notice.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR (PROSECUTION, LEWES)

24. Mr. Rhys Davies asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department on how many occasions George Elphick, 66 Priory Street, Lewes, a registered ocnscientious objector, has been prosecuted at Lewes police court for refusing fireguard duty and with what results; what has been the cost of the prosecutions to date and on whom has it fallen; whether he will give an assurance that no Government contribution has been made or will be made towards such costs; and whether he will take powers to prevent such persecution, which was deprecated by the Regional Commissioner in October 1942.

Mr. H. Morrison—This man has been before the magistrates seven times and was convicted on six occasions. Patriculars of the cost of the prosecutions are not at present available, but the local authority has been informed that no grant from the Exchequer will be made towards expenditure on proceedings commenced against him after 8th Octobr, e1942. As regards the last part of the question, I would refer my hon. friend to my answer of 9th December last.

Mr. Rhys Davies—While thanking the right hon. gentleman for the action which he has already taken in this case, may I ask whether it is possible for him to take some further steps to prevent an obvious waste of public money and the time of the courts, in what is tantamount to absolute perseeution.

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WHAT THE STARS REVEAL

GLIMPSES BY "GOWRIE"

The first cases to be heard by the Tribunals under the Ministry of Labour (Post-War) Regulations came before the London Tribunal yesterday. That such national organisation of labour resources would be necessary after the war was foreshadowed by many prominent politicians, including Lord Bevin, Viscount Morrison, and Dame Ellen Wilkinson, O.B.E., for some time before the cessation of hostilities. With the coming into power of the present Socialist Government, new types of objectors seem to have arisen, and the callings represented are widely varied. A strange coincidence about most of yesterday's applicants was that each mentioned that their work had been recognised as being of national importance during the war period.

First to appear before the Tribunal was Henry Johnson (33), groom at the Racing Stud of the Duke of Hampole. He said he was a key man, who had been indispensable during the war, and had strong objections to being ordered to take up other work. His domestic arrangements would be upset. He had been brought up in the village and had no wish to leave it. He was granted exemption conditional on his taking up a three years' course of study in Modern Languages and giving an undertaking to read "Co-operation, the Only Hope," by Lord Beaverbrook.

Next to appear was Hugh Robinson, an agent of the Pearl Assurance Company. In view of the valuable service his employers rendered to the working classes, the applicant claimed that his objection to taking up other work was conscientious and a matter of principle. He cited cases where poor widows and others had said to him that they did not know what they would have done if it had not been for the "Pearl," and he had been the means, by his tact and persuasive manner, of preventing the lapsing of very many policies. A superintendent from the "Pearl" said that Mr. Robinson had served the company faithfully and well, and always put their interests before his own. He did not think he could serve the community better in any other capacity. The applicant was directed to road construction work.

A skilled worker in a firm of tobacco and cigarette manufacturers, William Dawson, who pleaded hardship on account of home ties, said he had been allowed to remain at his work during the war, as the manufacture of cigarettes had been of great importance to the winning of the war. It was his opinion that the morale of the country would be very poor now if it were not for a constant supply of cigarettes. It was that comfort which had saved his mother's life in a recent illness. Applicant was granted exemption, the conditions being that for three evenings every week he should render voluntary service to the Y.M.C.A.

James Philpot, an officer in the Salvation Army, had a strong conscientious objection to taking up other work. He said he was working for the Lord, and could not conceive of work more important or more urgent than the saving of souls and the fight against sin and wickedness. Asked about his former occupation, applicant stated that he had been employed by the Corporation in the street cleaning department. He was not prepared to go back to this. Since he had been "born again" he had made a clean break with his former life, glory be. As he showed no willingness to compromise in any way, Philpot was told by the chairman that he would be directed to take up chimney sweeping, and a warning was added that if he did not comply within a reasonable time he would be sent to prison.

Describing herself as a "glamour girl" from the Porchester Follies, Annette Ransome told the Tribunal of her war service, entertaining the troops, chiefly officers, by keeping up their morale, in various night clubs and hotel shows. The importance of her work had been recognised by highly-placed military officers and State officials. She wished to continue this form of service for the benefit of jaded business gentlemen. She was the sole support of her widowed mother, and did not want to take up other work. She was granted exemption conditional upon taking up part-time work with the Women's Rural Institute Movement.

Another young woman, the private secretary of a prominent banker, was directed to secure employment in a soap factory.

An ex-Serviceman, who had been wounded in North Africa and was at present working as a bookmaker's clerk, said he wished to remain in his present post because it meant him spending most of his time out of doors, and he was very useful to his employer, who was a jolly good fellow. He had no domestic ties, but had a conscientious objection to working for anyone else except Joe Blossom, who was well known on all racecourses. The last-named individual stated that the applicant was indispensable to him, and at a recent meeting at Newmarket had saved him from a nasty accident.

The Chairman said that an ex-Serviceman should not think that because he had been in the Army he could just do as he liked. If all ex-Servicemen did that and did not submit to discipline in some form or other, the country would be in a state of chaos. Applicant was directed to serve behind the counter in the Maypole, and to take a course of study under the Society for the Prevention of Juvenile Crime.

John Hunt, a traveller for a firm of brewers and wine and spirit merchants, who had stuck to his post during the war, was allowed to remain on condition that his three children attended the Band of Hope regularly during the ensuing three years.

Finally, Lord Ashtray appeared to defend his claim for exemption from direction. His entry into the Court was the signal for excited whisperings. The noble lord is known as a bold, unconventional character among his compeers, whose policy is never to oppose directly legislation which is unfavourable to them, but always to make it appear that the opposition comes entirely from the workers and humble folk. In reply to the Chairman's questions, his lordship referred to his own war service and that of his wife, Lady Ashtray, who, as Colonel in the A.T.S., and President of the County Women's Voluntary Service, and by placing many rooms in her mansion at the disposal of the Red Cross Society, had sacrificed a great many of the home comforts to which she had been accustomed. A letter was read from certain villagers which said that the tenants were very devoted to Lord and Lady Ashtray as landlords, and that they refused to leave the cottages in which they dwelt.

In support of the noble lord's application, the Rev. Henry Sarsaparilla, Vicar of Levum in the Mud, who mentioned incidentally that he was a student of Marx, said that although he had found it incumbent upon him on one or two occasions to oppose his lordship's wishes, as in the matter of the closing of farmers' gates during the fox-hunting season, and in the unhappy matter of the little disagreement at the Baby Show held at the time of the Victory Tea, nevertheless he knew his lordship to be a man of strong principles and one who dared to be in the right with two or three. It was his opinion, and he believed that opinion was shared by the Bishop, that his lordship should be allowed to carry on his work unhampered by restrictions from the Ministry of Labour.

After brief discussion among themselves, the members of the Tribunal agreed that, in the interests of a Socialist Britain, Lord Ashtray should receive unconditional exemption, and complimented him upon the able manner in which he had stated his case.

COMMUNIST "UNITED FRONT."

Since its inception, the Communist Party has rejoiced in its contradictions; its repeated changes of policy, accompanied by persistent abuse of those who did not adhere to its policy of the moment; weird and wonderful "united fronts" involving a thousand most emphatic repudiations of previous "fronts" and isolation aggressively asserted at the time.

Because the Duke of Bedford visited Lanarkshire and enquired into the miners' conditions, the Communist Party accused local Trotskyists, I.L.P. Reds, and Anti-Parliamentarians of being Bedfordites, and issued leaflets and chalked the streets declaring that there could be no "united front" between Socialists, Communists, and Aristocrats. The same Communist Party had held repeated meetings with the Duchess of Atholl, who never renounced her Toryism, and saw nothing wrong in Lord Marley, a sometime Labour M.P., with a most orthodox militarist background, who, in due course, reached the House of Lords. We recall a picture published in the Glasgow *Daily Herald* for October 1, 1937. This showed Sir Iain Colquhoun, Bart., speaking with Mr. Hugh McIntyre, the then Vale of Leven Communist Party representative, at a meeting held in Glasgow. There was an accompanying news-splash, headed, across four columns, in bold type:

BARONET AND COMMUNIST IN "UNITED FRONT" ON HOUSING

Beneath this heading, the letter-press stated in its opening sentences:—

Sir Iain Colquhoun, Bart., noted man of public affairs in Scotland, and Mr. Hugh McIntyre, the Vale of Leven Communist, presented a united front in Glasgow yesterday in a search for a solution to increasingly grave housing problems.

They conducted a conference of local authorities called by Dumbarton County Council, of which Sir Iain is Convener.

The Conference was a striking example of the solidarity of Scotland's civic administrators regarding the need for reforms to meet an acute situation.

The very tone of this record exposes the hypocrisy of the loud-mouthed "revolutionary" phrase-mongering propaganda conducted by the Communist Party over a period of years, during the hunger marching days. Whether exploiting hunger or patriotism, posing as anti-militarist or avowedly beating the militarist big-drum, the Communist Party has but one ambition—to secure political power. It knows no principles and has no ethics. It has no understanding except that of power-interest. It is a party of scoundrels and opportunists.

In *Communism* (1943 edition), we tell the story of the assassination of the Socialist and working class struggle in Germany. One phase of that struggle, omitted from that pamphlet, is recorded well in a survey of pre-Hitler Germany published early in 1938 in an issue of the London magazine symposium, *Fact*. The author is Evelyn Lynd, and the title of the study, *Underground Struggle in Germany*.

Lynd describes the antagonism between the Social Democrats and the "Communists," during the struggle to power of the Nazis, the most ignorant of all the political groupings, and yet the most effectual:—

The intensity of the mutual hatred of Socialists and Communists will hardly be conceivable to anyone who has not himself experienced this period.

To both of them the enemy was not so much the rising Fascist movement, the Junkers or magnates of the Ruhr, as the rival labour organisation, which was to be attacked on every occasion with the utmost ferocity.

In the course of time, more and more Socialist parties and organisations, varying in size and importance, were to join in the general competition for the support of the German workers.

The Hitlerites scored their successes at the General Election of 1930 owing to the proletarian confusion created by these Socialist-Communist factions and fractions during 1928-1930. What a lesson this picture should have for the thinking worker in Britain and America to-day:—

The Social Democrats, tolerated Bruning and his policy of emergency decrees, holding that—bad as Bruning was—he was the "lesser evil" compared with what might come after him. The Communists attacked the Social Democrats violently because of

their "theory of the lesser evil" and their popular "toleration policy," arguing that starvation under Bruning was no better than starvation under Hitler.

While this criticism was regarded with much sympathy by a large section of the Socialist and trade union rank and file membership, the Communist policy of calling practically all non-Communists Fascists was vehemently rejected.

In the eyes of the C.P. the Bruning Government was "Fascist," the Social Democrat Party was "Fascist," why should they be afraid of Hitler? As a matter of fact they even regarded a Hitler victory as a vehicle of hastening the revolution.

In a Parliamentary speech, on October 14, 1931, Remmele (then one of the leaders of the German C.P., second only to Thaelmann) said:

> "Herr Bruning has expressed it very clearly: once they (i.e., the Fascists) are in power, then the united front of the proletariat will emerge and it will make a clean sweep of everything . . . We are not afraid of the Fascists. They will shoot their bolt sooner than any other Government."

That was the Communist line of thought right up to 1932. "Let the Nazis come, they will provoke the revolution."

And so the "Communists" did not destroy just the Social Democrats, the Mensheviks. They destroyed the proletarian movement itself. They were the real fifth columnists. What a comment of fact upon their infallible Marxian gift for scientifically analysing the situation!

Having denounced the Social Democrats as Fascists—and we are not defending the Social Democrats who play-acted at reformism because they feared to proceed to revolutionary action when the Kaiser fell—the "Communists" turned to a definite "United Front" with the Nazis.

Lynd explains:—

In their blindness to the real development they not only considered the Fascist dictatorship a better means than democracy of serving their own ends, but they even strengthened the jingoist appeal of the Nazis by launching suddenly a programme of "National and Social Liberation" . . . and by participating actively in a Nazi referendum against the Social Democratic Government of Prussia in August, 1931.

In 1932, the "Communists" called a transport workers' strike in Berlin—*in conjunction with the Nazis*—in opposition to the Social Democrats and the Trades Unions! Here is Lynd's picture of what happened:—

Street collections were taken for the strike funds, and I shall always remember the sight of a Communist and a Nazi standing arm in arm and shouting in an agreed rhythm, while they were shaking their collection boxes: "For the strike funds of the R.G.O. (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition)"—"For the strike funds of the N.S.B.O. (Nazi Factory Cell Organisation)." The sight of this perverted united front, observed in various districts of Berlin, was so repulsive to most Socialists that they lost all sympathy for the strike they previously had.

When the "United Front" with the Nazis had served the opportunist purposes of the "Communist Party," the Party made further insincere "United Front" proposals to the Social Democrat. These are exposed in our pamphlet, *Communism*, already mentioned.

WORD BOUND VOLUME, for three years: May 1939 to July 1942 inclusive. Green Cloth 12/6. Post Free 13/6.

(*Continued from Column* 3)

and no one can say you ever hesitated to make a contribution. Whether alone or in the crowd, it is up to all of us to do that. Nor can any of us be allowed to believe we are always and for ever right. But let us hope that, by trial and error, we may reach our goal, each contributing the utmost in our power. I think, to Socialists, this is all that matters. Not many of us find any attraction in the popularly accepted attractions of life.

"Give to me the life of love
And let the rest go by me."

And if I may add Voltaire to Stevenson (even if) "I disagree with all you say, but I'll fight to the death for your right to say it."

So—go on saying it.

With all the best,

Yours sincerely,

JEAN MANN.

Glasgow, W.4, 22/5/44.

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JOHN MACLEAN

EX-COUNCILLOR Mrs. Jean Mann's MEMORIES

May Day Meeting, Glasgow, Sunday, May 3, when there was some suggestion of Socialist thought and solidarity inspiring the various factions of the Labour Movement, despite difference of approach. Even parliamentarians believed that Socialism meant Anti-Militarism in 1931.

Picture and Letter Press reproduced from the Glasgow *Evening News*, Monday, May 4, 1931.

MAY DAY.—Mr John M'Govern, M.P., speaking at the I.L.P. demonstration at Glasgow Green yesterday. Included in the company are Mr James Maxton, M.P., Councillor Mrs Jean Mann and Mr Guy Aldred. — Evening News Photograph.

[In the May "Word" we published a picture of John Maclean and his Kinning Park class. Many comrades have expressed their appreciation at the publication of this picture. One of the pupils afterwards became Councillor Jean Mann. She received copies from various parts of Scotland. From her comments to us we excerpt the following interesting study.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I was told at a meeting of Old Age Pensioners, on May 2, that you had published a photo of John MacLean's class in Kinning Park School, in which I was a pupil. I have very lucid memories of that class. "John" put on a nice clean collar for that occasion, and was in a good mood that day.

I did not know that anyone else knew I was in John MacLean's class in Brodie's school. The photo comes out remarkably well. I can pick out my classmates, and remember them quite well. I am pleased indeed to see it. I may add that, after I learned of it being published, at the Old Age Pensioners Meeting, a number of copies of the May *Word* were sent to me from various parts of Scotland. And I have heard various comments of appreciation for the "quiet little girl" who preserved such an excellent photo of John MacLean for so many years.

I am afraid that I was a very troublesome pupil, but when I left his class I heard something he had said about me as a pupil and it certainly made me take more interest. I also got a 1st Prize from him; altho' I "put out my tongue" behind his back (promptly told him by the class), brought out to the floor on several occasions, and was a regular nuisance to him.

I went for his "lunch" each day—2 scones on butter, 2d. One day the assistant gave me 3 scones on butter. I had been told to bring 2 and here I was with 3! I settled the dilemma by eating the 3rd and delivering 2 only. I should have told him, and felt troubled about it *after* the scone was down. I almost felt he knew I ate his scone! So I went home and told my mum, who gave me a licking and promptly went up to school, and told John MacLean. John thought it was a great joke and had a good laugh at it. Reassured, my "mum" came back and said I'd to forget my crime. Afterwards John said I'd to ask and pay for 3 and eat one every time! I didn't need to be told that twice, and was sorry to leave his class and my daily scone.

Children in the class all knew he was a "Rebel." It used to be whispered around about his "Street Corner" meetings. "Teacher was at X street corner last night." But we, in the 3rd standard were rather young to appreciate what our teacher was doing. We did all feel his purposeful demeanour and very serious attitude to life, young as we were, and the pupils who had left and were serving apprenticeships simply worshipped him.

John MacLean got to know I was hungry in the mornings (having "stolen his scone") and was very annoyed to know that I was delivering "Rolls" to Pollokshields at 6 a.m. every morning—I was 11½ years old. He thought it was wrong and the "basket" was "far too heavy for a girl." Of course, I had only one brother (2 years) so I had to tell the teacher *he* couldn't take the job. I got 1/6 weekly, and for scrubbing out the back shop I got a bag of stale pastry (refused by Pollokshields). So I got up at 5-30 to get my rolls delivered quickly so I could scrub out the shop and qualify for the stale pastry, which was so greatly appreciated by my mother, especially when my father was on strike—always on strike—for "another fordin (farthing) an' oor." Aye! no wonder we're Rebels, and we'll be Rebels to the end of time.

After reading this you'll understand how I felt when I had to sit through the Corporation debates, and listen to some folk telling "what a grand healthy job it was, delivering rolls, papers, and milk in the morning." You'll also understand how well I knew what an extra half-crown meant in a working-class home; when those who could rattle them about in their pockets like pennies, were voting against us.

Some of the other girls in the photo tried to get out of the struggle by marrying well. We all looked for a fellow who could "keep us in a style to which we'd *not* been accustomed!" We were successful (more or less) and those who do not bother to understand *causes* of poverty, just go on and tell *their* girls to do the same.

Altho' we were too young to understand John MacLean, I, for one, when I got older, wanted to know what caused our teacher to be such a "fanatic" and I read and listened. So the influence continued so far as I was concerned, backed up by the facts of life in a Capitalist system. My mother, large family an' all, always backed my father when he was in doubt. "*You're* voting for a strike, never mind me." I used to marvel at the courage in her frail body, young as I was.

Yes, we have lost fellowship, great's the pity, but I suppose it's the Rebel in us. But there's no reason why we should deliberately hurt each other, altho' we differ in our methods of approach.

I read your pamphlets, of course. I believe in getting as many angles to a philosophy as I can,

(*Concluded foot column* 1)

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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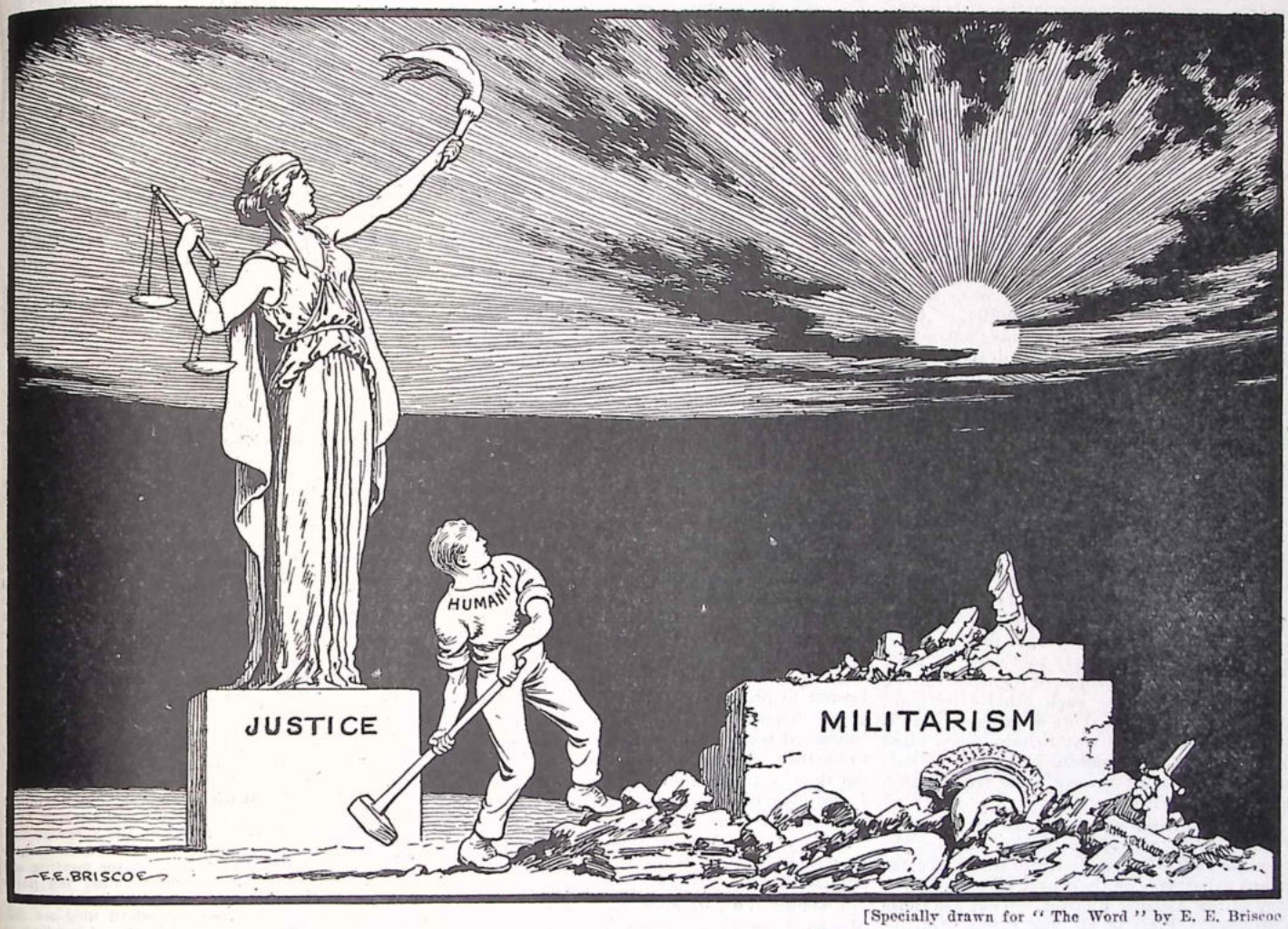

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe

"WHEN TRUTH AND JUSTICE TRIUMPH, WAR SHALL CEASE"

THE COMING PEACE

Speech made in the House of Commons, Wednesday, May 24, 1944, by

RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

(Chairman, Parliamentary Peace Aims Group; Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Labour Government, 1924.)

[Below we reproduce the main text of our comrade's speech, omitting only some of the passing interruptions.—Ed.]

I want to say about this Debate that I am satisfied that we have collected to-day some of the ingredients that this country will import into the Peace Treaty when it is made at the end of this war. There is, however, one thing apparent already. There is, obviously, a clash of opinion arising between the Left and Right parties in the Commons. Let me give one or two instances. From some of the benches opposite we have had the usual talk of punishing the whole of the Germans and of trying war criminals. One hon. Member made almost the whole point of his speech that it was no use trying to establish a world organisation for peace, and another hon. and gallant Member, if I did not mistake him, wanted to punish the Germans too.

(Interruption and a protest by Wing-Commander James, against Rhys Davies' statement that James wanted to punish the Germans.)

Mr. Davies—I would like to know how the hon. gentleman will decide who are the evil-doers; the evil-doers are not all, by any means, on one side during a war; you cannot possibly calculate how many criminals there are in Germany or in any other country at war. What I fear is, if there is any punishment forced upon Germany as is suggested, that it will rebound on the working classes of this country. Statesmen who govern the several countries at war never, somehow, punish each other. I once stood outside the palace where the ex-Kaiser lived in exile in Holland and said that I would not mind hanging there for ten years. What happened to our own miners at the end of the last war? The German miners were working furiously for a pittance providing coal for nothing for France, Italy and Belgium, and our own miners in my division were unemployed and tens of thousands more miners in South Wales in the same plight. That was a consequence of the spirit of revenge introduced into the Versailles Peace Treaty. I want our people to remember those facts before importing revengeful provisions into the Peace Treaty that is to come. I want them to understand, too, the boomerang effects of anything of that sort on tens of thousands of workpeople in this country. Whole districts were made derelict and shipyards became idle for years because we got coal and ships for nothing from Germany after the last war. Some of the more sensible people in this country are now saying that we should not ask for reparations in kind this time; we should demand that German workers should be transferred to devastated territories and work there to rebuild them. Let me ask the House not to have anything to do with a proposition of this kind. First, what would the working-classes of this country say if thousands of them were unemployed and German workmen were brought to this country to rebuild London, Manchester and Coventry?

Viscount Hinchingbroke (Dorset, South)—Why does the hon. Member assume that thousands of people in this country will be unemployed after the war?

Mr. Davies—Because I do not believe that any Government, in Germany, France, Italy or Great Britain, will be clever enough, at the end of this war, to harness the economic and financial consequences of this war. Let me give the hon. Member a case from my own division. Between the two wars I had 15,000 miners unemployed for years, with 22 pits closed down for good. As soon as the manufacture of munitions is finished, I know of nothing that any Government can do to find work for my people. We can put any Government in power, but war must have its consequences; it destroys trade. Half of our merchant shipping is at the bottom of the oceans already. Where are we going to get ships to carry our exports at the end of the war? I was in this House when the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stood at the Box, as Prime Minister, and said that the American Federal Reserve Board would not give us any more loans until the Unemployment Assistance Board reduced benefits by 2s a week. We are in the hands of the American financiers now, a thousand times more than we were on that occasion.

I am very apprehensive of the consequences to our people of this great conflict. Hon. Members must not mistake my patriotism when I talk like this. I feel so deeply for my country that I do not like to see it going down to poverty; I do not like to see it descending to bankruptcy. I feel there is a genius among our people that could bring mankind out of this terrible conflict if it were properly employed. I know a little about Central Europe—mentioned in this Debate. I can never understand where we got the conceit that 46,000,000 Britishers can effectively police the whole of the peoples of that vast area. There are 30,000,000 Poles, 20,000,000 Rumanians; then there are Bessarabians, Transylvanians and many other races. I have been over some of these countries, and the House may be interested to know what I have told some of their leaders. Until the people of Central Europe learn how to tolerate each other's religion, language and customs as we do in these islands not all the power of Great Britain, the United States and Russia combined can bring them peace. Peace must always come from within and not from without.

Some little time ago I secured 70 Members of this House to sign a Motion calling the attention of His Majesty's Government to some serious departures on their part from the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. What are those departures? First of all, the Prime Minister told the world that India did not fall within the provisions of the Charter, that Burma and that no other British Colonial territory either is within the Charter. More than that, he said that as a matter of right, neither Germany, Italy nor Japan, nor any of their satellites, can come within the terms of that Charter. What does that mean? I can remember him standing at that Box and saying, "Let the Italians stew in their own juice." When we consider the exclusion of so many nations of the world from the Atlantic Charter the Prime Minister has said in effect that 50 per cent. of the human race should stew in their own juice; that these international provisions do not apply to them. I know, too, a little of Yugoslavia where the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and the Macedonians are always quarrelling. I am doubtful if even Marshal Tito, the Communist, can ever bring them to live together unless they adopt the mederated principle of government. The same principle applies to Czechoslovakia as well.

Our Government seem to base all their actions on expediency. They have no definite set of principles to guide them in their diplomacy. I wonder whether they take note of recent events in the United States of America. I have been there several times and I know a little about the grand old Republican Party. I would ask the House to remember the tendency towards isolationism in the United States. I know that newspapers will say that the defeat of Wendell Wilkie at the primaries did not mean isolationism.

I am very much afraid that American politics are gravitating once again towards repeating what happened to the late President Wilson. Once the Republican Party disposed of Wendell Wilkie it meant a throwback towards isolationism in America.

There is little chance of a successful world organisation for peace unless the United States is in it. One hon. gentleman delivered a very pessimistic speech on that score; he said that because of language, religious and racial difficulties we could never hope for a world organisation at all. If he has been to Chicago, New York or Philadelphia he has seen there every colour and almost every race under the sun living together in one city. Let me give another example of collaboration. People say that you cannot get these several nationalities to live and work together. What about Switzerland? The French, Germans and Italians are living together in Switzerland. If we come nearer home, we have the Welsh, English and Scottish people living together too.

Mr. Kirkwood (Dumbarton Burghs)—It is not very easy for a Scotsman.

Mr. Davies—I know it is not easy, and it may comfort my hon. Friend when I say that "Haw-Haw" is neither a Scotsman nor a Welshman. The Foreign Office ought to have regard to these tendencies, especially in the United States of America. Let me interpose for a moment about the suggestion that Russia should annex part of the Polish Ukraine.

One suggestion was made in debate that annoyed me about East Prussia. That is sowing the seed of the third great war in Europe. Can anybody imagine that the Prussians would live happily under the Poles?

Mr. Kirkwood—No, but we are going to teach them.

Mr. Davies—Why on earth should it be suggested that people should leave their homes and be dealt with like chattels by the great Powers? I want to protest against the assumption of the great Powers that they are entitled to throw batches of the human race from one Government to another without consulting the peoples. I do not think I am saying anything too strong when I add that the present proposal—because I am not so sure that Poland has asked for East Prussia yet—is about the most foul conception in the whole of this business and, at any rate, is against all the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

I wonder if I dare quote Clausewitz in support of what I am trying to say? He said "Wars are just the continuance of policy in other fields." That is exactly what happens; and if the diplomacy of a nation is not straight and honest, then we are bound to have wars. President Wilson, I think, after the last war made a statement about the reasons for war: "The seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry." I wonder, therefore, whether there is any substance in the statement that we went to war for the independence of Poland? Some hon. Members contradict that. Some hon. Gentlemen said that we went to war for other reasons entirely. Well, we led the peoples of these islands to believe that we went to war for the independence of the Poland of 1939, and now I doubt very much whether the British Government will have a word to say as to the kind of Poland that will emerge from this conflict. Stalin, I suppose, will determine that.

The Committee knows my views on war and peace. It is a great tribute to the House of Commons that it is tolerant; and when I have been to Central Europe and talked to some of the people in authority there I have pointed with pride to the House of Commons. If they learned the toleration that we exercise toward each other, the sort of conflict we have in Europe at present would never have arisen.

My last word is this: The common expression, of course, is that Hitler made this war. What is ten thousand times more important is to find out the causes that made Hitlerism. When the statesmen sit down in Conference, as they will do, to draft the next peace treaty they will not be bothered about Hitler and Mussolini; what they will be concerned with will be tariffs, trade barriers, commerce, shipping, banking, colonies, territories and frontiers. That is what they will be discussing. They will never say a word about fighting for freedom and religion either—that vocabulary will have passed away.

I am sad beyond measure at the state of affairs in my native country. I do not like to see us going down into poverty and unemployment, and I am afraid that General Smuts was right when he said there would be nothing in the till when this war was over. I hope, however, that the British Government will take a hand to see that the poverty and unemployment which prevailed between the two great wars will not come upon us once again.

SOCIALISM AND WAR COALITIONS.

Herbert Morrison Rebuked for Denouncing The "Splitters."

The following letter, published in "The Manchester Guardian" for Saturday, November 20, 1943, from the pen of our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., makes sound reading for the consideration of every member of the Labour movement in Great Britain:—

Sir,—The Home Secretary was true to form when he addressed the Labour Party Regional Conference in Manchester recently; he told the "rebels" what he thought of them. He might be interested to know what some think of his own responsibility in these matters.

First of all, it takes some convincing that the working classes should pay their pennies in order to maintain a political machine that becomes an adjunct of the Tory Party. That a Socialist should enter a coalition with the Conservatives in the majority is just as incongruous as if a temperance reformer sat on the directorate of a brewery company.

He complained of the lack of discipline in the Parliamentary Labour Party, suggesting, of course, that the "rebels" are the only sinners; that his own actions have not contributed to the "disaster" which he foreshadows. He mentioned several instances where the "splitters" voted against party decisions, but he avoided mentioning that on the Beveridge Plan he himself flouted the party.

It is no secret that one of the very first instances of this kind occurred when the party decided by a large majority to vote in favour of the purchase tax. Co-operative M.P.s, members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who were present at the meeting and took part in the debate, voted against the party decision in the House on the ground, we suppose, that the Co-operative party, to which they are also attached, requested them to do so. According to report Mr. Morrison quoted every instance of "insubordination" except that one. Why? Indeed, it could be argued that the slippery slope of indiscipline (if it might be so termed) started on that occasion. It is possible, of course, that the Co-operative M.P.s were right and the Labour Party wrong, but there is no reason to hide this important fact when attacking other "rebels."

The minority were more right than they thought when they voted against the Man-Power Bill. The Coalition Government took powers to conscript all wealth and all human beings. Real wealth, however, has escaped its attention, but over 18,000 workers have been prosecuted and more than 3000 of them sent to prison for offences that were never punishable before Labour joined the Coalition. The very same Government, however, has not yet sent a single employer to jail.

The incident that must trouble Mr. Morrison most, however, is the revolt against some of the clauses of his recent Workmen's Compensation Bill. Let it be admitted at once that thousands of injured workmen will benefit by the passing of that measure, but the sting entered into the proceedings when he laid it down that the single injured workman will not benefit under the Act until his incapacity has lasted at least 13 weeks. As, however, very few cases last so long it will be understood why some of us feel deeply, especially those representing mining areas, about this discrimination against single persons.

But there is something more to it than that. During the proceedings he threatened as he had entered into an agreement beforehand with the employers, insurance companies, and the T.U.C., to withdraw the Bill if opposition to any of its clauses

emerged on the floor of the House. This, of course, raised a first-class constitutional issue; the "splitters" refused, as the famous statesman Burke did, to submit to the dictum that they are just rubber stamps for outside bodies.

Then he reminded his hearers of the fate of the old Liberal Party. He might also have reminded himself of the disaster that befell the German Social Democratic Party because it acted during the Great War very much as Mr. Morrison desires our Laobur Party to conduct itself during this conflict. The German Socialist Party fell because its leaders persuaded the rank and file to assist the Kaiser and his military caste, with the usual result that "Parties join a coalition in ignorance and separate in disgrace." Then, some of us can never forget the MacDonald-Snowden episode in considering these things.

The simple fact emerges that a working-class political party cannot conduct itselfeffectively in a Parliamentary democracy in harness with its avowed political opponents, and the feeling is growing that our Labour Ministers in the Coalition are not equal partners; they undertake such doubtful tasks of government that no Tory or Liberal Minister would dare perform if Labour had retained its independence in Parliament.

We are almost the only democratic belligerent country with a Coalition. Party warfare continues in the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, and they are all fighting against the Axis with the United Nations like ourselves.

Finally, it becomes more obvious every day that there is no avoiding splits in the Labour Party until it breaks with the Coalition, and the sooner Mr. Morrison realises that the better. In continuing the Coalition Labour is offending its best friends by placating its worst opponents. While it may not do much good to wash dirty linen in public, the blame for it in this case must rest on Mr. Morrison, who prepared the wash-tub.—Yours, etc.,

R. J. DAVIES.

House of Commons, November 17.

CAN WE OVERDO THE WAR?

By The Duke of Bedford.

If you continue to cook a leg of mutton after it is done, you will roast it to a cinder and have to cook another.

If you overdo a war by continuing it too long, your Government will one day feel that another war is necessary.

There is every indication that the present war will be overdone, with very disastrous consequences, if people do not create a public opinion which compels the Government to see reason. Don't therefore be blind to the danger signals, nor carried away by the common idea that "We must see it through to a finish."

Look ahead and think.

It is desirable **now** to explore the possibilities of peace on the following basis:—

(1) All nations, Axis and Allied, to agree to abstain from political interference in the affairs of countries desiring their freedom.

(2) The world's economic resources to be distributed according to the needs and numbers of the different peoples and without regard to their form of government; all nations to co-operate in the full development of the world's economic resources under a system which allows of no financial or trade hindrances.

(3) Total world disarmament to be arranged and maintained by a fully representative International Commission of Inspection, assisted by a staff of expert advisers, military or civilian. The representatives of every country to have the right to demand of others any facilities for inspection which their expert advisers inform them are necessary for their protection against possible secret rearmament, provided that they are themselves prepared to grant, on behalf of their own government, similar rights of inspection to the representatives of all other nations who may require such rights.

If an Axis Government refuses the terms, war can be continued until it agrees to them.

If Axis Governments agree but an Allied Government refuses the terms, further help in the war should be discontinued in order to compel reasonableness.

Advantages of the Plan.

(1) All the belligerent countries would have to make real concessions in the interests of a lasting peace, but all in return would receive solid and equal advantages.

In return for safety and justice, economic and political—

The Axis would have to evacuate occupied territory; respect the rights of other nations to political freedom; and abandon plans for military conquest.

Russia would have to do the same.

Britain and America would have to abandon a financial system and an economic selfishness which keep their own peoples in needless poverty and render wholly impossible the full development and fair sharing of the world's economic resources.

(2) The adoption of the plan would prevent further war casualties, including, it may be, a long and bloody war in the Far East after the war in Europe has ended.

(3) It would remove the political and economic causes of possible future wars.

(4) It would get rid of armaments and the temptation to use them.

(5) It would deprive untrustworthy statesmen of propaganda grievances necessary to arouse a war spirit among their peoples, and it would also deprive them of war weapons.

(6) It would prevent further war devastation and advance the date on which post-war reconstruction and adequate relief for war sufferers could begin.

(7) It would free the whole industrial effort of every nation for constructive purposes and the raising of the standard of living and culture throughout the world.

(8) It would provide a wide field for international co-operation in which the hatreds and misunderstandings created by war could be forgotten.

Drawbacks to Continuing the War until the Unconditional Surrender of the Axis has Been Achieved.

(1) Further heavy casualties on the Continent.

(2) A war in Asia, possibly long and certainly costly, after the European war has ended, which will drain the nation of its resources and delay post-war reconstruction.

(3) The virtual certainty of a vindictive peace on the Versailles model, which will arouse a desire for revenge among the defeated nations.

(4) Russia left in possession of a huge military establishment which would place her in a position of complete dominance in Europe and probably also in Asia. If she desired to do so, she would be able to disregard the rights and liberties of smaller nations to any extent she chose.

(5) Great danger of ultimate war with Russia due to political causes, economic rivalry, or to the oppressive treatment of other countries, and possibly need for rearming the Axis as allies.

(6) Alternatively, danger of another war with the Axis if they should again find the peace terms intolerable.

(7) The continuation of conscription.

(8) The diversion of a great part of the nation's economic resources to further war preparation.

(9) **Continuation of the process of perfecting the destructive character of the instruments of war, with the result that the next war will be even more deadly in character and more uncertain in results than any previous war.**

(10) Continuation of the spiritual, moral and social evils which accompany war or the maintenance of a militarist regime.

(11) Continuation of the tyranny of the international financiers of the City and Wall Street, who exploit ordinary citizens in the interests of moneylenders; maintain poverty in the midst of potential plenty; and encourage war against nations of whose financial methods they disapprove.

(12) Completely useless sacrifice by all who have given their lives in this war, owing to the failure to achieve results of the slightest permanent value.

Some weeks ago one of the big London daily newspapers published a report, later stated by the Editor, in conversation, to come from a reliable source, of an intimation by a highly-placed German official, to the effect that Germans would be prepared to conclude peace on terms which included the evacuation of all the occupied countries and appeared to be thoroughly satisfactory. Recently Mr. R. R. Stokes, M.P., asked a question about this report in the House of Commons, receiving from Mr. Anthony Eden the usual inadequate and unintelligent reply that the Government deemed it a ruse to undermine the unity of the Allies.

The *Daily Sketch* of July 3rd contained the following:—"Political Director of the German Radio, Frische, has challenged us. 'It is up to England to stop her bombing,' he says. 'If she ceases her terror attacks, then Germany will not be forced to use her V.1 weapon.'"

From these two items of news it is apparent that, but for the obstinate belligerency of our own Government, there is a good chance that we might have been spared all the slaughter of the Invasion and all the suffering caused by the flying bomb and that without any injury to our Allies or any failure to restore liberty to the nations under German occupation, who have already made it plain that they do not desire to be "liberated" by the war-method our statesmen insist on inflicting upon them. It is also apparent that, but for the same obstacle of senseless belligerency further casualties and mental and physical agony might even now be prevented.

And what will be achieved if the full measure of sacrifice is demanded in carrying on the war to the bitter end? Merely a further quite unnecessary devastation of Europe and, at the end, a state of affairs as likely to produce a third war and as unlikely to secure lasting peace as can well be imagined. Poland, the original cause of the conflict, will be compelled to cede to Russia far more territory than Germany ever demanded and will be "compensated," contrary to the original provisions of the Atlantic Charter, with territory inhabited by a German population—a super-Versailles blunder indeed!

The Soviet Government, mightily armed, will be given a position of dominance in two continents which will expose them to the temptations of that absolute power, which, it has been said, "corrupts absolutely." Wherever possible, Wall Street and City financiers will, with their gold and international currency, re-establish an artificial poverty in the interests of moneylending and currency-buying.

How can this utter waste and useless sacrifice be prevented? Only by the people of this country coming to their senses and, in sufficient numbers, *shouting and keeping on shouting until the Government is compelled to heed them.* As I have said many times already, only the people can save themselves, their dear ones, and what is still left of civilisation that is worth having. No one else can do it. It is useless for them to look for salvation to the tiny handful of sane men in Parliament, as though these could, by argument, influence to any appreciable degree the huge majority who insist on a fight to a finish. The tiny handful have done their best, but without effect. Where persuasion has failed it is the people and the people alone who have the right and the power to compel by pressure of numbers.

A stage in the conflict bas now been reached when, by a grim paradox, it is becoming daily more obvious that men are dying to produce the conditions which will make a third war certain and not those which, by any stretch of imagination, can be regarded as favourable to lasting peace. That is the tragedy---and the challenge.

WORLD MONETARY PLAN

By G. H. STOCK

The debate in the House of Commons on May 10th, 1944, on the World Monetary Plan brings to light, first, that the majority of the members are definitely against a return to **any** form of Gold Standard as an International currency. Secondly, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not prepared to say that the Plan is a return to the Gold Standard. His words being: "I believe there is no foundation for the view that this scheme in any way involves a return to the Gold Standard." But later, he defines what is meant by **his** definition of the Gold Standard. "The scheme provides for regulating the parity of national currencies in the last resort with Gold, but it is not a question of clamping the national currency to Gold." The members meant **all** forms of Gold Standard whether (a) the self-regulating Gold Standard; (b) the managed Gold Standard; (c) the suggested adjustable Gold Standard under the Plan, with the variable "adjustable link." Whereas the Chancellor definitely says the Plan means (c), he again says (Hansard, page 2045), if dollars are on gold, quite obviously there must be a parity between sterling and gold.

The members mean one thing and the Chancellor definitely means another. Therefore the Plan is a definite tie-up to Gold, camouflage it as the Chancellor will, with "adjustable links," escape ladders, variability and the like.

It is clear that much confused thinking, intentionally or un-intentionally, arises from the debate. There can be **no compromise** with the Gold Standard in any form, because any currency linked directly or indirectly with Gold **is** a Gold Standard. There is no limit to production but flexibility to Gold is limited, and production is subjected to Money. If, as is a fact, dollars are linked to Gold and Sterling linked to Dollars, then Sterling is based on Gold, and therefore we have the old question of a limited volume of money limited to the volume of a Gold basis.

This plan is definitely a return to the Gold Standard, and all the expedients to disguise this fact, such as variability of rates, adjustable link, do not alter the fundamental fact. Nations will be forced to take loans in Gold at interest.

It is essential to get clear that International Trade is barter, and only a barter system of goods for goods can prevent an economic collapse. The scheme provides for the export of goods for International Money, based on gold. In other words, goods for money and not goods for goods.

Reading the Chancellor's speech, one is forced to liken him to a wily angler, fishing for salmon, with an invisible line with a Gold Standard hook, well camouflaged with a variable adjustable link-fly. His whole argument is to persuade the House of Commons that the bait is the fly and a full and fat one, but when you take the bait you discover that you are hooked for good and all to an International Gold Standard.

Why all the concern about American hoard of gold? If this scheme goes through, then the greatest sufferer will be America herself, because she will destroy her own export market, as a return to the Gold Standard would react on the U.S.A. in so far as she desires her own and world prosperity. The effect would be fifteen or twenty million men unemployed in America with six or seven million men unemployed here. If we refuse to shackle ourselves to American Gold and remain on a goods for goods standard, we shall in fact be saving America committing economic suicide, by pursuing her present policy. America has built up vast productive machine capacity, and if she forces exports on other countries she must, no matter what she may desire, take goods in exchange or give the goods away, or lend money abroad and accept promises to pay, which in the end must be redeemed by America taking imports in exchange unless she proposes to **buy** up the nations of the world, which means **war.**

If she fails to do this, then her vast volume of production will be thrown back on to the American market, and under the present financial system, which provides no means of distributing purchasing power to its own nationals, would therefore cause a vast slump which would create world economic chaos with all those nations in any way linked to the International Fund.

Again, it is not the American citizens whom the House of Commons are considering in their concern about American Gold, but the few international financiers, who through their greed and avariciousness have accumulated as their private property 85 per cent. of the Gold in America, and who seek world-power through International Money. All this concern, is to save these "gentlemen" from their short-sighted and foolish action, at the expense of the hundred and thirty million American citizens, and the forty-five millions of British people, and the millions of the smaller nations throughout the world, with the ultimate result of another World War, brought about by the economic stresses throughout the world.

Having cornered Gold, set the nations at war, so piling up world debt, they force the nations on to a Gold Standard in some form—thus smash down prices, so that they can scoop the assets of the lowest level, and vastly increase the debt value, which they control, and so enslave the world.

Shortly, it is best that the House of Commons faces up to the fact, that this small group must **not** be preserved with their hoard of Gold at the expense of the nations of the world.

The danger arising from the debate is that the resolution "provides a suitable foundation for further International consultation with a view to improved monetary co-operation after the War." The Government may now say that the house, by accepting this resolution, has definitely committed themselves to an International monetary system, which the Chancellor alleges is not a return to the Gold Standard (Hansard, 2040), and will claim that the House should not go back on the resolution, which means a goods for money system in International trade, indirectly or directly, linked to Gold, rather than a goods for goods system which has no relation to Gold whatever. The producers want a goods for goods standard, the moneylenders want a goods for money standard.

It is as well that this should be realised before this country is committed to any scheme however camouflaged, which controls through a limited International money, **externally** controlled, production, trade and employment of this country.

The experts have produced a mumbo-jumbo document that even the mover, Lieut.-Colonel Elliot, M.P., admitted he could not understand, "since these things are so extremely bedevilled with technicalities as to be scarcely intelligible to the ordinary man." This was certainly done for the purpose of getting Members talking about "International Money" and lost in a morass of technicalities which have no **fundamental** meaning and not related to International trade which is fundamentally **barter.**

A lily is as fair by any other name. A Gold Standard camouflaged by flexibility and an adjustable link remains a Gold Standard just the same.

It is clear that Great Britain should face up to the fact that we should adopt a policy of International trade based on a goods for goods exchange system, for the mutual benefit and world-wide expansion of trade. This technique can easily be provided, as in the "Volens" system, whereby goods exported are paid for by goods imported, the exporter being paid in National Money, and all members having representatives at the Clearing House, would exchange "Volens" at the agreed rate of exchange multi-lateral with other nations. A credit in "Volens" would have to be accepted in **imports** within six months or lapse. Thus "Volens" cannot be hoarded, saved or invested, but must be spent in the import of goods. No nation can be forced into unpayable debt by an aggressive over-exporting nation.

War creates an enormous demand for goods, munitions, etc., because war is an unlimited consumer. Therefore, in peace we must create a technique whereby an unlimited demand for goods arises for peace purposes. "Volens" **reverse** the system of exports in that all nations desire imports and the conditions of spending a credit in imports within six months, **forces** a nation to **import** goods, and thus instead of cut throat, mad scramble for export markets, all nations would import at the agreed rate of exchange. Primary producing countries destroyed surpluses of food and raw material and feared a falling price level for their **exports.**

This means simply a goods for goods International exchange between one country and another for the mutual benefit of all countries and the prosperity and peace of the world.

Co-operation, whether between persons or nations, is fundamentally the same. You associate with your neighbour, invite him into your house as a guest, trade with him, and mutually respect one another. But, when your neighbour gate-crashes on you, forces you to buy goods you do not want and refuses to take your goods in exchange, forces loans at interest on you, gets you into unpayable debt and forces his way into your house, orders you about, eats at your table and sleeps in your bed, then co-operation is coercion and you arise in wrath and kick him out.

It must have been amusing to see the terror-stricken face of the mover in the Treasury room during the artificial "economic blizzard" of 1931 (Hansard, page 1944). "We were down to our last few hundreds of thousands" of pounds when I heard the clock strike on the Saturday for "the closure of business," yet, here we are spending £15,000,000 a day on war. So, the great British Empire ran short of "money" because of the absurd Gold Standard! we could not print and issue our **own** National Credit Notes although we had all the factories, raw materials, labour and technical ability to produce Abundance. Money is not wealth, but a ticket which should be pulped when it has completed its function of exchanging goods, and re-issued as **new** money, Debt free by the State as required. As it is we add up the tickets as a **Debt** on which we pay perpetual interest although the **real** wealth has been destroyed in war.

We do not know who are the "anonymous" controllers of the proposed "Fund," or the voting power of the members or the "Experts" who produced this mumbo-jumbo "jargon" which its sponsor does not understand. These "experts" seem to be experts in camouflage but not in common sense. "Obscurity has its compensations."

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INVASION MUSINGS

By Councillor Charles A. Earl

[The following essay was written on the eve of the Second Front. The author's logic applies most forcibly to the developed situation, and the workers have to weigh the two policies: "unconditional surrender" or peace by negotiation.—Ed.]

On several occasions in 1921 and 1922 I visited France, Holland, Belgium, and Germany. I was privileged, with a French friend, to have a special trip in a Farman Goliath aeroplane from Paris to Brussels, over the battlefields of France and Belgium. It was a perfect summer day and we flew at a height that would be known as "hedge-hopping" to-day, in order that I might closely observe the country over which we were flying. The things that I saw, even 2½ years after the Armistice, have burned themselves into my brain, so that I shall never forget them. The long-winding trenches, the shell holes, many filled with water and covered with slime, the wrecked buildings of towns not yet nearly recovered from their terrible experiences. But most of all the realisation that although there seemed to be hardly a yard of ground that was not pitted with shell holes, men had fought and died in that countryside, for what? "A land fit for heroes," "for Christian freedom and democracy," "a war to end war." What a hope!!!

It does not take much imagination to picture the hell that these men endured, and they endured in the hope that their children should never have to suffer in the same way, and their rulers pledged themselves that it never should happen again.

In Germany I was treated with great hospitality. I visited German homes and folk were very kind to me. But it was in this country that I received my greatest shock, and I feel a sense of shame whenever I think of the incident, and that is quite often, especially these days. I was walking in Hamburg when I came upon some small children. I was horrified to see that they were literally living skeletons. I have seen some pitifully under-nourished youngsters in London and elsewhere, but nothing like those kiddies in Hamburg, and afterwards in other German cities. Innocent children starved by blockade, which was continued months after the Armistice was signed, children who could not possibly bear any responsibility for the crime which had been committed against them, yet they paid, as children always do pay, for the sins of their fathers, and as our own children are now paying for our sins.

Many of these children grew up, and, thanks to that wonderful organisation, "Youth Hostels," arrangements were made whereby the youth from various countries on the Continent were able to visit this country and our youth visited them. It was all very friendly, and I believe that those who visited Germany have very happy recollections of that country and its people, and of course such places as Baden and Wiesbaden were always popular with our privileged class.

In September 1939 all this was changed, and overnight the German and Italian people had changed from decent, friendly folk into the world's greatest blackguards. Why? Young men and women don't suddenly become villains. What happened? Governments decided to go to war with each other. (There is no need for my purpose to attempt to give reasons, it is sufficient that war was declared.) The minute that happened—and indeed before it happened—the propaganda machines on both sides began to work at full blast. Socialists and Trade Unionists forgot that they were ever internationally-minded. Forgot that they ever called themselves the "Peace Party." For instance, the "Daily Herald" on 31st March, 1939, speaking for the Labour Party, says:

Talk of conscription need not be taken seriously. The Labour and Trade Union movement is not prepared to consider it.

Everyone knows now that Comrades Bevin and Morrison betrayed their comrades by introducing for the Tory coalition the vital Conscription Acts.

Youth and adult were all subjected to tremendous hate propaganda. To hate even unto death people whom they had never seen and who had never harmed them. Churches became military-minded and aggressive. The Sermon on the Mount and the second great commandment were positively seditious. All ideas of the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man, must be set aside until after the war. There are more important things, such as blessing battleships, bomber aeroplanes and banners, and collecting money to buy bombs, guns and other useful weapons, to destroy God's German and Italian children. The children from day and Sunday schools were asked to subscribe their pennies to buy these big, beautiful and better bombs, the 8000-pounders that blow little German and Italian children to smithereens. Can these be the little children of whom Jesus said "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven"?

Not only do we render great service to our country by lending our money, but we do ourselves a bit of good as well, because we get good interest on the money that buys these lovely bombs that destroy those dreadful children.

And now we have a second front, the British and Allied invasion of Europe. The people who shouted the loudest for it are those who are too old to go or those in reserved occupations. I have not heard of a single instance where the young soldier himself was so anxious to take on this suicidal job.

We are told by Government spokesmen, such as Comrade Morrison, that we must face serious and grievous losses. We all remember the dreadful ordeal and casualties of Dunkirk and Dieppe, but it is certain that these affairs will look like picnics compared with the sustained suffering the invasion will entail. The casualties will be numbered in hundreds of thousands. Imagine the intense anxiety and misery when our youth attack the youth of Germany and Italy, when English and German husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons are doing their utmost to kill each other and to make wives into widows and children fatherless.

Death is not the most tragic aspect of war. Come with me to Roehampton or Richmond, see men in blue hospital dress, lying, always lying on their backs, unable to walk or sit up. They have been like this for 30 years. They were fine strong youths in 1914, but the Great War left them shattered and useless, and a grateful country compels them to rely on charity (Poppy Day) for a considerable part of their subsistence. The State compelled them to give their all, and then disclaimed full responsibility.

It is only the officers who get reasonable pensions.

The second front casualties, when fully recorded, will make even those dreadful battles of the Somme and Vimy Ridge in the last war seem child's play. The tragedy of it is, the fighting men always think it will be the other fellow and not themselves who is killed or injured.

Can I appeal to fathers, mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts to use every endeavour, to stop this insane and unchristian war, before they too are wounded and bereaved for life by the loss of their dear ones? I appeal to them to realise that all this talk of patriotism, fighting for freedom and other fine sentiments, are always a necessary accompaniment of every war. Both sides use the same phrases, and on both sides the only people who gain from war are the financiers, arms manufacturers, and profiteers generally. The common people are always losers.

I beg of you, not to be deceived by the fervid orations of Royalty Statesmen, or Church leaders. The very same people said the very same things in 1914-1918. When they talk, just you remember Roehampton, Richmond and St. Dunstans, and say "No."

Remember that, on the 7th December, 1939, the National Council of Labour issued a statement condemning Russia's attack on Finland. It said:—

On the fantastic pretext that Finland threatened the security of the U.S.S.R., the armed forces of the Soviet Government have invaded the territory of a peaceable democratic neighbour. They have set up a puppet Government which challenges the rightful authority of the legally constituted Government of Finland. Soviet air forces are bombing open towns and destroying the lives of innocent people by indiscriminate slaughter. The British Labour Movement regards with deep detestation the action of the Soviet Government, because it has in the past porfessed to be the leader of the world's working-class movement, guardian of the rights of peoples against their oppressors, interpreter of Socialist principles, and the custodian of International peace. British Labour, in the light of recent events, repudiates utterly these claims of the Government of the U.S.S.R. British Labour pays heartfelt tribute to the steadfast courage and resolution the Finnish nation has shown in resistance to the aggressor. It renders homage to the Finnish people who are giving their lives to their homeland. It recalls with gratitude the splendid achievements of the Finnish nation in social legislation and in the building up of a Trade Union, co-operative and political organisation of the working-class on the foundations of true democracy. Therefore on the eve of the meeting of the League Council, it calls upon the free nations of the world to give every practicable aid to the Finnish nation in its struggle to preserve its own institutions of civilisaton and Democracy.

What does the Labour and Trade Union movement say about Finland to-day? Finland is fighting the same war and the same enemy. In less than two years after this declaration we were at war with Finland, calling the Finns the scoundrels and Russians the heroes. What a farce!

In the early days of the war the Allies assisted Japan in their war against China by supplying munitions and closing the Burma Road. But in 1941 they were uncivilised savages.

Let us consider the sincerity of all this protest: see how expediency and self-interest are the only things that matter to statesmen and rulers; and how impossible it is to trust any of the warmongering national executives.

America, the British Empire, and China are at war with Japan, but Russia is not. Why?

Russia and the British Empire are at war with Finland, but America is not. Why?

The answer is plain. Expediencey and self-interest.

Do you intend to allow our youth to be offered up on those altars? Must they go through the hell their fathers went through in 1914-1918?

On the 8th November, 1939, Mr. Attlee, speaking on Peace Aims, said:—

We wish the German people to know that they can NOW secure, if they will, an honourable peace.

If peace could be offered or suggested in 1939, why cannot it be offered or considered in 1944? Is it wrong to prevent further bloodshed and destruction? Must patriotism be wanton and shall Labour support it?

Comrades, get your shoulders to the wheel. Let us see to it that the power of those who can see no future but war for mankind is challenged. Let us see if peace is not possible—peace and the end of war and Fascism.

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UNITED STATES PRISONS
A SYMPOSIUM

By JULIUS EICHEL

[Julius Eichel is editor and publisher of the "United States' Absolutist," official organ of the Absolutist War Resisters' Association. It is published at 769, St. Marks' Avenue, Brooklyn 13, New York, N.Y., U.S.A. This paper is devoted to the interests of those inspired by conscientious scruples against any form of war service.—Ed.]

"The Health of the nation is periled if one man be oppressed."

Some of our sentimental pacifists have gone into prisons with the idea of reforming them. What they seem to forget is that even if a small part of the system improves with their patching, the remainder will still remain vile and wicked. We have gained enough experience to know it is the government we are up against and not the prisons. We live in an age of immense government hypocrisy and the worst aspects of nationalism are operating to enslave us. And to add insult to injury we find our representatives passing conspiracy laws forbidding groups of citizens to challenge their wicked legislation that keeps well intentioned people divided while our wicked rulers can unite in thinking up schemes to oppress and enslave us. Our problem then is not the reforming of prisons, but the problem of making them unnecessary. However, whichever way we look at it, we have seen enough of the inside of prisons to know they are wicked places under the best conditions, and that no apologies for this evil should be permitted to fool us.

American Absolutists are not engaged in a prison reform movement; nor are we wasting our energies against race discrimination or anti-Semitism to the exclusion of the more important problem of working against all forms of oppression and attempt to get at the root of all these evils. Unemployment, race hatred, and war are the flowers of an evil system which has as its roots imperialism and exploitation. Conscientious objectors to conscription, regimentation, and war, whether they are conscious of it or not, are in opposition to such evils. Americans have always been *rights conscious* as opposed to class conscious, for if we enjoyed equal rights, exploitation and diserimination would disappear. Our objections, therefore, are based not only on the humanitarian and religious objections to mutual murder, but are based also on a flatfooted insistence on the continuance of civil liberties, and the extension of equal rights to all indiviluals regardless of race, creed or colour.

Our prisons are simply the boils that are symptomatic of the poisoning of our political blood stream. Just as the Bastille was the symbol of Bourbon oppression, so in our day prisons stand as the symbol of our own bureaucratic oppression. Prisons are the end product of our evil system, and in them we see the functioning of our bureaucracy in all its evil phases. The lying, the sadism, and the misrepresentation that goes on here is indicative of what goes on in other branches of the present administration. So in our emphasis on prisons, we are really showing up the evils of the entire system.

Recently Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director, Selective Service System issued a report in which he stressed the liberal treatment of COs. But that statement is refuted by the fact that under the present administration about 2000 or more conscientious objectors have already been sent to prison, and more men are in prison now for conscience sake than ever before in our history. Also, while the ordinary prisoner can apply for a parole after serving one-third of his sentence, the CO is deprived of that privilege, and after his release is hounded by the Cat and Mouse Act which returns him to prison after his release on the same charge. Army officers often reveal their feelings about the problem of COs. by saying they would dispose of it by either freeing the objectors or shooting them. Considering the pressure and abuse present day COs. are being subjected to, shooting almost sounds humane. Our administration is worse than it is supposed to be, for it is continually paying lip-service to the ideals it denies in practice. Our prisons are worse than they are supposed to be, for those who administer them are continually denying the evils that are practiced in them. Our Congress passed the evil conscription law, and washes its hands of all the abuses under it. Our Congress, judging by its indifference to all the evils pointed out to it, is the most irresponsible body of law makers America ever endured.

One correspondent who served terms in three different Federal prisons for his pacifist convictions wrote:—

"Criminals are not born or made; they are chosen. The State creates the monstrocity called the criminal . . ."

From Springfield, Mo. Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners comes word that Stanley is being beaten again and that perhaps Lou Taylor, too, is being mistreated. The censorship that cuts the public off from all the prison evils must be protested.

In this connection I had occasion to write to about eight officials and Senators regarding the same complaints my brother Albert Eichel was making in the same prison against the same abuses. And if proof were lacking of the irresponsible nature of the present administration, the replies I received would overcome that weakness. Actually out of the eight officials only one replied. The reply was from Senator James M. Mead, dated September 27, 1943, and was as follows:—

"I appreciate your letter of September 24th, but I regret the matter you mention is entirely outside my jurisdiction."

And that was all.

On October 5, I wrote to the Senator in part, and sent on copies to the other seven:—

"Recently at Danbury Correctional Institution Stanley Murphy and Lewis Taylor were on an eighty-two day hunger strike as a protest against their imprisonment for their convictions against conscription, regimentation, and war. When this mess is over, and human beings will again come back to sanity they will marvel at the vindictiveness with which the government treated these two heroic young men. The same vindictiveness is being shown in the case of the men at Lewisburg who cannot co-operate in aiding in their own punishment. . . . These men need attention, and you should do what you can to help these unfortunates."

PRISON ROUTINE AND REGIMENTATION

Within the last few months COs. have not only been compelled to contend against the evils inherent in the present administration and the prison system, but also against the so-called friends of the pacifists.

In an interview with a CO. in 1942, James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Prisons said:—

"The American penal system is the most authoritarian system in any democracy. If you buck up against it, you will feel the whole weight of the system upon you."

At the request of a friend who believed Bennett was ignorant of the vile nature of his prison system, I wrote in part on August 13, 1943:—

"It grieves me to learn at this date the Federal Bureau of Prisons still asks for facts about abuses . . . The greatest atrocities against the mind and convictions of the individual are being perpetrated in America when conscientious objection, instead of remaining as the right of every individual on the same basis as freedom of worship, becomes the football of our Congress, courts, and militarists who set up an inquisition to test the convictions of conscientious objectors and condemn them to long prison terms. You are committing an atrocity against the spirit of America when you are willing to administer a prison system that tortures them in prison, or even permits them to remain in prison."

On August 17, 1943, I received a reply from Mr. Bennett refusing to respond to my charges for this reason:—

"I decline because I agree with the vast majority of sincere 'C.O s' in our institutions who believe that you are doing the cause they represent untold harm and vast disservice."

And there you have it from the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons that men are in prison for conscience sake, and that they are sincere.

Another and more potent friend of the COs., and one whose activity has been repudiated by almost every organization and men of note in the pacifist movement, is Rev. Charles W. Palmer. Rev. Palmer, with the permission of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, visited pacifist prisoners and issued reports and indicated in many ways that he could distinguish between the good pacifists that co-operated with the war machine by behaving in prison, and those pacifists who would not co-operate and were proving embarrassing to an administration which was busy pretending it was defending the very freedom it was denying to its own citizens.

On August 20, 1943, I thought I would write to Rev. Palmer and point out the fact that pacifists are in prison because they are opposed to war, and not because they were out to please an administration engaged in war. Among other things, I wrote:—

"We should remember that America belongs as much to the pacifist as it does to the militarist. If we do not restrain people from preparing, and agitating for, and fighting in war, we should be decent enough to let those at liberty that want nothing with war. Otherwise, in defending the militarist's power to imprison men, you are helping to maintain the institution of war which pacifists would love to destroy. I have had occasion to hear of some of your reports on prison conditions that are at variance with the facts; or at any rate they show lack of imagination. In connection with the men at Lewisburg, I have heard of your report that they are well treated. I would say that the men are not well treated when they are herded together in one dormitory where they are confined for months at a time and see very little of the outdoors and have no facilities for diversion. The confinement may continue for years unless we who are free can get them out. Prisons are mighty evil places, but worse than prisons, for the inmates, are your insane asylums. When you get a combination of the two as you do in Springfield, Missouri, you get an institution which can be absolutely terrorizing. To contend with the individuals that refuse to accept such institutions, instead of attacking the government that supports them, is a mortal sin as far as I am concerned. Yet, after your visit to Murphy and Taylor at that institution, you could not see the humiliation, and the degradation, and the terror of confining harmless men to so evil a place. Instead, you made Mrs. Murphy feel she was committing a crime in opposing such arrangements."

On August 27, 1943, Rev. Palmer forwarded the following reply:—

"I have seen over 150 C.O.'s, and spent an average of 30 minutes with each of them without anyone else present. I have been convinced by my observation, by the assurances of Bureau staff, and by what the C.O.s have told me that a very large majority are making great contributions to the improvement of prison conditions by their positive constructive efforts. . . .

"I am too deeply concerned in carrying out the mandates of my Heavenly Father to spend time in correspondence with a man who thus doubts my integrity and my sincerity of purpose."

Dr. Evan W. Thomas, Chairman of the War Registers League, very much wrought up by the circulation of Mr. Palmer's prison reports, on September 22, 1943, issued "A Statement Regarding Mr. Palmer's Reports on Stanley Murphy."

"On two occasions the mimeographed sheet called "Information," sent from the American Friends Service Committee C.P.S., has seen fit to print without comment statements by Charles Palmer relating to the Bureau of Prisons and Stanley Murphy. Mr. Palmer is much impressed with the Bureau of Prisons. . . .

"Mr. Palmer carefully refrains from condemning the action of the prison authorities in the hospital at Springfield in placing Murphy and Taylor in the insane section of the hospital before placing Murphy in a strip cell. He tells us nothing as to how frequently the threat of being treated as insane is used as a punitive measure in the hospital. He seems to have no awareness of the fact that being treated as a vicious animal and placed in a cell without clothing is far more demeaning and psychologically diabolical than physical violence. Instead he informs us that Murphy could have written an uncensored letter to the authorities in Washington telling them of his treatment.

"This is manifestly absurd. How does a man confined without clothing in a strip cell communicate with anyone? If Mr. Palmer believes that authorities who could inflict this kind of punishment would permit an uncensored communication to be forwarded to Washington, he is indeed innocent; yet his innocence takes on strange wiles and subtlety when it comes to discrediting Murphy. I have had prison wardens admit to me that beatings and other things occur in prison which never come to the attention of the warden. Some wardens will deliberately wink at it. Anyone acquainted with prisons knows this

to be true. Mr. Bennett knows it In the case of Murphy the warden was responsible for everything except the alleged beating. . . .

"Mr. Palmer evidently believes that obedience to a prison law and moral integrity are one and the same thing. He insists that Stanley and his mother gave the prison authorities cause to question Stanley's motives by smuggling out a letter which was against the rules. He says nothing about the fact that Murphy from the beginning frankly told the prison authorities that he would not co-operate with their rules and never signed consent to have his mail censored at Springfield with the result that he was denied letter-writing privileges. Stanley acted honestly in accordance with his own premises."

MURDER WILL OUT

After months of continued agitation against atrocities in our Federal Prisons and the constant airing of the most serious charges ranging from battery and assault to murder of prisoners which *The Absolutist* continually insisted demands a Congressional investigation, the story of those atrocities finally broke full bloom into an influential part of the press early this year, and which promised to force the long overdue Congressional investigation such charges merit. *The Absolutist* from the beginning of its existence insisted that imprisoning objectors to war was a sure proof that our prisons were being used as instruments of terror. We had no illusions about that. Terrorism on so wide a scale cannot be kept secret unless our officials and administration, our newspapers and our educators, and ministers conspire to keep it secret. Now the ground has been broken to return to our self-respect and integrity as a nation by exposing, condemning, and obliterating this terror and infamy from America.

Jay Nelson Tuck, *World-Telegram* staff writer, began his exposures on Wednesday, February 9, 1944. His first article was rather restrained, but the ensuing ones continued the exposures with an ever increasing crescendo that promised to shake the Prison Bureau to its foundations. Other newspapers confined themselves to pointing out that James V. Bennett, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, and the Attorney General's office were to do some investigating. Those of us who were aware of a whitewash of a similar scandal a few months ago could not be satisfied by that.

Jay Nelson Tuck continuing his articles in the *New York World-Telegram* of February 14, 1944, wrote as follows :—

STRONGER PRISON PROBE DEMANDED

Documents in possession of the "World Telegram" to-day charged that inmates of the Federal Medical Centre at Springfield, Mo., were kept from talking to investigators sent there last August by the Federal Bureau of Prisons and that one prisoner was "beaten into insanity" for attempting to tell his story to the investigators.

The documents were smuggled out of prison by Louis Taylor, of New York, now serving a term there and sent by him to Dr. Evan W. Thomas, whose brother, Norman, the Socialist leader, has demanded congressional investigation of the institution.

Both the Thomas brothers have expressed complete lack of confidence in an investigation of the "World Telegram's" charges concerning the institution now being made by James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

"Mr. Bennett is an interested party to the administration of the prison," Norman Thomas said to-day. "I don't care what he says or what he does. Any prisoner seeing Bennett sitting there knows what he stands for.

"The full truth can only come out through an impartial outside investigation in which the prisoners themselves have confidence.

"The probe of his own institution last summer was ordered by Mr. Bennett after Stanley Murphy, New York Consientious Objector, confined there charged that he had been brutally beaten and confined naked in a stripped stone cell in which there was no furniture of any kind and which was equipped with a hole in the floor for a toilet."

Under the heading "And No Hush or Whitewash!" the editorial of the same paper had this to say :—

The "World Telegram's" disclosures of alleged shocking brutality to prisoners at the Medical Centre of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Springfield, Mo., are too well documented with first-hand testimony and sworn affidavits to call for anything short of full, disinterested, unsparing investigation.

Prisoners beaten, kicked or starved to death, their bodies sent home covered with welts and bruises, others crippled by beatings or thrown naked into "strip" (bare stone) cells—and such atrocities charged, not to Jap savages but to government-paid guards in a United States prison hospital! Nor is it the first time that such charges have cast a sinister shadow in this federal institution. There was a similar scandal there last year.

Under the circumstances, the announced investigation to be conducted by James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, and a representative of the Public Health Service can hardly inspire full public confidence. Both these government bureaus are interested parties to the charges.

Neither is confidence deepened by Mr. Bennet's reported stressing of the point that some of the alleged victims were conscientious objectors or crackpot members of strange cults. As if that made a difference.

Whether conscientious objectors, cultists or whatever else, all prisoners held in confinement by the United States government are entitled to decent treatment befitting American civilised standards.

Either the Bureau of Prisons-Public Health Service probe should be strengthened and balanced by the addition of wholly disinterested probers, or, better still, Congress itself should promptly start an investigation by a committee or commission, none of whose members can feel the slightest interest in whitewash.

AIR CRASH

BY LADY DUNN

I stood in my garden watching the "airmen" wheel, turn, dive, and manoeuvre, what marvellous flyers they were! almost like birds!

In fact, on looking closely they WERE birds, a flock of happy jackdaws, rejoicing in the spring sunshine at nesting-time.

Later on, looking into the garden from the kitchen window, the tragedy had happened, one of the little airmen had "crashed."

There he lay "pancaked" (I believe that is the technical expression). I ran to him, but found him dead although with no sign of injury on him.

Sadly I picked him up, thinking how very beautiful he was with his lovely black and dark slate grey feathers, arranged as only God could, or would trouble to arrange them, in perfect order and sequence.

His two little slim black legs, with what seemed imploring little black hands at the ends, were stiffly stretched out as in mute appeal for help; an appeal which found a ready answer in my heart, carefully I took him into the kitchen and over a warm stove tried, quite uselessly, to revive him.

So back I lay him on the cleft of a tree, whilst his mates flew round and wondered.

Hoping against hope, I found him there the next morning, and consigned him to the salmon stream running so swiftly at the end of the garden, on his back with outstretched wings and little claws still uplifted in prayer, he drifted from my view, and I?

I was, for a moment, ashamed of my PITIFUL HEART.

Ashamed, until I remembered a beautiful voice full of pity, which on seeing some palpitating atoms awaiting sacrifice had said:

"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one shall not fall to the ground without your Father knowing it."

Could the beautiful voice full of pity be wrong? could God really care about a sparrow? or the imploring little hands of a crashed jackdaw?

We must believe He does, and if so, what does He think of our daily announcements such as:

"We shot down 76 enemy planes, 42 of our bombers did not return."

WE may have grown callous, but of these crashed airmen, surely it must be believed that they are more precious than many sparrows.

I am NO LONGER ASHAMED of my PITIFUL HEART!

For with it, I believe very humbly, I SHARE THE FEELINGS OF GOD HIMSELF!

Rhys Davies Active

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
Tuesday, 18th July, 1944.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.
PEACE TERMS (GERMAN PEOPLE)

Mr. Rhys Davies asked the Prime Minister whether the Allied Powers, in deciding upon the policy of unconditional surrender for the enemy, envisaged the possibility that rather than submit to the consequences of such a policy, the workers in Germany before or after the conclusions of hostilities, might overthrow the present Nazi Government and establish a Communist regime instead, following the example of the Russian proletariat against Tsarism at the end of the war of 1914-18; and are the Allies prepared for such an eventuality.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill): Yes, Sir.

Mr. Davies: If the point was considered by the Allied Governments of the possibility of the emergence of a Communist Government in Germany with the overthrow of the Nazi regime, may we take it that His Majesty's Government will not act towards a Communist Germany as the right hon. Gentleman and his Gavernment did when the Bolshevik regime emerged in Russia at the end of the last war?

The Prime Minister: I should not like to go into this matter, but I am quite sure that German criminals have no right to escape merely by suddenly embracing the Communist faith.

Mr. Austin Hopkinson: Can the Prime Minister tell us the exact difference between a Nazi and a Communist regime?

The Prime Minister: I really could write quite a short brochure on the subject.

Mr. Davies: Would His Majesty's Government and its Allies' Governments welcome the emergence of a Communist regime in Germany?

The Prime Minister: I think it is not at all helpful or useful to put a number of complicated hypothetical questions on these matters. I think we had better get on with our work.

Which means that if and when Revolution comes in Germany, as it will very soon in some form or another, the Socialist and Pacifist Movement will have to unite against Vansittartism in a great "Hands off Revolutionary Europe" campaign? Are our Labour Militarists capable of such an effort?

Our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., has arranged to address the following meetings between now and the end of the year:

Aug. 12—Panteg Chapel, Ystalyfera, S. Wales. "Anti-Labour Laws."
,, **13**—At Llain-y-Delyn, Tumble, S. Wales. "The Peace that is to come."
Sept. 2—Houldsworth Hall, Manchester. "Pensions and Parents." (Afternoon Meeting).
,, **7**—Victoria Hall, Stoke-on-Trent. "The Church and the Future." (Church of England Men's Society).
,, **10**—Hoylake Methodist Mission, The Wirrall. "Peace."
,, **12**—Stroud, Glouchestershire. "Peace."
,, **13**—At Gloucester City. "Peace."
Sept. 16 to **Sept. 22** inclusive, in North Wales. "Campaign for Peace."
,, **2**—Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society "The Pattern of the Peace."
,, **28**—Pontardulais, Glam. "The Church and Industry."
,, **29**—Llangadog, Carmarthenshire. "Peace."
Oct. 6—Llangollen, N. Wales. "Peace."
,, **8**—Glasgow N.C.L. (Afternoon) and Study Circle (Morning).
,, **13**—Briton Ferry, Glam. "The Church and Peace."
,, **15**—Kettering. "The Peace that is to come."
Nov. 12—Cross Street Unitarian Church, Manchester.
Dec. 2—Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society.

Evening Meetings unless otherwise stated. See Local Press for actual time. All Socialists and Pacifists concerned should support these meetings. Questions and discussion welcomed.

Tuesday, July 18, was a field day for the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group in the Commons. Fuller report later.

A new edition has been issued of **"Poverty and Overtaxation," 6d., post free, 7d.**

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—Please allow me to lodge a vigorous and most indignant protest against the suggestion advocated by the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and other Free Church leaders, to "keep our Free Churches open for purposes of private and individual prayer as soon as word of the Invasion is made known." Is it only then that one should be allowed to go into a church to offer a prayer? And should one be disappointed if one should hear *Vade Retro Satanas?*

The two special invasion prayers set forth by the Archbishop of Canterbury recall to my mind the words of Milton, "With these and the like deceivable doctrines he leavens all his prayer"; and finally I cannot help but again quote John Ruskin on the "Infidelity of England":

"The form which the infidelity of England, especially has taken, is one hitherto unheard of in human history . . . With the shrewdest thinkers in the world, we have not yet succeeded in arriving at any national conviction respecting the uses of life."

Alas! some might ask, and perhaps some dignitaries of the church might ponder, whether John Ruskin did ever depart from this planet. Will the people of England ever wake up to follow the Cross—and not the cross-bones?

Sincerely yours,

West Croydon. STEPHEN ROHAN.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Your fighting organ reaches us monthly.

My being trained as engineer and earning my living in that trade for many years past, has resulted in very difficult circumstances as I have resisted compromising my objection to war. I feel keenly the contemptible attitude of those who greedily volunteered to work in the munition business seemingly without any reflection.

I was on the "H.O. Scheme" at Newhaven Camp in 1917; in the same hut as myself was Wm. C. McDougall, of Glasgow. We belonged to a group of about six who persisted in forming their own opinions without reference to anyone or anything in the way of dictation from without. We read "Freedom," "Satire" and "The Spur" which were regularly vivisected and exhibited to us in all their "futility" by our fellows of the then Labour parties, S.P.G.B. and every other working class shade of thought in the camp. They all disagreed with the Anarchist Group and with each other. We survived. Time, I think, has shown that we were right.

Yours fraternally,

Leicester. H. GREGORY.

Dear Guy,—I am quite glad to see you reporting in the "Word" the fine courageous speeches by Rhys Davies.

It would appear to me that such a stand as Rhys Davies takes must require an especial type of courage each time he has to confront the reactionary muddleheads in Parliament.

Keep that trusty right arm going.

Fraternally,

Paisley. HUGH LAMBERT.

Dear Sir,—I have read a number of your booklets and have enjoyed especially "Dogmas Discarded." I have handed these writings round the work. You can appreciate the discussions they have aroused. The readers include the following four persons: a strict Baptist; an ex-Catholic; a leading speaker for the P.S.A. movement; a Christian Socialist.

My opinions are a good deal like your own, although I feel that there must have been a beginning of things. I agree with you that Jesus, in his day, was a revolutionist.

Now and again I go to quite a plain service (Congregational), where the Minister is a Pacifist and stands his ground in spite of severe criticism. He helped my two sons, who are conscientious objectors. He is also a member of the F.O.R., but does not force religion down one's throat.

I left the Labour Party because its so-called leader betrayed Labour's fundamental principles. My faith in parliamentary action is gone completely.

Yours sincerely,

C. E. MOSS.

Dear Guy,—A lot of my evenings are being devoted to the campaign against A.A.I. You have seen some of the literature sent out by the Committee. I asked the Secretary to write you. I am on the Committee as a delegate from the Anarchist Federation. It is by no means a happy position; and, if you have received no invitation, your position is more happy than my own. The politicians have collared the situation, and have canalised it into a purely legal and constitutional pleading, in which the accused will be reduced to robots and victims, and no real fight will be defined or advanced. So long as the money comes in, lawyers will plead from court to court, and fees will be paid, and counsel and solicitors and their clerks will be saved from the bread-line. Aneurin Bevan is the only M.P. who says the fight is a workers' fight and not a lawyers' discussion.

More Anarchists are to be elected to the Committee. I don't think that that will make any difference. I am positive that Anarchists will not be asked to adorn any of the big meetings. That is reserved for the M.P.'s and the prospective M.P.'s—men with careers to maintain or make. Anarchists may be allowed to sit on the platform and applaud while the M.P.'s take the breath of the audience away by stating how much money they want to collect for legal expenses. It is all very foolish and so opposed to the principles of the real struggle.

The Trotskyites are satisfied so long as they are allowed one speaker each meeting, for a few minutes. It is the first time I have come in contact with them. They are a very inexperienced and immature crowd and mouth revolutionary phrases which few of them understand. I think they are sincere but I do not believe that their enthusiasm will stand up to persecution. I hope I am wrong, because the struggle must go on until social liberty is established.

Yours in the Cause,

London, N.W. M. KAVANAGH.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Please accept my thanks for "It Might Have Happened To You." This paper may well prove to be a valuable document which will become part of ineffaceable history. To you one cannot do less than accord appreciation and recognition of a valuable service to the cause of a better civilization which may ultimately become worthy of the name Christianity.

Yours faithfully,

Eye, Suffolk. RONALD N. CREASY.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Very many thanks for sending me the copy of "It Might Have Happened To You!"

You and Mr. Wynn are indeed to be congratulated on compiling this fully documented Investigation Report, and one day, I hope and believe, your work will be acclaimed as a public service. Even if "vengeance or damages" were sought, it is doubtful whether the balance could ever be fully redressed, judging by the dreadful disclosures; but liberal monetary recompense and an unequivocal certificate of complete vindication are surely, the least that a proud nation can offer the unfortunate victims of this unprecendented injustice.

For my part, I have always held that 18B (1a), although aided and abetted by political factors and some natural apprehension after Dunkirk, was primarily of alien inspiration. It is too much to believe that our national charcater could change overnight to one of injustice and cruelty. Specious misrepresentation alone can have fogged the issues and given the impression of sudden moral astigmatism.

Perhaps later you will be able to crown your splendid work by founding a kind of Companionship of Suffering. Into it all those who, innocent, have passed "through great tribulation" would be admitted. Until that day comes, all those of us who have the best interests of the country at heart must remain saddened by the spectacle which we indeed thought could "never happen here"—significant and sinister phrase! Meanwhile, it has happened here, and we can only wonder to what further depths the enemies of Christianity will seek to debase us.

Yours sincerely,

Sutton, Surrey. CUTHBERT REAVELY (Capt.)

Dear Mr. Aldred,—"It Might Have Happened To You" is particularly interesting to me, since I have been detained under Defence Regulation 18B, and I must sincerely congratulate you for assisting in such an effective way to make known the true position regarding 18B. I appreciate very much your point that you are concerned purely with the justice of the matter, and are not influenced by the fact that the majority of us that, to date, have been detained, are not of your own political views.

Yours very sincerely,

Lancaster. ROBERT ROW.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—The Archbishop of York (in his "Times" letter, June 19, 1944) takes up a very un-Christian attitude as regards the Pope's humane suggestion for a negotiated peace, provided of course satisfactory terms could be agreed—with good statesmanship they could be.

If wars rid us of the scum and disturbers of peace, these wars would be a blessing. But unfortunately most of those killed, if they had lived, would have helped to make life more worth while, especially if our money was created properly, spent and awarded wisely into existence; a scheme which has been prepared.

To continue murdering, destroying and slaughtering the cream of manhood is not only insane, it is most un-Christian and disputes can never be settled satisfactorily that way. If ever there is to be peace and security, then the chief cause of strife and war must be removed. This can never be done so long as a small group—who are spared solving the difficult problems of invention and production—are permitted to create nearly all the money, which they do by means of book entries. These were the people Disraeli evidently had in mind when he said: "The world is governed by very different persons to what is imagined." We can never have an honest government until we have an honest money system. There is no hope that the "experts" will give us that, as their schemes are primarily designed to satisfy the money creators, who have been able to "buy" nearly all the gold and many other things. During the last two wars our "debts" to them have been increased by many thousands of million £s.

Our only hope of enjoying the incalculable benefits of a good money system is to be found among the proposals of amateur money reformers, whose only consideration is the benefit of their country and humanity. Since money reform is far more of a logical matter than a financial question, a judicial enquiry should be set up to examine the most promising schemes; the best features from them should be adopted with the least possible delay and be given a trial.

Yours sincerely,

A. VERDON-ROE.

Economic Reform Club,
Panton House, 25 Haymarket, S.W.1.

NEGOTIATED PEACE

RHYS DAVIES M.P and GUY ALDRED

State Case

"The case for a negotiated peace" was dealt with by Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., and Mr. Guy Aldred, Editor of "The Word," of Glasgow, at a well-attended meeting at Friends' Hall, Lancaster, on Saturday evening.

Mr. Douglas J. J. Owen, of Manchester, presided. Mr. Arthur Knowles, Lancaster, was also on the platform.

Mr. Owen said that in all wars it was the masses who suffered. The joint committee of peace lovers who had arranged the meeting and many others were of the view that something should be done to stop war for all time, and this one in particular.

Mr. Davies said he had travelled over most of the world and found his own type, therefore he declined the philosophy of the Hitlerites that all the Jews were rascals; likewise he despised the philosophy of the Vansittarts that all the Germans were scoundrels.

"We should say to the Germans: 'Throw over your government and we'll show you what kind of a peace we'll agree to.' The Germans will say: 'We agree if you give up your kind of government,' and I agree with that too. I have travelled enough to know that the military gangsters do not differ very much in different parts of the world.

LAST WAR SUGGESTION

"The Lloyd George memoirs show us that in 1916, in the middle of the last war, the British Government considered seriously having a negotiated peace with the Germans instead of a knock-out blow, and history tells you now that Europe and the British people would have been 1,000 times better off if peace had been negotiated in 1916 instead of waiting for the knock-out blow.

"Don't you make a mistake by thinking that the British Government are not making attempts now to get a negotiated peace with Germany; they wouldn't tell you, and they won't even tell me. If you take a long term view of this issue of war between us and Germany, I am positive we would all be better off if peace were negotiated than if you proceeded to a knock-out blow, and I am not so sure that anybody is going to win this war in the traditional military sense.

"In my view this war will continue for a very long time yet if you are going to continue it on a military plane."

MUTUAL REGARD AND LOVE

Mr. Aldred said he supported negotiated peace from the angle of mutual regard, love, understanding, and respect. Under the cover of fighting Fascism they were introducing more and more Fascism into this country, and Bevin was the central figure of the Nazi-Fascist State. It was a war of imperialism under the cover of an ideology.

Negotiated peace meant let's have a talk together; let's get on our high horses and consider matters. With all the means of communication to-day, did they mean to say that they could not talk to the German people?

All the peoples needed food and shelter and an equal right to the raw materials and fruits of the earth, and they needed a brotherly agreement about it all; let them discuss it.

The power of Hitlerism would decline in Germany because people would say, "We are not going to have war any longer if you are going to stand between us and a possible peace."—"The Morecambe Visitor," Wednesday, June 21, 1944.

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DOES FREEDOM OF SPEECH EXIST IN BRITAIN?

BY C. H. NORMAN

There is a widespread belief in England that all citizens are entitled to express opinions on every kind of public question on the platform or by writing without risk of prosecution, *provided* such opinions are not expressed in obscene or indecent language, and are free from incitements to violence. This view of the legal position is erroneous. No such liberty of expression is the right of British citizens under the Statute Law or the common law, either in peace—or wartime.

Acts of Parliament beginning with 1, Edward VI, render liable to severe penalties any person who should question the divine origin of the Bible, the divinity of Jesus Christ, or should use certain expressions in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or in relation to the administration of the Sacraments. For a prohibitionist to describe the drinking of wine at the Holy Sacrament as a sin would be blasphemy. These Statutes have certainly not fallen into disuse; yet no enlightened mind has any belief in the divine origin of these persons, books, or ceremonies.

21, George III, c. 49, is a Statute to "prevent profanation of the Lord's Day," which forbids "public debating on any subject whatsoever upon any part of the Lord's Day called Sunday." By this Act any prosecution would be well-founded against the delivery of political lectures on Sunday, and the magistrates would be bound to convict, or treat the Statute as a dead letter, which recent decisions show it is not. Incidentally the sitting of the House of Commons on September 3, 1939, when war against Germany was decided on, would appear to have been unlawful under this Act.

There are also Statutes aimed at any general criticism of the truth of the authorised doctrines of the Church of England, which are reinforced by Statutes against the use of obscene language and the printing of obscene publications. In practice, these Statutes are only used to ensure the prosecution of inconvenient books or pamphlets. The prosecution of the translator of M. Zola's novels was launched under these Acts; he was convicted and imprisoned. A prosecution is rarely instituted against the mass of vulgar literature of a fictional character which is devoid of literary or any other merit.

There are Statutes making all criticism of the powerful in the land such as the monarch, the judicial body, or the officers of state, in the exercise of their public functions, punishable as seditious libels or sedition. Writings calculated to bring the administration of justice into contempt, or holding up a judge to personal ridicule would come within the legal definition of seditious libel. The judges are further protected by the powers at common law and under Statute, whereby any person impugning their honesty, or mocking their dignity, can be proceeded against for contempt, as happened to the *Birmingham Post*, which was very uncivil on one occasion to Lord Darling.

The Crown is protected by a rampart of Statutes by which persons abusing the personal character of the monarch, criticising the morality of the succession, casting doubt on the chastity of the Queen, attempting to seduce certain officers of state from their duty, endeavouring to enter into marriage with persons of the blood royal without the monarch's assent, or even reflecting on the morality or decency of the late monarch, may be severely punished for committing treason, treason-felony, sedition, or seditious libel, or calumniation of the royal character. It would seem from the events of 1936 that no monarch can sit on the throne who offends against the vested interests in religion and morality.

It is an offence to advocate the changing of the institutions or forms of government in England by means of violence; but the advocacy of Republicanism is not illegal, *provided* it is not accompanied by any proposals for the overthrow of the existing monarchy, or deposition of the monarch.

Any writing calculated, in the opinion of a jury, to be defamatory of a person in the sense of holding him or her up to hatred, ridicule, or contempt it a libel; but the defendant can repel any action by establishing that the words were true as a matter of fact. Where, however, a person is accused of a criminal offence in any publication, then the publisher or writer, or printer on a prosecution for criminal libel, must prove that the criminal offence was in fact committed, and that it was a matter of public interest to disclose the fact. If a man knows another has served a term of imprisonment, he is not entitled to reveal that information merely for the sake of gossip or tittle-tattle, but only from a sense of public duty.

By the Army Act and the Naval Discipline Act, and the regulations promulgated thereunder, anyone who seeks to seduce a soldier from the absolute obedience exacted by the military oath, or endeavours to undermine the unquestioning obedience demanded from a naval rating or marine, can be heavily punished. Any person attempting to persuade a soldier from obeying orders in an industrial dispute, or inciting a soldier to take sides in such a dispute to create a revolution, would be guilty of a most serious offence under several Statutes.

Whether the mere advocacy of trade union principles in the Army, the Navy, or the Police Force is in itself an offence is an undecided question. Under the Police Act, it is an offence to ridicule the duties of the police, or to cast reflections upon the tasks they are ordered to carry out. Soldiers, sailors (or policemen who agitated in their various forces to secure the setting up of trade-union organisation as a method of redressing grievances) would soon find themselves in difficulties under the Articles of War, the Naval Discipline Act, or the Police Regulations. The same principle would apply to any critic of the morality of the Air Force in bombing sleeping populations.

By the Aliens Act and the regulations thereunder, deportation orders can be issued against aliens for taking part in political agitation in this country without any trial in a court of justice. Under these regulations, the right of asylum for political refugees has been practically abolished, as the King's Bench Judges decided that the Aliens Act conferred an absolute discretion, in this respect, on the Home Secretary, with which the judges could not interfere.

Under the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, the Government can or may do so through the Privy Council. Once a "state of emergency" is declared, as in 1926, the Government can direct regulations in suppression of freedom of speech, or writing, or movement of person, for a limited time. It is questionable, however, whether martial law could be instituted under this Act. In that respect it is different from the Defence of the Realm Acts, which conferred power on the Government to declare martial law. There is now power to declare martial law by Royal proclamation.

Another remarkable power vested in the authorities is under a Statute of Richard II. whereby inconvenient persons may be convicted as "rogues and vagabonds," or "disorderly persons," and ordered to find sureties for their good behaviour for a period up to twelve months. This power was used in the Suffrage agitation against Mr. George Lansbury, and against the police strikers, as in the Stoneham case in 1920. This Statute is still law.

The censorship of plays and dramatic performances is exercised by the Lord Chamberlain. It is invoked against the propaganda play of ideas rather than against the indecencies of the music halls, or the vulgar inanities and suggestiveness of the musical comedy. The Lord Chamberlain can maintain an absolute veto on any play regarded as dangerous to public morality in its outlook; but such a play could be presented by Societies like the Incorporated Stage Society, the Play Actors, and cognate societies. The existence of these societies—most of which ended in 1939—was the only check on the complete suppression of any performance of fine dramatic work. There is also a censorship exercised upon film production, which operates much in the same manner, though under a different authority and very effectively.

All printed publications must bear the imprint and address of the printer. This law is aimed at preventing secret printing of the kind required in revolutionary propaganda in times of public agitation. The provisions concerning registration of periodicals provide the authorities with powers which could be resorted to very harshly against unpopular or revolutionary journals; but few attempts have been made in recent years by the postal authorities to utilise their authority in this respect: yet the weapon is there.

The Official Secrets Act is designed to prevent the unauthorised publication of official documents or papers of a secret character by Ministers and officials, or by persons into whose possession official papers may come on death, or by purchase, such as newspaper editors, historians, or biographical writers. It is a valuable protection to the existing order, which is safeguarded from disclosures of great propaganda or historical value, by the mere knowledge among editors and publishers of the existence of these suppressive powers. Recent cases in which the definite threat of this Act was used concerned the proposed memoir of the late Roger Casement, and the memoirs of George Lansbury.

The last example of restriction on propaganda is the application of the law of libel as regards this subject the law is in an unsettled state. No more mischievous phrase has even been coined than the Latin tag for the words: "Of the dead, say reflections on the character of dead persons. On nothing but good." The dead should not be the target of the slanderous, but the fair maxim should be: "Of the dead say nothing but the truth." There is nothing more contrary to the public advantage than beslavering dead rulers and statesmen with ridiculous economiums of their non-existent virtues. It was Lord Granville who remarked that four of Queen Victoria's Prime Ministers had committed adultery: but mention of that fact would not be found in their biographies!

Reviewing these various prohibitions on the free discussion of questions of public importance, it is clear that the authorities have the means of suppressing any outspoken critic of any established institution under one or other of the laws on the Statute Book, the regulations made under Statutes, or by the common law. The pathway of criticism on most topics of public debate is strewn with traps, into which the most cautious of writers could easily stumble, as was shewn several times during the War.

What is the remedy? How can the Labour movement protect the honest and conscientious writer from the risk of governmental prosecution? Does it want to? There is no evidence that Labour, Socialist, or Communist Cabinet Ministers are any less reactionary on this subject than Tory or Liberal Cabinet Ministers. While this mass of repressive machinery can be set in motion against the critical or revolutionary-minded citizen, Freedom of Speech or Writing can only be regarded as phrases of the liberal *bourgeoisie*. In fact the Communist and Fascist Governments are entirely against freedom of discussion, and Leo Tolstoy would certainly have been interned by M. Stalin or Herr Hitler alike had he produced a "War and Peace" applicable to the war of 1939. True liberty in these categories of mental activity can only exist when the faculties of the mind can be directed against the structure of government, and the moral and religious sanctions on which it reposes, without any fear of unpleasant consequences of fine or imprisonment befalling the writer, as the result of some cutting analysis of the existing order.

The Labour and Trade Union movement should take the earliest opportunity of impressing upon its political leaders the urgent need for removing these hindrances upon freedom of discussion. The Labour movement must deny any class monopoly in the right to know, and should instruct its leaders, on their next accession to office, to strip the Statute Book of these infringements upon liberty of thought, so instituting an era of real toleration. The most convenient method of achieving this end is by the introduction of an omnibus measure, which would give statutory warrant, in plain terms, to the principle of toleration in propaganda, even for those theories which are regarded as most subversive of the existing order of society. The terms of the new Toleration Bill might run somewhat on these lines: Be it enacted from and after the passing of this Bill that

(1) No person shall be proceeded against for having written, spoken, published or printed any words in defamation of the Constitution, the doctrines of the Established Church, the Houses of Parliament, the administration of justice, the public actions or conduct of the Royal Family; or for having spoken, written, published, or printed any words subversive of discipline in H.M. Naval, Military, Air, or Police Forces.

(2) No person shall be proceeded against for the advocacy of trade union organisation in the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, or the Police Force.

(3) Where any official or person shall be prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for having disclosed any information obtained in his official capacity, or communicated from an official source, no conviction shall be recorded where the jury is satisfied that such disclosure and/or communication was made in the honest belief of such official or person that it was in the public interest to make such disclosure and/or communication.

(4) The Lord Chamberlain shall cease to act as Censor of Plays from and after the passing of this Act; and the presentation of dramatic works, music-hall performances, or film productions, shall be free from any licensing or censor authority of any kind.

(5) No person shall be proceeded against for not having placed upon any printed document that he or she may have written, printed, or published, any imprint stating the place of publication and/or the name of the printer.

(6) All publications shall be entitled to be registered as newspapers or periodicals where the said newspapers or periodicals are published periodically, and otherwise comply with the regulations as to format and size set out in the Post Office Handbook.

(7) No proceedings of any kind shall be instituted in respect of alleged defamatory statements concerning deceased persons.

(8) No alien, temporarily or permanently resident in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, shall be deported for any written or spoken criticism of a political or religious character directed against the Constitution of Great Britain, or of any other State.

(9) No proceedings shall be taken for blasphemy, nor in respect of the denial of the alleged divinity of any religious book and/or doctrine of any kind whatsoever.

(10) All Statutes and/or regulations issued under Statutes in conflict with, in contradiction of, or inconsistent with, the principles set out in the preceding sections of this Act are hereby repealed, and no proceedings of any kind shall be instituted thereunder.

With such a measure on the Statute Book, the right to discuss all beliefs and theories, however sacred and however profane, would have been established, and every citizen could speak and write freely on all those topics which are the proper concern of every conscientious member of the community.

Who in the House of Commons will introduce such a Bill? The answer is: No one, because English people do not really believe in toleration, notwithstanding all the pretences that are made in the Capitalist Press, and by Capitalist propaganda, anent the latest piece of political bunkum called the Four Freedoms.

THE ORDER OF THE HOUR

BY RUDOLF ROCKER

[The following essay speaks for itself. Rocker, and our attacks on him, are mentioned in another column. The essay was published in Yiddish in "Freie Arbiter Stimme," New York, November 28, 1941.]

That the present war, which spreads itself over all continents and is engulfing mankind like a bloody flood, cannot be measured by the standards of military conflicts of the past, is beginning to be realised even by those who believe that historical facts can be denied through aged theories.

The habit of considering every historical event as the outcome of fixed economic laws which ultimately lead to a higher stage of social life, is a terribly blind belief and has contributed in no small measure to the development of the present situation. Even though one is the bitterest opponent of the present economic system, to assert that the present war is being waged solely in the interests of capitalistic groups is such a twisting of the truth that worse could not be invented. Even if it is accepted that certain capitalist circles are profiting from the great slaughter of the people, it nevertheless cannot be denied that the present catastrophe is transforming itself into a bloody menace to capitalism itself, and is against the interests of its servants and representatives. A social earthquake on such a vast scale must become a threat to every social system; that is why this fearful catastrophe is not simply a problem of certain classes, but of the whole of society itself.

It is a poor consolation to assert that the workers could have prevented the war if they had been more alert to their "class interests." That they had the power to do so no one wishes to deny; but that they nevertheless did not prevent it, and that the great tragedy of our time has come just the same, is also a fact. To-day we know already that the broad masses of the French Labour Movement have aided in weakening the opposition to Hitler's hordes. Had the German workers done the same, it might have been a gain; but they did not do so, and the internal collapse of France therefore led to the bloody yoke of the German occupation upon the French Labour Movement.

The same story repeats itself in every European country. Just because the workers have too closely understood their so-called "class interests" and have underestimated the menace which threatens everybody, they, together with the whole of society, became the victims of the bloodiest tyranny in history.

The present war is not only an economic issue. It is first of all a power problem between two different forces of social evolution. One of these leads back to the epoch of absolutism, to the common enslavement of mankind, whereas the second slowly raises the people to a higher social and cultural level, and carries with it the historical legacy left to us by the revolutions of the past.

The abolition of feudal absolutism and of the economic reign of feudalism through the democratic and liberal revolutions, was necessary in order to provide the pre-conditions for the development of the modern Labour Movement and Socialism. Without the political rights and liberties which have been achieved the social movements of our epoch could not even have been thought of. Through them social aims have been developed. The rights which we now enjoy to-day in the democratic countries have not been received by the nations as gifts from their governments; they are the results of hard and bloody struggles and were often paid for with great sacrifices. Whoever fails to take into account these rights and is in agreement with Lenin's phrase that "freedom is but a middle-class prejudice" is altogether lost for a movement which strives towards social liberation.

One doesn't serve social liberation by squandering, without a struggle, rights already gained, but only when one is always ready to broaden these rights and create for them a wider field of effectiveness. It is not less rights and smaller liberties that we demand, but more rights and greater liberties. Whoever thinks differently is ripe for dictatorship and for the totalitarian state and is consciously or unconsciously assisting the development of social reaction.

If it is true that democracy and liberalism have prepared the way for the modern Labour Movement and the social aims of our time, then it cannot be denied that the abolition of all democratic and liberal achievements must automatically lead to the abolition of the Labour Movement and of all libertian aims. That this is not a vain assertion can be seen from the present bloody reality. The totalitarian regime has made a hell for liberty; and if this was not understood at the beginning, it was a great error which is now being paid for in blood.

The terrible tyranny in all countries which have been poisoned by the totalitarian cliques in the occupied countries; the cowardly and conscienceless murdering of so-called living hostages; the daily executions of anti-fascist workers and peasants in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Serbia, Hungary, etc., create the existence of the totalitarian state. The ancient laws against the Jews; the frightful condition of millions of people in Europe who have been placed outside the law; the fear of the concentration camp; the barbaric suppression of all cultural achievements will bring about the collapse of civilisation in general, if Hitler should unfortunately be victorious.

To assert that to us it is all the same who is victor in this terrible conflict, means to aid the cowardly murderers, and to prepare the world for the "blessing" of Hitler's "New Order." The struggle against totalitarian slavery and its bestial achievements is the first duty of our time, the first condition for a new social development in the spirit of freedom and social justice. But the fact that we are making the struggle against dictatorship and the human-debauchery of the totalitarian state the order of the present hour does not mean that we believe even for a moment that the citizenship-society is the best in the world. It only means that we recognise the possibility of a higher development under better and more human conditions.

When the world is liberated from the militarism of social life, from all forms of the totalitarian ant-state—only then will new possibilities be opened up for constructive creating and building. Freedom does not recognise a pre-determined ultimate aim; it is but the means which can open for us the doors to a new future. Since the creative forces of society were not able to build up a dam against the bloody flood of the war, let them at least learn from the newest terrible history in what manner it can, once and for all time, prevent similar catastrophes.

Not the slave-state of a so-called "Aryan" race will be the aim of humanity, but a federation of free nations, such as has been foreseen by Saint-Simon, Proudhon and Bakunin. That is the only basis on which a new life can be developed, and which will make our existence worthy and with a purpose.

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 6th AUGUST, 1944

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**

THE MARK OF VANDALISM

(Concluded from Vol. V., No. 12, p. 139.)

The *Concord Daily Monitor* for December 11, 1942, reproduced an editorial note from the *Catholic Review* from which we quote :—

quote :—

A MONUMENT TO INGERSOLL!

In the House of Representatives on Monday of last week, Representative William T. Pheiffer of New York, introduced "by request," a joint resolution, authorising "in Washington, District of Columbia," a monument to the memory of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, the atheist, who tried to make atheists of countless Americans. . . .

That resolution was introduced in a room in which there is said every day at the opening of Congress, a prayer for Divine Guidance.

In these days when millions of all creeds are storming heaven with prayers for Divine Help, in the most terrible war that modern times have known, one would think that men's hearts would not only turn to God but would shrink from thoughts of the defiance of God. Without God's help the world cannot be saved from chaos.

We are talking about writing new pages in history.

Well, that was a queer page which was written in the Halls of Congress on Monday of last week.

Some Americans have entered upon strange paths.

A strange path! A queer page! What comment to make on honouring the memory of one of the greatest orators and one of the most inspiring monuments the English-speaking world has produced!

This pious commentary inspired vandalism. Here is an extract from *The Peoria Star* for March 29, 1943 :—

Some time Sunday night the cast bronze statue of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, which had stood at the North Perry Avenue entrance to Glen Oak park, was pushed from its pedestal.

A crude sign, printed on cardboard and nailed to a small stake, was stuck in the ground beside the statue.

On one side of the crudely-printed sign were the words, "The wind did it. But he would sure make a swell anti-aircraft gun." On the other side was printed, "Roses are red, violets are blue, you put him in the scrap pile, this was all we could do." . . .

The Ingersoll statue was placed in Glen Oak park almost 30 years ago, money to pay for it having been raised by popular subscription. Resentment against the statue being in the park has occasionally been expressed by a few Peorians because of Col. Ingersoll's agnosticism.

"Around the Town" column in *The Peoria Journal Transcript* for April 9, 1943, stated :—

The Colonel Ingersoll statue is back on its granite pedestal in Glen Oak park but the recent vandalism of its overthrow keeps on buzzing. . . .

The bronze figure is seven and a half feet in height and weighs in the neighbourhood of 4,500 pounds. It was undamaged in the fall except slightly below the knees where the trousers wrinkle and repairs are so well made no noticeable trace remains. . . .

Mehlenbeck Bros., contractors, completed the job of replacing the statue Thursday, April 1. It required powerful apparatus to swing it into position. It is now welded to a steel anchor in the massive granite base.

Clearly, the act was one of vandalism not only by bigoted so-called believers but by self-supposed super-patriots. They were of the same mentality as the vandals who attacked the Bedford statue in Russell Square. Consequently, if we resent the one outrage, we ought to resent the other.

This, of course, is not the view of those capitalist-society power-drunk opportunist careerists, miscalled and self-styled "Communists."

In February, 1943, the latter-day exhibitionist "Communists" erected a memorial bust to Lenin close to his old London home of exile. It was unveiled by the Soviet Ambassador and ex-White Guardist, Maisky, who, as pointed out in these columns, took up arms on the side of Kolchak against the Soviets and all that Lenin represented. Around Maisky were gathered representatives of degenerate militarised Bolshevism and of the City of London, the capitalism that oppressed and slandered the living Lenin.

To please their bourgeois big-business Allies, the Stalinists created a fictitious Lenin. The capitalist press welcomed the fiction. They welcomed the erection of a memorial to their fiction. Some Fascists, being more honest reactionaries despoiled this statue. And so the bourgeoisie were willing to contribute towards the erection of a second memorial to replace the damaged one. They had to express their hatred of vandalism. Such was their gratitude to "Communism" for having made Lenin "harmless."

In doing this, the militarists of oppressive society were applying to Lenin the words that Lenin once wrote of Marx :—

During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teaching with the most savage hostility, the most furious hatred, the most ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, attempts are made to turn them into harmless icons, canonise them, and surround their names with a certain halo for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarising the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time, the bourgeosie and the opportunists within the labour movement are co-operating in this work of adultrating Marxism.

The hypocrites, who respect the graven image of Lenin, and in life prayed and conspired for his death, would destroy the graven image of Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford, to express their hatred for the living twelfth Duke of Bedford. Yet Lenin, who was defended by the twelfth Duke, and the fifth Duke, as also his descendant to-day, all represent the same principle—peace and anti-militarism. It is impossible to wish to preserve a plaque of Lenin from vandalism without experiencing the same regard for a statue of the fifth Duke of Bedford.

Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, was born on July 22, 1765. He succeeded his grandfather, John, fourth Duke, in 1771.

The fourth Duke was leader of the Bedford Party and "Bloomsbury Gang." He was sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1762 was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. He signed the preliminaries of peace with France and Spain.

Francis died at Woburn as a result of an accident on May 2, 1802. Following the accident, he underwent an operation for strangulated hernia and passed away in great pain. He was aged 37.

During the period that he sat in the House of Lords he made a great stand for public liberty. Reference was made to that stand in these columns for April, 1943.

On January 25, 1795, the Fifth Duke moved a resolution in a hostile House of Lords in opposition to the war on revolutionary France. He defended boldly the French Revolution.

On May 30, 1797, the Duke moved his Address to the King, praying him to dismiss his ministers. The protest was signed only by the Duke and Lord Chadworth. Later in the year the Duke took the initiative in the secession of the Opposition from Parliament.

On March 22, 1798, the Duke repeated his motion for the dismissal of the Ministry.

The Lord Chancellor's reply reads like that of the present Lord Chancellor, replying to the present Duke of Bedford. The Lord Chancellor said that the Duke's motion

was a mere abstract proposition which could not, with more propriety, be entered upon the Journals than any similar proposition with respect to politics or morals. . . . The effect of adopting the motion might be to dispirit the country and to encourage the enemy.

The Duke of Norfolk defended the Duke of Bedford's motion, and said that it had been brought forward only to do away with the bar which seemed to be laid in the way of peace by a certain part of His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament on the first day of the session, which conveyed an idea that no peace could be entered into with the present Government of France. If this motion of the noble Duke was to pass a weighty obstacle to peace would be removed.

His contemporaries declared that he was deficient in wit and imagination. He was a fluent but not a lively speaker. By perspicuity of statement and solidity of argument, he arrested and secured the attention of his audience. According to Lord Holland, he had one great defect. He treated the understandings of his adversaries with contempt and was utterly indifferent to the goodwill of his audience.

The Duke joined the circle of the Prince of Wales's friends and was one of the two unmarried dukes who supported the prince at his marriage to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, on April 8, 1795.

"My brother," wrote Lord John Russell, "told me that the prince was so drunk that he could scarcely support him from falling."

The speeches delivered by fifth Duke on May 30, 1797, and March 22, 1798, make excellent reading to-day. They apply as forcibly to current events as they did to the circumstances at the time of their delivery. Politically the world has not progressed too well. Which fact explains the fifth Duke's statue being honoured with the mark of vandalism.

On February 3, 1800, Charles James Fox delivered his famous speech "On Peace with France." Every word of this remarkable and bold declaration should be read to-day, for it is one of the most useful and most logical and powerful statements ever uttered by a politician. In this speech, Fox defends the fifth Duke for having complained against letters being intercepted and published by the Government.

We believe that the present Duke is more concerned with the contemporary struggle against war and authority than the traditions of his house. Hence he will not have considered that some of his speeches, complaining of letters being intercepted, are a repetition of the complaint of his ancestor.

Fox defended the fifth Duke for having urged that war led to a scarcity of corn. A Government apologist in the Commons had said of the fifth Duke, in language almost identical with much that is employed to-day, that he

"Must treat with indifference the intellect of a man who can ascribe the present scarcity of corn to war."

Fox replied to this ignorant sneer vigorously and directly in this sentence addressed to Mr. Speaker :—

Sir, I think that there is nothing either absurd or unjust in such an opinion.

In 1803, the year following the libertian and pacifist Duke's death, Fox paid a further House of Commons tribute to "this great and excellent man."

Such was the man whose statue was defaced by the stupid night-prowler vandals of twentieth-century militarism. The orthodox capitalist militarist "Labour" press ranked such ignorant vandalism—patriotism!

"A CALL TO MANHOOD."

Our new pamphlet, *A Call to Manhood*, consisting of about 20 essays, published in various journals between 1907 and 1943, is passing through the press now. It is being priced as cheaply as possible. Meantime we repeat our appeal to every comrade who wishes to help this work to send a donation. Every comrade making a donation to this special effort will receive a free copy of the book as soon as it is issued. Mainly anti-war and anti-militarist, this work covers a wide range of social enquiry and discussion.

If possible, as soon as you receive this paper, make your gift. This will speed publication, especially as all our work is published at a loss. If only every reader would respond—many did last month—this begging would cease.

Why Jesus Wept. Guy Aldred's Humanist pamphlet. 12 essays. 72 pages. 6d. Post-free, 8d. Secure Now.

THE CHURCH AND BOMBING.

By The Duke of Bedford.

That section of public opinion which has preserved its capacity for sound judgment amidst the follies and hatreds of war has been deeply shocked to hear of the rejection by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by a majority of several hundred to about twelve, of the proposal that the Government should be asked to reconsider their policy of the wholesale bombing of German cities. The Assembly, after maintaining that bombing and war were contrary to Christian doctrine, actually went on to declare their wholehearted support for, and approval of, the Government's policy.

This extraordinary declaration appears to be defended by the militarist section of the Assembly on the ground that, as Christians live in a world where the majority of people depart widely from Christian standards of conduct, they, the Christians, are often compelled to make the unhappy choice between the greater evil and the lesser. They accept the view of those Government experts who declare that wholesale bombing will shorten the war, and they therefore support such bombing as the lesser evil.

Whether regarded from the standpoint of a betrayal of a spiritual Lord whose mind, by reason of their training and profession, they should have been well able to ascertain so far as the issue in question was concerned; or whether regarded merely from the standpoint of educated members of a nation which in the past has enjoyed a reputation for shrewdness and intelligence, the voting was as lamentable an exhibition as can well be imagined of the mental and moral paralysis induced by war propaganda.

In the first place, Christians, because they live in an un-Christian world, are never compelled to choose between the greater evil and the lesser. There is always a third alternative available to them which is not the way of the world and is not evil, namely the way of Christ, or in other words, the way of love, reconciliation, and, if need be, martyrdom. This is the only way which, as a body of Christians, the Assembly had any business to commend to the world as the right course to follow. This fact, however, seems to have been entirely overlooked by those who opposed the restriction of bombing and also, in a measure, it may be, even by the small minority who favoured restriction. To admit that a thing is contrary to Christian doctrine and then, in the next breath, to give it cordial support, is a policy of utter confusion.

If the Assembly had felt called upon, as an act of charity to suffering human beings, to make a suggestion which, even on the assumption that the latter were still not ready to accept the way of Christ, might nevertheless involve them in less misery than the way they were following, they should have made it absolutely clear at the very start that this was their approach to the question. Having done so, the advice they gave should have been sound and not foolish.

Religious men possessed of reasonable intelligence might well have doubted whether the judgment of persons with the character and outlook of the Government experts who favour wholesale bombing is reliable on any such subject; they might also have realised that in regard to war-suffering, the time factor is not necessarily the most important. A short war which kills enormous numbers of civilians and destroys many cities and much industrial plant, may, both at the time and later, cause more suffering than a longer war which kills a smaller number of Service men and destroys mainly military objectives. The Assembly's line of argument also, of course, logically induces the rather startling conclusion that any method which shortens the war—even gas, the distribution of disease germs, and the poisoning of water supplies—is preferable on grounds of humanity to one which, by avoiding the use of these ghastly weapons, permits of a longer struggle.

Even assuming, however, that an arguable case exists for those who consider that the opinion of the Government experts who favour wholesale bombing would, on balance, cause lack of judgment in assuming that no other alternatives existed except the continuation of the war with wholesale bombing and continuation with bombing restricted to military objectives. There was an obvious third alternative which does not make any unreasonable demand upon non-Christians and is infinitely better than either of the others—a negotiated peace. This alternative the Assembly was not prepared to support, yet no one with the rudiments of knowledge of human nature could imagine that, at this stage of the war, Hitler's personal character and trustworthiness matter in the slightest degree, or that, if Germany as well as other nations received fair treatment, he could get the support of his people for another war if it were on a weak and unjust issue. No one, moreover, with the slightest intelligence could imagine that the kind of peace now too plainly foreshadowed in the event of an Allied victory is worth further sacrifice of life. It is now as clear as daylight that such a peace would give to Stalin in Europe, and probably also in Asia that absolute power which, it is said, corrupts absolutely. By allowing Russia to rob Poland of Polish territory and Poland to rob Germany of German territory the peace following the unconditional surrender of Germany would repeat the worst blunders of Versailles and sow the seeds of another war of revenge. By setting up monetary and foreign trade arrangements under the control of the financiers of Wall Street, such a peace would, in the interests of money-lenders, also re-establish in Europe after the war the old paradox of poverty in the midst of potential abundance. If, as she well might do, Russia resisted the plans of the financiers, another war would certainly result, in preparation for which the Axis would have to be rearmed as indispensable allies.

Truly where there is no vision among their spiritual and temporal leaders, the people perish.

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"ANARCHIST" MILITARISTS

In our sheet, *Hyde Park*, published in September 1938, we published an article indicting Rudolf Rocker, formerly editor of the London Yiddish journal, "The Workers' Friend," under the heading "Anarchist Pretenders." Many comrades objected to our indictment as being too scathing. Since the attack was factual, and there was no abuse of language, we do not yield to this criticism. The working-class movement has been injured, not only by Social Democratic or Labour parliamentarianism, but also by a mockery of Anarchism or Syndicalism.

We mentioned Rocker in "The Word" for March 1942, when we reprinted our 1915 translation of his "Workers' Friend" replies to Peter Kropotkin's Militarist articles of 1914. The Anarchist movement never forgave us for being the first Anarchist to indict Kropotkin militarism and for our insistence on the anti-Socialist and anti-proletarian character of his intense Nationalist Imperialism. His name and works ought to have been forgotten long since, and it is absurd to see so-called Anarchists walking round selling his pamphlets as though he were the apostle of Anti-Militarism and Peace.

In 1941 Rocker went the way that Kropotkin went in 1914. In *Rumbo*, Havana, and *La Protesta*, Buenos Aires, he published Spanish essays supporting the war. These we translated and published in 'The Word.' We reproduced the description of him published by our Italian Anarchist Anti-Militarist contemporary, published in New York: Rocker, **"who for many years has styled himself an Anarchist."** The **"has styled"** is correct: for the description was never meant to be real and vital.

The Freedom Press has published a reply to Rudolf Rocker's pro-war Anarchism, under the title *The Issues in the Present War*.

Graham translates from *Freie Arbiter Stimme* for November 28, 1941, Rocker's defence of the present war. We reproduce this essay that it may speak for itself. No reply is necessary. Strangely enough, the Graham pamphlet carries advertisements of writings by Kropotkin and Herbert Read. The record of neither ought to be considered seriously by an Anti-Militarist movement. Kropotkin thought and wrote himself out of the working-class movement. Herbert Read needs to make considerable atonement for a most unsatisfactory past and a far from heroic present before he can be taken seriously as an Anarchist propagandist, or an apostle or contributor even to the thought of a new world order.

Our old description stands as a firm and unanswerable challenge: "Anarchist Pretenders." The activities of such persons must end in tragedy for a world in chaos seeking order and rebirth.

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—IVAN BEUTTLER.

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METAMORPHOSIS.

I stood to watch the soldier lads
Go marching down the street;
I heard the proud bands playing, and
The firm tread of their feet.
Their rifles, gleaming in the sun,
Made up a sparkling show,
And in their faces, clear and strong
I saw their bright youth glow.
Then, as I stood, the music failed—
Became a low, sad cry.
With sound of wind-blown, withered leaves
The footsteps shuffled by.
A thick and choking cloud of dust
Made all the colours dull;
And every rifle was a cross,
And every face—a skull.

—IVAN BEUTTLER.

THE SIXTH YEAR OF WAR: NOTES AND REFLECTIONS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

If, as many hope, the war in Europe is drawing to a close, it is doing so under conditions of degradation, disillusionment and utter futility which more than justifies the point of view of those who, sometimes in the face of severe persecution, opposed it from the start and advocated at all stages, and still advocate, its conclusion by a negotiated peace.

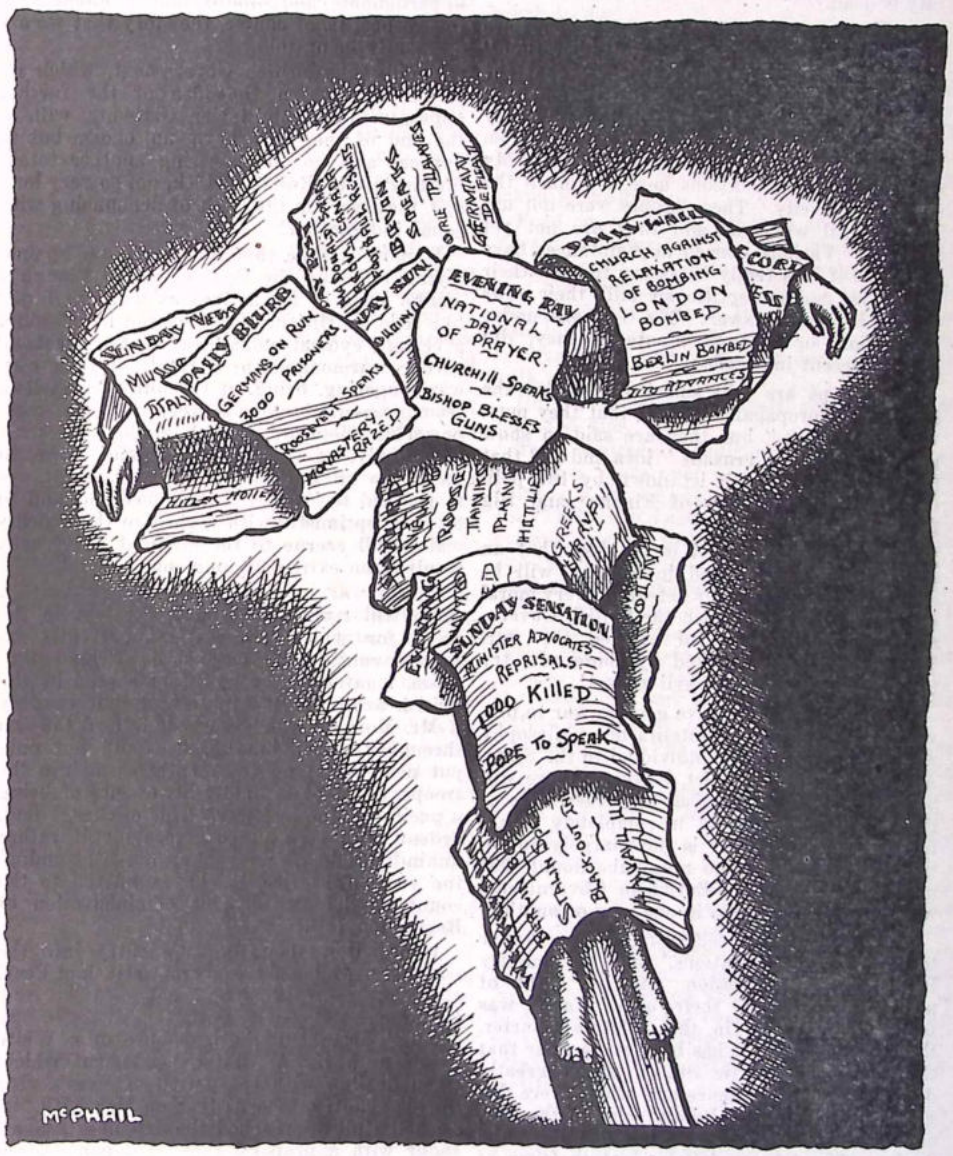
War and air-raid conditions have produced a vast increase in immorality and crime, certainly not offset by the undoubted, though limited, gain of evacuated town children who have acquired a fondness for country life. Disease has increased, notably tuberculosis, and the amount of mental sickness and derangement, due to nerve strain, is utterly beyond computation and is likely seriously to affect many who are now quite young.

In Europe wholesale destruction of works of art and monuments of culture and beauty by the Allied forces, often for no defensible military gain, is likely to evoke from future generations the comment that if the Germans were Huns, the Allies were unquestionably Vandals.

The heartless and revolting area bombing of German and other cities, often, again, for no adequate military reason, has provoked the terrible flying-bomb reprisals against our own towns. The V.1 weapon in its turn has given rise to an indignation campaign in the British and American Press which, in the far-fetched nature of the arguments used to prove that the German weapon is more indiscriminate in causing civilian casualties than the Allied air operations, surely reaches a new high—or low—water-mark in humbug and hypocrisy! Persons inclined to be influenced by this propaganda ought only to need reminding of such incidents as the wiping out of the residential quarters of the wonderful old Hanseatic cities of Lübeck and Rostock which provoked German reprisals against Exeter and Bath at a time when mass air attacks on cities had mercifully died down; Mr. Brendan Bracken's statement, "Our plans are to bomb, burn and ruthlessly destroy, in every way available to us, the people responsible for creating this war"; Air Vice-Marshal Saundvey's statement that "In the ruins of Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Cologne and other great centres of production civilised life, as we know it, is no longer possible"; the report of the "Sunday Express" of January 16th, 1944, that in the attack on Brunswick, a town of two hundred thousand inhabitants, "A great force of Lancasters in three minutes dropped a heavier load of bombs than the Luftwaffe dropped on London in a whole night"; and the Swiss newspaper report of the conditions of Hamburg, quoted in "Reynolds News" of August 8th, 1943, "We passed whole streets, squares and even districts that had been razed. Everywhere were charred corpses and injured people had been left unattended. Charred adult corpses had shrunk to the size of children. Women were wandering about half crazy. That night the largest workers' district of the city was wiped out."

It is only fair to point out that many of the actual victims of the worst-bombed areas are wise and fair enough to realise that they are only receiving what their Government has given to others. The contemptible display of those who cannot themselves "take" without storming and whining, what they triumphantly applauded when it was "given" on their behalf, comes largely, as one would expect, from the propaganda agencies.

The bombing of cities in the Occupied Countries, again often without adequate military excuse, has largely, if not entirely, destroyed any disposition on the part of the people of those countries to regard the Allies as liberators—a natural result indeed, in view of the fact that there is no reasonable doubt that they could now be freed by means of a



[Specially drawn for "The Word," by McPhail.

ECCE HOMO!

negotiated peace, without a single further casualty! It is said that in Caen, as a result of the determination of Allied statesmen to "liberate" by no method other than that of war, no less than a tenth of the inhabitants have lost their lives. The "Scotsman" of June 20th contained a piece of grim and quite unconscious humour on the subject of "liberation." "Montebourg has been liberated"—Allied communique number 30." In another part of the same paper on the same day the statement was made on the authority of Reuter's correspondent, "Montebourg is no more. . . . There is nothing here but rubble and black desolation—no sign of life. The city is dead."

Reports also indicate that British troops are disillusioned with regard to the "liberation" business, especially as they discover that the Germans did not maltreat the civil population and were not hated by them in the way they were led to believe. I have seen a letter from a soldier in Normandy who wrote: "My observations on conditions here are much the same as in Sicily. These people were not unhappy until we came and they are not yet starving. Various French acquaintances have asked me if it is really necessary to steal their vegetables and surreptitiously milk their cows —what is one to answer? The Germans, under instruction, or through innate decency, did leave a decent impression."

The troops are still sufficiently under the influence of propaganda to feel that they must "finish the job," but they are said to show no vestige of the "crusade" idea and feel that they have again been let down by the politicians in the interests of Finance and Big Business.

Most significant of all is the fact that an Allied victory, if gained in Europe, will be accompanied by the utter defeat of every moral aim for the sake of which the British Government declared that it had entered the war. Truly, God is not mocked by those who try to attain good ends by evil means!

We are supposed to have gone to war to prevent the spread of a totalitarian philosophy which subordinates the individual to the State. At the end of the conflict, however, there will be far more totalitarianism than there was at the beginning. Russia is completely totalitarian; Britain herself is now largely totalitarian; and there is no reasonabe doubt that most of the post-war European Governments will also be totalitarian in one way or another.

Then we are supposed to have gone to war to protect small nations, and particularly Poland, from aggression, and the right of peoples to manage their own affairs was further emphasised in the Atlantic Charter. Recently, however, it has been made clear that the democratic Baltic States, which greatly desire their independence and which were disgracefully treated by Russia prior to the war, are once again to be swallowed up by the Soviet. The future of Poland at the time of writing is still under discussion, and it cannot be foreseen with certainty what compromise may be arrived at as a result of Stalin's possible unwillingness to give undue premature offence to public opinion in countries whose military aid he still requires; and as a result of the desire of British statesmen to save their faces, anyhow to a small extent. It can hardly be said, however, that at the moment the portents are very favourable. The demands of the Soviet's puppet Polish Government for German territory are extravagant and foolish to a degree; while the chances of Mr. Eden's pledge being kept to the other Polish Government to which Britain gave official recognition early in the war, appear to be distinctly remote. It will be remembered that in July 1941 Mr. Eden sent a note to General Sikorsky in which he said: "I desire to assure you that His Majesty's Government do not recognise any territorial changes which have been affected in Poland since August 1939"; and on January 26th, 1944, he said: "We do not propose to recognise any territorial changes which take place during the war unless they take place with the free consent and goodwill of the parties concerned."

Seeing that Soviet pledges that there were not to be any territorial aggrandisements by any of the Allies were given in their adherence to the Atlantic Charter and again in May 1942, it is pretty obvious that the third moral alleged war aim—the vindication of the sanctity of international pledges—also goes by the board. History, including very recent history, proves that all countries, including Britain, break their pledges whenever it appears to be in their interests to do so, but that Germany is a quite unpardonable and almost unique offender in this respect is, of course, the story that we are constantly being told.

Finally, the British Government, which rejected with scorn the idea of the further appeasement of totalitarian Germany, will, at the end of the war, have no choice but to appease and go on appeasing another totalitarian Power—Russia—which, not so very long ago, they were in the habit of denouncing with equal indignation!

It must not be thought that I am against trying to make the best of Stalin, though I dislike some of his actions as much as I dislike some of Hitler's; but I cannot help feeling a certain cynical amusement at the spectacle of our warmongers, as a result of their own warmongering, being, at the finish, compelled, from necessity, to do in regard to the most powerful Dictator, what I would have done voluntarily, as a matter of common sense, in regard to all Dictators. Moreover, they have to pretend to "enjoy" their medicine and to be most optimistic with regard to the benefits which will accrue to the civilised world as a result of an extremely long course of it!

If the war in Europe should end shortly, there will remain, of course, the war in the East, for which Mr. Morrison recently expressed considerable enthusiasm. This enthusiasm, I gather, is by no means shared by the British army fighting in Europe, but possibly if Mr. Morrison would consent to lead the van through tropical jungles, it would not only put new heart and fresh enthusiasm into the troops, but expiate finally his offence of being a pacifist in the last war. This offence, I find, ardent militarists in some cases still rather unkindly hold against him, notwithstanding the yeoman service he has rendered to the country's defences by his administration of Regulation 18B.

Information about Japan's entry into the war and her alleged treacherous attack at Pearl Harbour has been rather scanty. "The New Leader," however, let one cat out of the bag when it revealed the existence of a White Paper of a U.S.A. State Department which, when dealing with the period of Hess's visit to this country, records that on May 11th Mr. Cordell Hull approached the Japanese Ambassador with a proposal that, if Japan desired a friendly settlement of the Pacific situation, no serious difficulty stood in the way. The Japanese responded eagerly, but when Hitler invaded Russia, the U.S.A. decided on a complete change of policy, and Mr. Cordell Hull admits that the American Government proposed impossible terms to Japan and expected a declaration of war in consequence.

Recently I discovered another emergent feline in Dorothy Hutchinson's excellent booklet, "Must the Killing Go On?" published by the American Peace Now Movement. This booklet reveals that directly after the Atlantic Conference on September 3rd, 1941, the United States Government threatened Japan with an economic blockade unless she would guarantee the non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific, or, in other words, unless she would leave unmolested the white man's empires in the Orient, of which the British Empire comprised about 90 per cent., both in area and population. This economic blockade progressed inexorably until the "New York Times" could report, five days before Pearl Harbour, "Japan has been cut off from about 75 per cent. of her normal imports as a result of the Allied blockade. Japan to-day is on the verge of economic collapse." The Kurusu Mission came to Washington to negotiate because of Japan's desperate economic situation. When this mission received from the United States Government no concessions whatever but an ultimatum instead, Japan chose to fight rather than to submit to what promised to be perpetual economic enslavement.

That the Roosevelt Administration clearly foresaw what was coming, is shown by the repeated but unheeded warnings of impending attack which it sent to Pearl Harbour during two full weeks prior to December 7th. Moreover, nine days before Pearl Harbour, an American naval expedition, according to Lieutenant Clarence E. Dickinson, sailed from Hawaii under shoot-on-sight orders, which were equivalent to undeclared war on Japan.

As Congressman Sumners of Texas said: "This blaming of the Pearl Harbour tragedy on the treachery of the Japs. is like the fellow who had been tickling the hind leg of a mule, trying to explain his bunged-up condition by blaming the mule for having violated his confidence."

Much of Japan's conduct in China has been indefensible, but so has much British conduct in the same country, as well as some American conduct in the Philippines at the time of the American conquest of those Islands. In the East, as in the West, sanity demands that the possibilities of a negotiated peace fair to all parties be explored without delay.

With regard to conditions and feeling in America, I do not receive very encouraging reports. The people seem even more ignorant of, and indifferent to, monetary reform than in Britain. War conditions have not resulted in a restriction of the output of civilian goods comparable to that which has occurred over here, and the huge creations of new money for war purposes have produced considerable prosperity. Many Americans seem, therefore, well content that the war should continue indefinitely, especially as some of their leading men draw gloomy pictures of post-war unemployment, of the simple solution to which problem lack of knowledge of monetary reform leaves the people in a state of ignorance.

The only sufferers are the bereaved, and many of these no doubt are partly consoled by the patriotic dope of war propaganda. This state of war-complacency is, however, a bit hard, to say the least of it, not only on America's suffering Allies in Britain, but also on her own exiled or suffering sons in the Services.

So much for the gloomy present. Is there any hope for the future? To this question we must not return a too emphatic negative, although undoubtedly the future contains tremendous problems and dangers which "victory" would make far worse, but which a negotiated peace might largely mitigate.

Much depends on the amount of sense displayed by those in the Services when at last demobilisation restores to them some measure of freedom. The more depressing reports of Service feeling declare that Beveridge is apparently their one hope and aim. If this should be the case, I trust that they will soon awaken to the fact that monetary reform would provide them with a better 'ole, or, if I may be forgiven the pun, an infinitely better drink!

Other observers are much more optimistic and are confident that in the Services, not only is there a healthy contempt for the politicians of all the older Parties, but much real thought going on as well. Let us hope, therefore, that in due course this thought bears fruit before a third war is upon us, confounding utterly the suicidal politics of the present visionless politicians, and resulting, contrary to all apparent probability, in the establishment of a brave new world.

NEW ZEALAND LETTERS

[Below we publish some interesting correspondence from our readers in New Zealand.

Lincoln Efford was mentioned in the striking exposure of the New Zealand "Conchie" Concentration Camps contributed by our comrade, the Rev. Charles H. Cole, of the Unitarian and Humanist organisation, to these columns for June, 1944.

Michael Young will be remembered as the leading member of the New Zealand P.P.U. and No Conscription movements whose remarkable letter from the Parparua Prison, Canterbury, appeared in this journal for September, 1943 (Vol. V., No. 2, p. 22). We published his declaration before the C.O. Appeal Board, Wellington, October 20, 1941, under the title "WHY I AM AN ABSOLUTIST" in our issue for January, 1944 (Vol. V., No. 6, p. 66). The following month we published a letter from his wife, Winifred Young (February, 1944, Vol. V., No.7, (p. 84).

Schwarz is an Anarchist comrade, whose letter recalls the activities in Austria, Britain, and U.S.A., of Rudolf Grossmann, who assumed the literary name of Pierre Ramus. Soon after our entrance into the Anarchist movement in London in 1906, we became intimately associated with Grossman, who used the name of Karl Morleit, at that time. Grossmann was a magnificent and tireless propagandist. He wrote a few times to our former paper "The Spur," at the end of the last war. It is our intention to pay a tribute to his memory as soon as opportunity to do so arises. At present we are engaged in an anti-militarist struggle and it is regrettable that the Anarchist movement has never realised the need to show solidarity in aiding our work in that struggle. After all, our imprisonments, and our long years of struggle in the Anarchist cause, have earned us some right to be heard. Were such loyalty shown, perhaps the movement itself could have been made more useful and more worthy of respect. Munition-making Syndicalism and A.E.U. membership is not Anarchist propaganda. Nor is it proletarian idealism. The so-called Anarchist movement has reduced its tragedy to a farce. Comrade Schwarz must face that fact.

The letter of Monica Townend is interesting. Elsewhere we reproduce Sidney Townend's Statement of Conscientious Objection, made on November 14, 1942. Also his excellent essay, "Foundations of Peace." The Duke of Bedford reviewed Wilfred Townend's "Paying for The War" in these columns for February. As a result of the circulation of this journal in New Zealand, his sister-in-law, Monica Townend wrote us and made known her husband's stand against war. Both Wilfred and Sidney Townend believe in Social Credit: but one supports the war and the other opposes the war.—Editor.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I am enclosing a petition that I drew up and presented to the House of Representatives last week. In a month or two I shall have to go to Wellington to give evidence on it before the Petitions Committee of the House, which will then make a favourable or unfavourable recommendation to the House. It is the latest attempt on our part to get the treatment of the conscientious objectors here improved. I did not mean the petition to be a "mass" one but decided to try to gain the signatures of representative people—mainly not identified with the peace movement. I got fifty-six in the two or three days I was able to give to it. Sixteen professors and lecturers on the staff of the local University College, presidents and secretaries of the main trade union and Labour Party organisations, clergymen, and a few others. The petition had a fairly good report in the Christchurch morning paper. All our attempts so far to bring the Government to make amendments in the direction suggested have failed, though I have been assured several times in the last few months by Cabinet Ministers that the matter was under consideration and that a final decision would be given soon. With Mr. Fraser off to visit Britain, I see little hope of anything being done yet.

I congratulate you on *The Word*, and admire the work you do. C. H. Cole, to whose career and writings you give a good deal of space, was a friend of mine when here, and we worked together in the peace movement. I only wish we were able to operate a paper on your lines in this country. I was doing something in that line at the beginning of the war, but the police seized my printing press and I was prevented from carrying on. There is now no paper in this country of a similar kind to yours. I get the *Words* you send to the Book Society in Christchurch and distribute them here. I should be glad of another copy of *The Word* "Special Investigation Report of 18B."

With best wishes for your work.

Yours sincerely,

LINCOLN D. W. EFFORD.

Christchurch, N.W. 1, April 4, 1944.

Dear Guy,—You will note the change of address. I have completed 2½ years in prison. Sentences: Three months, refusing to join army; 3 months, ditto; 2 years for publishing subversive pamphlets. From prison I was taken to the military camp and again refused a military order, so now am awaiting the police, as all alleged conscientious objectors must appear before a magistrate. He will in all probability sentence me to detention in the defaulters' camps for the duration of the war. He can give me three months in prison first, and if he is particularly nasty, he can do as the Wellington magistrate intended doing, keep sentencing me to three months' imprisonment (with no breaks) until the war ends.

I have always opposed these concentration camps—how this phrase gets under the skins of the authorities—and shall non-co-operate. This means I shall spend the duration in prison in any case. There are 50-odd comrades scattered through our prisons, and, I should say, 750 in the camps.

Petitions are being circulated at present which are urging the Government to bring the law into line with that in Britain and also to end these indeterminate sentences. The changes now likely to be affected are such as will leave the most earnest objectors in camps and prisons. That is where the Government wants us.

I cannot say that I agree with your appreciative estimate of my Appeal Board statement. Reading it over at leisure in prison, I was concerned to note that parts of it were almost identical with sections of a P.P.U. pamphlet! The construction and thread of argument seem to me, now, to be extremely poor, and as at that time I represented more than just myself, I feel ashamed that I defined my position so carelessly. My only excuse is that I was overworked. The statement was prepared only the evening before the hearing. With all its errors, it did represent my viewpoint at the time.

Some day I shall tell you of the dozens of pamphlets, articles, bulletins, etc., our enthusiastic little group in Wellington prepared; of the methods we employed to distribute them in numbers amounting to hundreds of thousands. The comradeship was wonderful to experience. Those chiefly concerned are deliberately separated into different prisons.

Life in prison is tolerable so long as one has a regular supply of books from outside. The prison libraries are filled with junk!

Here is the daily prison round:—

6.30 a.m., up and wash in cell (all individual), empty slops into drum outside when door is unlocked, and take breakfast off tray. Lock-up.

Before the next unlocking at 7.50 a.m. blankets are folded and cells swept.

At 7.50 a.m. dishes are put outside door and one proceeds out into the work gangs in the assembly yard, all to continual commands. The gangs are generally on the jobs by 8 a.m., and the work varies from prison to prison.

At Mount Eden and Paparua, the two largest prisons, the quarries are the chief income-producers.

At 11.45 a.m. one is locked up for dinner, and unlocked at 1 p.m. to proceed out to work again. In summer work finishes at 4.30 p.m., and half an hour earlier in winter. So, as in England, prisoners are in solitary confinement for nearly 17 hours a day.

On Saturdays and Sundays doors are unlocked at 9 a.m., and the days are spent mooching around an exercise yard. There is no provision for recreation, handicrafts or education.

At Paparua there is a school twice a week for the youths who have had a very meagre education, but this affects few. In winter a series of 13 weekly lectures are given on Saturday night on any old subject. That is the beginning and end of reformative practices in prison. Even the person sentenced to "Reformative Detention" experiences nothing different.

At the Wellington prison two years ago permission to give one concert during the year was refused because the warders "had too much to do."

Our prison medical service is exceedingly lax, too. One is accustomed to their perfect indifference (amounting almost to abuse) of the doctors. Just two years ago a prisoner from Paparua died as a result of neglect. I should hate to get appendicitis while in prison, for one would be almost dead before being taken to hospital.

Food is in plenty, though mostly starch. Breakfast—Porridge and dry hash and tea; dinner—meat, potatoes, and a vegetable and tea; tea—porridge! and cocoa. Twice a week stodgy duff is served. In addition, there is a weekly issue of 12 ozs. sugar, ½ lb. butter, ½ lb. syrup, 1½ lbs. bread per day, and ¼ pint milk per day.

Only too often the meals arrive in black corroded tins.

The sanitary conditions are primitive. Prisoners have no access to conveniences between 4.30 p.m. (4 p.m. winter) and 8 a.m., and 11.30 a.m. and 1 p.m. As in English prisons, one has to keep food, eat, sleep, wash and relieve oneself in the cell.

One cannot mention in letters prison conditions while one is actually in prison, so I am taking advantage of my temporary release (awaiting return to prison) to tell you about things. At any time I may be called for by the police, so am hurrying to write all the letters I can.

Numbers of us have clashed with the authorities and have experienced the "dummy." The usual sentence is three days bread and water. One has to sleep on the floor. In winter three blankets are graciously permitted!

It is against the regulations to lend books in prison. The authorities would rather the regulations be observed than that any development in a prisoner's social consciousness should take place. That in fact sums up the New Zealand prison system. The purpose is to develop the social consciousness by denying in every way possible the means of such development. How typical of a capitalist institution.

I shall now close. *The Word* is excellent. The Humanists puzzle me. You, who are an avowed atheist, and stress the fact so uncompromisingly, flirt with them. That means that a Humanist is not necessarily a deist.

With every good wish.

MICHAEL YOUNG.

Rolleston Detention Barracks, Canterbury, New Zealand, April 9, 1944.

Dear Guy Aldred,—In the last copy of "The Word" which I received, the Duke of Bedford wrote a brief review of "Paying for the War," by Wilfred Townend. I think you would be interested in the enclosed pamphlet on the cause of war by his brother, Sidney Townend, who is serving a second sentence of 3 months' imprisonment, after a period of 14 months in various detention camps.

My husband's original appeal against armed service on conscientious grounds (which I enclose) was dismissed, and he was subsequently committed to prison and detention. This second sentence of imprisonment was incurred as the result of his refusal to go on co-operating with the detention system when

a request to have his appeal re-heard was for the second time refused.

We are deeply interested in your paper and are impressed with the high degree of unorthodox opinion you manage to get across. Such outspokenness is absolutely ruled out in this country, where we have the unhappy spectacle of a Labour Government going to the extremes of suppression and intolerance in its patriotic fervour. I hope to write to you soon at greater length on some aspects of life in New Zealand at the present time.

With all good wishes in the great struggle.

Yours sincerely,

MONICA G. TOWNEND.

Christchurch, New Zealand, April 13, 1944.

My husband was tried in the Magistrates' Court and sentenced to 3 months' hard labour. He went to Paparua, about 11 miles from here and for 4 Saturdays I had the joy of a ½-hour visit. Then a week last Thursday (May 11), I came home from work and found a letter from the Superintendent of the prison, saying: "Your husband, Sidney Townend, has been transferred to Hantu Prison. His address will be—." It was a knock-out blow. I felt stunned for quite a time.

A week passed before I heard from Sidney and then I got two letters together giving me some facts about his transfer and a description of his new quarters. The dreadful thing about his actual journey north was the grim suspicion with which he and Bruce McAlpine (the C.O. who went to Paparua with him) were regarded.

They had 2 escorts and were hustled on to the train and ferry—never given a chance to get a message to their families, and taken to Mount Crawford, the prison near Wellington where they picked up 11 more prisoners and proceeded on their way the following afternoon.

"But imagine our surprise," Sidney writes, "when out of the whole number, Bruce and I were shackled together" and they remained thus until reaching a place about midnight when they left the train and proceeded in open truck.

Over and above this, Sidney and Bruce had 2 escorts whereas only 2 were provided for the 11 other prisoners. Did you ever hear of such idiotic, disgraceful and barbaric treatment? Well yes—you did; they did worse things than this to C.O.s in the last war but I thought we'd advanced a little.

Bruce and Sidney were parted—but they are both in prison farms in the National Park area—away up in the centre of the north island in a most ungettatable spot.

Yesterday I wrote 8 letters of protest to various ministers, M.P.s and people but oh lord—its hopeless. These are the very ones who give the orders. Do you know—I can't even get a reply from the Minister of Justice. I have now written 3 letters to him requesting replies to specific questions and he hasn't the courtesy even to acknowledge them. And to whom else can I appeal?

Actually, apart from the rotten way in which they transferred Sidney, I am glad for some things that he has gone to Hantu. It is a much smaller place—only about 30 inmates I think, of whom about 20 are C.O.s, who have refused to co-operate with the detention system. I am told that there are some excellent fellows there and Sidney remarks on the good spirit amongst the men.

Another advantage is that they are in huts—not cells and are unlocked for ½-hour each evening.

At Paparua, Sidney was working absolutely alone — it was just solitary confinement — and I thought he was more depressed than I'd ever known him. The atmosphere too, at Paparua, lay like a ton of bricks upon me whenever I visited, and I hated the place.

I am thinking of how soon I'll manage a visit north. I'm afraid that Sidney will be up there now for the duration unless legislation is passed in the meanwhile for the release of C.O.s for productive work and I don't think there is a hope of that.

Even if I went to the north island to work I couldn't visit Sidney very often because Hantu is so utterly remote and I believe you have got to stay at the one and only hotel in the district—about 10 miles distant, when you do go—and then either walk or get a car if possible, to the prison. A jolly little spot!

M. T.

Christchurch, May 22, 1944.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you for the punctual forwarding of your excellent paper; it is always eagerly waited for. You are doing a good job in your nailing down the C.P. and you have assembled a very fine team of collaborators. Now, Bolshevism having officially gone bankrupt, I am sure the people would welcome other sincere and practical suggestions for a better world. The myth of 1917-18 is still being exploited, while things have changed diametrically, as shown most clearly and frankly in an article by Alexander Werth in the "New York Times Magazine" of 15/8/43, which you ought to read by all means.

Not without connection with all the foregoing, I have one thing particularly at heart, and that is the memory of "Pierre Ramus," otherwise Rudolf Grossmann. The second anniversary of his death falls in June. You did not even mention the fact in your paper! Were it not for the actual state of affairs in Europe, scores of papers, friends and foes, would have devoted some space to his memory. I think, if nothing else, you should pay a debt of honour to those who cannot speak there, by commemorating this man's powerful fighting and constructive personality. His wife, whom you know, I believe, could certainly help you in this respect. Do, please!

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

L. SCHWARZ.

Christchurch, New Zealand, April 16, 1044.

Rhys Davies Active

Our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., has arranged to address the following meetings between now and the end of the year:

Sept. 2—Houldsworth Hall, Manchester. "Pensions and Parents." (Afternoon Meeting).
,, **7**—Victoria Hall, Stoke-on-Trent. "The Church and the Future." (Church of England Men's Society).
,, **10**—Hoylake Methodist Mission, The Wirrall. "Peace."
,, **12**—Stroud, Glouchestershire. "Peace."
,, **13**—At Gloucester City. "Peace."
Sept. 16 to **Sept. 22** inclusive, in North Wales. "Campaign for Peace."
,, **2**—Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society "The Pattern of the Peace."
,, **28**—Pontardulais, Glam. "The Church and Industry."
,, **29**—Llangadog, Carmarthenshire. "Peace."
Oct. 6—Llangollen, N. Wales. "Peace."
,, **8**—Glasgow N.C.L. (Afternoon) and Study Circle (Morning).
,, **13**—Briton Ferry, Glam. "The Church and Peace."
,, **15**—Kettering. "The Peace that is to come."
Nov. 12—Cross Street Unitarian Church, Manchester.
Dec. 2—Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society.

Evening Meetings unless otherwise stated. See Local Press for actual time. All Socialists and Pacifists concerned should support these meetings. Questions and discussion welcomed.

DUNDEE FABIAN SOCIETY.

CAIRD HALL,
Sunday, September 24, 6 p.m.

GUY A. ALDRED
"Peace by Negotiation."

QUESTIONS. DISCUSSION. COLLECTION.

LINCOLN EFFORD'S APPEAL

In another column we publish a letter from our tireless New Zealand comrade, Lincoln D. W. Efford. We reproduce below text of the petition mentioned in his letter. Whilst approving of his courage in defending so fearlessly the cause of conscience and the victims of oppression, we make the general comment that it is time democracy dispensed with "humblys" and addressed itself in clear precise terms to its alleged representatives. Elected persons, especially "Socialist" careerists, like these phrases—we detest them.

Comrade Efford's petition was addressed to the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives of the Dominion of New Zealand in Parliament Assembled. It *"Humbly Showeth, That"*:—

WHEREAS it is provided in the National Service Emergency Regulations, 1940, that those who "conscientiously object(s) to serving with the armed forces," i.e, who "hold(s) a genuine belief that it is wrong to engage in warfare in any circumstances," shall be exempt from such service; and,

WHEREAS in the opinion of persons who have had long and intimate knowledge of those concerned, many whose appeals have been dismissed, and who are now confined in prison or detention camp, are conscientious objectors within the meaning of the Regulations; and,

WHEREAS it appears that in many cases Armed Forces Appeal Boards have failed to give due weight to evidence of genuine conscientious objection tendered by, or on behalf of appellants; and,

WHEREAS in all good systems of law, in order to give greater security that justice be done, there are higher Courts to which an aggrieved person can appeal from the decision of a lower Court.

FURTHER, WHEREAS over 700 men are now confined in prison or detention camps in terms of an indeterminate sentence, i.e., "for the duration of the war;" and,

WHEREAS

(a) such indeterminate confinement is in itself repugnant to a good system of justice:

(b) the long-continued confinement — in the majority of cases now over two years, and in some much more than that—is having adverse effects on the mental and physical health of many of those confined:

(c) much of the work performed is of little real value to the community; is uneconomic and wasteful, and is carried out at great cost for supervision and control:

(d) it is a great direct and indirect loss to the community to have men, many of whom are skilled tradesmen or have professional or scientific qualifications, working in confinement in unskilled occupations for which they are not trained, particularly when there is such a great need for their services in their own occupations and professions:

(e) while the general spirit of the men when they entered prison or the camps was altruistic and social, the trivial and monotonous nature of the work, which allows little scope for the full use of talents and abilities or for the desire to be of real service to the community, and is carried out under restrictions of an irritating and humiliating kind, is leading to an increasing sense of resentment and frustration.

(f) the treatment of those claiming to be conscientious objectors to military service in this country compares unfavourably with the treatment in countries like Great Britain and Australia.

WE THEREORE PETITION YOUR HONOURABLE HOUSE that the National Service Emergency Regulations, 1940, and its Amendments be so amended as to bring these Regulations, in so far as they affect conscientious objectors, into line with the parallel British Regulations, and in particular to:

(a) set up an Appellate Tribunal with properly qualified personnel to re-hear the cases of those who wish to appeal from the decision of the Appeal Boards. This right of appeal to apply retrospectively:

(b) abolish the system of "indeterminate sentence," and limit the term of confinement that can be imposed:

(c) give the right of further appeal to the Appellate Tribunal on the imposition of a sentence of imprisonment or detention of three months or more, as in Britain:

(d) give those serving in the Armed Forces the right of appeal to the Appellate Tribunal for release on conscientious grounds. . .

The very terms of this petition expose how conscience is treated under a "Labour" Government headed by a Premier who was a "conchie" in the last war.

BRIDGETON N.C.L., I.L.P. ROOMS, 548 London Road. Every Friday at 8 p.m. All invited.

18B and CONSCIENCE

Sometime ago we received the following letter from our friend, Mr. John Wynn, who compiled the exposure *It Might Have Happened to You.*

Mr. Wynn wrote :—

June 30th, 1944.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—You forwarded me recently a very interesting letter with MANY enclosures from Mr. H. H. Beamish, who was M.P. for Hartley in 1939.

Apparently he was locked up in Southern Rhodesia under an equivalent regulation to 18b for 3 years; he is over 70. He is the brother of Beamish the M.P. for Lewes, Sussex, and his father was Admiral Beamish, C.B., who was A.D.C. to Queen Victoria.

My best wishes to you and The Duke in the fight for freedom.

Yours Sincerely,

JOHN WYNN.

A correspondent has sent us a copy of *The Rhodesia Herald* for July 21, 1943, containing the following interesting item :—

MR. H. H. BEAMISH RELEASED.
EX-M.P. WHO WAS INTERNED.

A reader of the "Rhodesia Herald" has sent the following for publication :—

"Mr. H. H. Beamish, who represented Hartley in Parliament prior to the 1939 general election, and who was arrested on June 10, 1940, by order of the late Minister of Justice, Mr. R. C. Tredgold, was released unconditionally on July 3.

"The Government have agreed to supply him with furnished accommodation, a maintenance allowance and have or will return to him all papers and documents confiscated from him when he was arrested.

"The total period of his internment was three years and 23 days, a total of 1,118 days, of which 215 days were spent in the Salisbury prison."

Official Statement.

The "Rhodesia Herald" showed the statement to the Department of Justice and received the following reply :—

"The statement above is substantially correct.

"The late Minister of Justice, Mr. R. C. Tredgold, offered to release Mr. Beamish in January, 1941, provided he undertook to reside on a particular farm and not to engage in subversive activities, but these terms Mr. Beamish refused to accept 'in view of the fact that numbers of friends of mine in England, Canada and elsewhere are still in prison and have been refused both parole and release.'

"Mr. Beamish's age and the subsequent progress of the war have influenced the Government to the view that his unconditional release is justified."

We honour Mr. Beamish for his refusal to consider conditional release whilst others were interned without charge or trial. His fearless attitude sternly defined the constitutional right of the citizen in time of crisis. If we are told that the citizen has no constitutional rights at such times, then we reply that civilisation has been reduced to chaos and that might has become right when right ought to be might.

In the June, 1944, debate on 18B in the House of Commons, Rear-Admiral T. P. M. Beamish rightly voted against 18B and the Government. We would like to think that he was moved in this matter by a regard for principle and not from mere affection for his brother. Family devotion is an excellent quality but it has no right to be substituted for public affection. 18B would be wrong even though Admiral Beamish's brother had not been interned in South Africa under its equivalent. We make this comment because, whilst we agree heartily with the Admiral's vote on this matter, we deplore his conduct in another issue of civil liberty, every whit as urgent and as important as 18B.

In a later issue we intend to deal with the case of George P. Elphick, F.O.R. Secretary at Lewes, who has been prosecuted ten times and imprisoned for refusing pit guard duties. Rear-Admiral Beamish is M.P. for Lewes and has received a large number of letters of protest. The repeated prosecution has been condemned by orthodox papers like *The Church Times* and *The Christian World.*

The Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, Rector of St. Michael's, Lewes, to his eternal credit, gave notice that as a protest against the Council's persistent attempt to coerce a man whose integrity of conscience was without question, he would from that date stop fire-watching, and would disobey any direction which the authorities might issue to him. The only condition on which he would continue would be if he were allowed to fill the vacancy to which George Elphick had been directed. He did not object to fire-watching as such, but had the strongest objection to tyranny, and could no longer allow this C.O. to stand alone in his resistance to it.

In his *New Statesman* article "The Present Position of Conscientious Objection", (reprinted as a pamphlet by the C.B.C.O.), Dr. C. E. M. Joad made scathing comment on the policy of the Lewes Council in George Elphick's case.

Dr. Joad was one of the members of a *Daily Express* Brains Trust which took place at Lewes on June 13. As Kenneth Rawlings and Clarence E. Tritton, district Advisory Bureau secretary, were giving out copies of Dr. Joad's pamphlet while the crowd was leaving, one good lady, Mrs. Wigmore, began in high-pitched tones a spirited tirade against conscientious objectors, receiving support from a section of the crowd, some of whom began to tear up their copies of the pamphlet.

Prior to this incident, Rear-Admiral Beamish had long telephone conversations with Nancy Browne, Secretary of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors, and with Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, and had also met the latter and Joe Brayshaw at the House of Commons; all three were left with the impression that Admiral Beamish deplored the action of the Council. He insisted that the work he had already done for George Elphick had been grossly under-estimated.

The Sussex 'Express and County Herald of June 30, reported the Admiral as having sent the following letter to Mrs. Wigmore :—

"Dear Mrs. Wigmore,—I understand that you made a great stand and courageous protest on the subject of the pamphlet issued by the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors. I think the pamphlet was one that was written by Professor Joad. May I congratulate you on your courage? Yours sincerely, T. P. H. Beamish."

The Admiral should have reflected that those who defended his brother and other 18B victims have been subject to hysterical denunciations from the Mrs. Wigmores of this world.

The Sussex Express commented :—

"It is to be hoped that the Admiral will carry the matter still further."

Yes : the Admiral should enquire what stand the *Sussex Express* has taken on the imprisonment and detention without trial of 18B victims.

In an article in *The Brighton Gazette* of June 20, the Admiral had made a number of comments adverse to both Elphick and the C.B.C.O.

We do not share the views entertained by most of the 18B victims, but we do share the fundamental opposition to war that dictates the outlook and conduct of most conscientious objectors. Nevertheless, we are opposed to all so-called Socialist and Pacifists who defend, or will not question, the 18B internments. We are no less opposed to Admirals who live in glass-houses : who believe that 18B internment is wrong, but pander to hysterical hooliganism, and attack conscientious objectors. Suffering should educate even admirals.

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 3rd SEPTEMBER

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**

(*Concluded from Page* 22)

bound volume, and also the volumes of your essays. These will be of great service to social students.

We regret that you have been unable to pay a visit to our state and country and hope that it will still be possible for you to do so.—Very truly yours,

LUCY V. KEPLER,
In Charge of Periodicals.

University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois, 27th June, 1944.

ALBERTO PACITTI

In this issue we are unable to discuss the very full 18B debate that took place in the House of Commons on Friday, June 16. Pending our summary, we would refer the reader to the official Parliamentary Report which should be obtained and studied by every believer in civil liberty. The recent release of the former Glasgow Secretary of the Partita National Fascisti compels us to return to the cases of Alberto Pacitti and his friend, Gino Bertolini.

The Duke of Bedford called attention to the internment of these young men and the fate of their fathers in his famous House of Lords speech. We have pleaded for their release in these columns and we repeat our plea. The Pacitti and Bertolini families are well known in Glasgow, and they are known to be thoroughly decent citizens and neighbours.

In November 1942 Mrs. Pacitti asked a Glasgow Labour M.P. to take up the case of her son. He put the facts before the Home Secretary, who has investigated the cases of both Alberto Pacitti and Gino Bertolini since then, and each time regretted his inability to reconsider his decision. We ask that the decision be reconsidered now.

Mrs. Pacitti's letter makes good reading today and we reproduce it accordingly, only omitting, at his request, the name of the Labour M.P.—for he is scared of the party machine and must not voice freely his true sentiments—to whom it was addressed :—

23rd November, 1942.

Dear Mr. ——

My son, Alberto Pacitti (Bertie), 28 years of age, who is at present detained in Camp "M," Peel, Isle of Man, was educated at St. Mungo's Academy, Glasgow, and later graduated with honours in June, 1938.

He was on holiday in Ireland a short time before Italy entered this war, when he was approached by a Mr. Romanno, Hairdresser, Gallowgate, Glasgow, to become Secretary of the local Partita Nathional Facsisti, in place of a Mr. Tronchetti.

My son's sole recreation was, and still is, gymnastics and football. His employment as teacher and gym. instructor at St. John's (De La Sal) Reform School, Springbolg, Shettleston, very often kept him on duty until 8 p.m. He felt that he had not the time to devote to the duties of a Secretary's post, and he had no interest in politics. He very reluctantly agreed and was made a member of the party when he took up the post.

My son was popular as an amateur footballer and played for many teams, including St. Mungo's Academy, St. Roches, University, Jordanhill and Glasgow Shopkeepers. But he had no real interest in politics.

At his Advisory Committee hearing at London in 1940, letters of recommendation for release, were sent by Drs. Scanlon and Rosemary, Monseigneur Daly (Glasgow Cathedral) and the Headmaster at St. John's (Bro. Michael).

My son was very much attached to his father, who perished on the "Arandora Star," and he abhors war for that reason.

I have had a bitter struggle to keep this shop open and pay my rates. Actually I need his help in the financial struggle, for the shop does not pay itself and his wages would help greatly.

I have two girls and a boy still at school, and my own father has to be looked after.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude for your promise to place our case before the Home Secretary for his early consideration.

Yours very gratefully,
(Mrs.) G. PACITTI.

Tronchetti was a most active and militant Fascist. He is released. In Alberto Pacitti's case the association, as stated before in these columns, was one of language association and good-natured helpfulness. Socialists and Anarchists who are customers at the Pacitti shop know quite well that more fair-minded, more helpful, or better-natured citizens and neighbours exist nowhere in Glasgow. To view these people as Fascist enemies of democracy is absurd. We ask the Labour movement to investigate and to press for the unconditional release of these young men.

SUPPORT OUR DEFICIT FUND

WORD BOUND VOLUME, for three years: May 1939 to July 1942 inclusive. Green Cloth 12/6. Post Free 13/6.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

By Sidney Townend, B.Sc., Ph.D.

Portrait taken in Leeds, July, 1932. The scholar expecting to conquer the world. To-day, a prisoner for conscience in New Zealand. See letters, pages 15 and 16 and story, page 20.

Causes of War

Before discussing any foundations of peace, it is absolutely imperative that some agreement is reached as to the principal causes of war. This is emphasised because there is stilll a not inconsiderable number of people who, through their religious institutions and peace societies and as individuals, speak and act as if the war was the result or reflection of ill-will and hatred felt by the people of one country against those of another. I am convinced that such a contention is wrong; based on my own experiences, I believe that most of the people of the nations involved in this war are decent, honest human beings despite the conditions under which they live. I say "despite" because as a result of the present systems under which man live, his good motives are frequently thwarted, his initiative and originality are dulled while his less noble attainments are applauded and often materially recognised. This state of affairs applies to the democratic countries as well as those under dictatorship rule.

I do not try to fool myself into believing that most men are saints—the weaknesses of human nature are very real—but I do believe that the aggregate of human weaknesses and vices cannot possibly be related to the inhuman iniquities inflicted on whole societies through the failure of economic systems to deliver goods and service. Very few individuals could be found sufficiently wicked to desire the destruction of food while people suffered semi-starvation and yet during the pre-war years in England and in the United States and other democratic countries such destruction was carried out on an incredible scale while millions of people suffered from malnutrition. Surely no man could accuse the Scottish trawler owner who threw half of his catch back into the sea or the English or American farmer who ploughed part of his crop back into the land or the orchardist who allowed good fruit to rot on his trees of individual intent to inflict suffering on the people who were in need of the food. These men hated destroying thir catches and their crops but under the present economic system there was no alternative if they wished to live and keep their trawlers, their farms and their orchards.

Similarly it is impossible to associate the horror and bestiality of modern war with the character either of the men in the fighting services or of the war effort. In this war although Germans are inflicting death and suffering on the British people and their allies and vice versa, before the war, there could not possibly have been any real hate between the peoples concerned. The majority of people on one side had no personal knowledge of those on the other and the comparative few of our people who had made acquaintance with the people now regarded as enemies had found friendliness and hospitality. War of to-day is definitely not the upshot of enmity and hatred seething in the hearts of the people of one country against those in another. On the contrary as a result of the slaughter and misery inflcted, war ferments ill-will and bitterness which it takes years of peace to eradicate. If then this is true—and thousands in every country can vouch for it—the sooner this fact is recognised by the religious institutions, the peace societies and by individuals and at least some attention given to the fundamental causes, the sooner will a lasting peace be realised.

It is the desire of many people to lay the full responsibility for this war on Hitler but even the London *Times* has to recognise that

> **Beyond doubt one of the fundamental causes of this war has been the unrelaxing efforts of Germany. . . . to secure wide enough foreign markets to straighten her finances at the very time when all her competitors were forced to adopt exactly the same course. Continuous friction was inevitable.**

It must be realised that "Hitlerism is an effect, not a cause" and that the cause has its roots in an archaic debt-ridden monetary system which is still operated in most, if not all, the leading countries of the world. Through this system it is impossible for a sufficiency of purchasing power to be distributed to the consuming public without incurring debt and there is an abundance of evidto show that in an age of plenty the resulting poverty within a country is closely related to the conditions which lead to war abroad.

No country can under the present monetary system consume that which it produces (or the equivalent amount) regardless of the standard of living of its people without mortgaging the future at an ever increasing rate. As a result there has been that inevitable growing desire for overseas markets so that an outlet might be found for the goods—not necessarily surplus—but for which no purchasing power was available. (When goods can be got rid of in this way, more can be made and thus more purchasing power can be distributed to the people, enabling them to buy a portion of what they have produced or its equivalent in other products.) The desire has never been to import the same quantity as that exported. Under such a system of international trading, through the activities of powerful financial groups and diplomats, nations are continually being grouped to serve vested interests and economic wars are being fought. It can never be argued that such conditions are conducive to a lasting world peace.

When the outlet of overseas markets for the unpurchasable goods fails, they are either destroyed or production is restricted or diverted into the greatest of all man-made consumers, the war machine. The preparation for war and its prosecution are the most effective and yet the most terrible of all palliatives which mask the inability of the monetary system to distribute a sufficiency of purchasing power. Arsenals and war projects are started up in depressed areas and the people enjoy (as long as food is available) a square meal again and are quieted. These palliatives—the destruction and restriction of goods and the equipping of the war machine—are accompanied by the piling up of mammoth debts to financial institutions. All the large democratic countries were even before the war struggling under irrepayable debts, the bulk of the indebtedness being to privately controlled financial institutions. The controllers of these institutions are in no way representatives of the people nor have they at heart the interests of any individual countries. They are international in a sinister sense and through the power they wield they control the lifelood of nations; they have the power to decide on the degree of activity of any particular industry and even to dictate the policies of supposedly democratic governments. These international financiers have made a mockery of democracy and have proved themselves to be silent dictators of the most serious type. To suit their own interests, by means of selfish control of news services, they have manufactured at will synthetic enmity or friendship between the peoples of different countries. There is ample documentary evidence to validate these strong indictments should they be questioned.

No person who is prepared to face facts can deny that this privately controlled debt-ridden monetary system lies at the root of the cause of economic rivalry between nations and of war itself. The same monetary system which has been responsible for the bread queues in the United States while her grain silos were full, for the fourteen million people suffering from malnutrition in England in 1936 when there was no real shortage of good and for the depression in this country less than ten years ago, was also responsible for the serious economic depression in Germany which threw her people into the hands of a dictator who promised them a sufficiency of the necessities for healthy physical life. In the cause of Hitler's rise to power lies the root cause of war and whether the man and all his colleagues and confederates are beaten, if this cause is not eradicated, world peace will be little nearer.

A Sane Monetary System.

It is more urgent than ever that people are aware of the essentials of a sane monetary system, the reason being that changes in the present system are almost certain either at the end of the war or even before. The very fact that within a short period of time almost every one has come to realise that there is something radically wrong with the money machine and now takes it for granted that it will certainly not survive this war, gives grounds for concern. This idea has received wide publicity of recent months and is even being propagated by organs which have previously been wedded to "Sound Finance." Articles have appeared in the London *Times* drawing attention to the necessity for a change in the monetary system—a little alarming in view of the fact that Montague Norman is one of the controllers of this paper's policy.

The ideas of Federal Union which emanate from the United States and which are undoubtedly viewed sympathetically by High Finance include so-called monetary reform. The ultimate aim here, however, is that eventually there will be a return to the gold standard. In view of such signs it is evident that one of the imminent dangers is the introduction of superficial modifications to the existing monetary system which will leave the fundamental flaw still unchanged and the same private control—possibly in different guise—still in power, the people having meanwhile been led to believe that the necessary monetary reform has been accomplished. Should such a change take place, certain moratoriums might be allowed, certain debts scaled down and other alleviations introduced, but if the fundamental flaw is not correctel, a repetition of the old order with its production restrictions, trade rivalries and wars can undoubtedly be expected.

During the past twenty years many books have been written on the subject of a sane monetary system. These—by C. H. Douglas, C. Marshall Hattersley, and Maurice Colbourne—can be referred to by the reader desirous of detailed information. In this leaflet only a few fundamentals can be touched upon. They are nevertheless such essential requirements that any new proposed system must be able to withstand the searchlight of their examination.

In a sane monetary system money must be the servant of man; it must always be related to real wealth and must facilitate both production and consumption. For these desired conditions to be established and safeguarded it follows that private monopolistic control of money must end in view of the evil effects which in the past have resulted from such control. Therefore the first essential requisite is that the control of a

nation's money—that is its financial credit—must be in the hands of servants of the people. This control would preside solely over a department concerned with national bookkeeping and accountancy and would be in no way influenced by party politics.

Secondly the quantity of money to be put into circulation during a given period of time would be scientifically estimated, such an amount being based on a statistical knowledge of the consumable goods likely to be available. The amount would not be conditioned by the number of people in employment as at present nor would it be related to a metal stowed away in a vault. If the goods and services were available and awaiting consumption and use, then the necessary quantity of money tickets would be distributed regardless of whether all the employable population could find work. In other words, ways and means would be found to finance consumption and without piling up debt. The money over and above wages, salaries and dividends, which in any given period of time was found necessary to fill the gap between consumption power and production, would be distributed in the most equitable way to every citizen. If this adjustment were made it would be possible for the first time to appreciate fully the significance of this power age and each new labour-saving device would be truly welcomed according to its intrinsic worth to man. What is physically possible would then also prove financially possible.

The monetary system would be made self-liquidating so that after money had passed through its cycle and was cancelled no train of debt would be left behind. The system would then reflect the true fact that the real and only cost of production is consumption. The passing on of colossal public debts for future generations to reckon with violates and is abhorrent to the axiom that "The Earth belongs to the Living!" What men do in any particular generation is their responsibility and not that of future generations. The heritage which man receives might be passed on to the next generation richer and finer or it might even be impaired, but whatever its state, it must be handed on.

To facilitate the introduction and smooth working of this sane monetary system, a mechanism would be set up to stabilise the general level of prices in order to prevent any attempts at price soaring which might be made by misguided interests determined to prove the system unworkable. The present war period affords plenty of examples of the practicability of the operation of this type of mechanism.

Foundations of Peace.

For the establishment of a lasting and unenforced international peace, it is essential that there is peace within the individual countries and surely this can only be attained when the individuals in those countries are at peace. Worthwhile peace proposals must therefore be founded upon the recognition of the individual's right to happiness and upon the determined resolve to make it a potential reality. The new world order must be so fashioned that individual freedom is experienced to its fullest possible extent and so that economic security is determined solely by the richness of nature's resources and man's skill and inventive genius to use them. Once these conditions are attained, it will be possible to give adequate consideration to the requirements of the people in the few countries where there is an actual shortage of goods and services in view of the superabundance in the world as a whole.

To sum up—in the democratic countries of the western civilisation since the last war, a faulty monetary system has been indisputably responsible for witholding from the people one of the greatest essentials for happiness—economic security. Under the reformed system no production will be restricted, no goods will be destroyed which are justifiably desired by the people and the future piling up of public debts will cease. When money is made the measure and not the measurer of real wealth, that is, when people can buy that which they produce or equivalent quantities, trading between nations will resolve itself into a fair interchange of surplus goods and services. Each country will aim at a true balance of trade in which exports equal imports. An excess of exports over imports will no longer be regarded as a favourable balance of trade, but will prove for that particular period to be economically a direct loss to the people and can only be considered an act of generosity. With such an economic relationship between countries the air will be cleared considerably for the settling of the vexing and conflicting problems of to-day concerning empires, colonies and overseas possessions, especially when it is remembered that the modern world so far is not troubled with any scarcity problem. Previous to the war, no country had difficulty in getting the required imports; the problem was always one of finding a market for exports.

When the sovereign right of the people to create and control their own money is excerised, the international financiers and the satellite financial and industrial interests will lose much of their power. This will mean an immediate lessening of international intrigue as a result of which the reactions between countries will reflect more truly the feelings of the people concerned. It is of course realised that other important problems such as the private manufacture of armaments for profit, must eventually be tackled. There is much evidence of how armament rings have deliberately exploited grievances between nations and even precipitated wars. Yet even in the light of such menaces it is still felt that the root cause of war and of the grievances exploited lies in the faulty monetary system.

For these reasons it is therefore imperative that whenever peace proposals are formulated, they must—if they are to be at all practicable—be founded on a sound national economy.

It is the urgent duty of every nation genuinely desiring peace—and inherently the people of every nation long for peace—to rid itself of its privately controlled, debt-ridden monetary system and to restore to itself its sovereign right of the control of its credit and currency. It might be argued that New Zealand now controls its own money machine and that since the outbreak of war Great Britain is also temporarily exercising that power, but in both cases the laws of "Sound Finance" as devised by the financier are being adhered to and irrepayable debts, which will act as burdens on future generations, are being piled up at an accelerated rate to the banking institutions. If freedom is ever to triumph and peace is to reign this debt stranglehold must be broken.

The question as to how this reform is to be achieved, comes down—in the final analysis—to the individual. Every person has the duty and privilege of citizenship and the amount of attention which must be given to affairs of the State should surely be determined by its condition. The chaotic and tormented state of society at this time demands of us an unprecedented effort to play our part in bringing about happier conditions. This applies to all people whether they are of the professional or artisan class. Full recognition should be given to the importance of the spiritual development of man but at the same time it must be emphasised that man cannot be parcelled up into spiritual and physical entities, each part being catered for separately. The religionists, preacher and worshipper alike, must face these vital practical problems on which all progress of civilisation ultimately depends.

The urgent necessity of to-day is for the enlightenment of man as to the cause of poverty and war. For many years a victim of propaganda in its multifarious forms, he has become befogged and duped. Once he sees clearly through the false beliefs and artificial conventions of the present system to the true and real things of life, he will—even in his present imperfect state—become aware of his individual responsibility and in that awareness, will act.

Why Jesus Wept. Guy Aldred's Humanist pamphlet. 12 essays. 72 pages. 6d. Post-free, 8d. Secure Now.

THE CHURCH AND BOMBING.

Several words were omitted in setting from the Duke of Bedford's article on "The Church and Bombing," in our August issue, page 12, column 2, 2nd paragraph. The passage should have read:—

Even assuming, however, that an arguable case exists for those who consider that the opinion of the Government experts IS TRUSTWORTHY AND THAT WHOLESALE BOMBING WOULD, ON BALANCE, CAUSE LESS SUFFERING BY SHORTENING THE WAR, THE ASSEMBLY SHOWED A DEVASTATING LACK OF JUDGMENT in assuming that no other alternatives existed except the continuation of the war with wholesale bombing and continuation with bombing restricted to military objectives.

The words in black caps were omitted. We regret this error, which made nonsense of a sound argument.

BOISE VALLEY HERALD.
Publishers: A. and I. W. CORNELL.
BOISE VALLEY, MIDDLETON, CANYON COUNTY, IDAHO.
Published Weekly, every Thursday.
Subscription Rate: $1-00 per year, in advance.

All our American comrades should read this great independent weekly paper. It discusses freely every phase of Socialism, Pacifism, Monetary Reform, etc. We would like to see this paper read widely throughout U.S.A., Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, wherever "The Word" circulates and has friends. The Duke of Bedford's House of Lords Speeches and his Essays have been appearing regularly in the "Herald's" columns since June 29, 1944.

Originally entered as second-class matter in December, 1908, at the post office at Middleton, Idaho, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. The second-class privilege was revoked September 5, 1942, by Postmaster-General Frank Walker, on the charge of sedition—opposition to World War II.

'Entered as second-class matter March 2, 1943, at the post office at Middleton, Idaho, under the Act of March 3, 1879.'

DEFAULTERS AND "CONCHIES."

In view of possible confusion in the minds of the public in regard to conscientious objectors and defaulters, the N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion executive committee decided last evening to issue the following statement:—

Persons whose appeals against military service on grounds of religious belief have been upheld by the appeal boards are not regarded by the N.Z.R.S.A. as defaulters. Any man whose appeal has been dismissed by the appeal board and then refuses to perform the military service or such alternative service ordered by the tribunal becomes a defaulter.—"Wellington Evening Post," New Zealand, 19th April, 1944.

The above definition explains the cases mentioned in our New Zealand correspondence this month.

EDINBURGH NO-CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

PUBLIC MEETING
at the
CENTRAL HALL, TOLLCROSS, EDINBURGH,
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

Speakers:
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD,
GORDON STOTT.

Chairman: Rev. HECTOR MacPHERSON, D.D.
Doors Open, 7 p.m. Chair Taken 7-30 p.m.

Questions and Discussion. All Welcome.

All Socialists should support this great Labour-Pacifist Meeting.

UNITED PEACE CAMPAIGN
SUNDAY, 3rd SEPTEMBER
MASONIC HALL,
100 WEST REGENT STREET.

Speakers:
ALFRED E. B. OPIE. SYBIL MORRISON

Chairman—Sir HUGH ROBERTON.

Chair taken at 7 p.m. Collection.
Questions. Discussion.

NEW ZEALAND WAR RESISTER

SHARES THE VIEWS OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Sidney Townend's Stand

In this issue, we publish an essay on the *Foundations of Peace*, written from the Social Credit viewpoint, by a New Zealand war resister, named Sidney Townend. We also publish in part, two letters from his wife, Monica Townend, describing his stand and experiences as a conscientious objector.

Sidney Townend was born in Leeds on September 20, 1906. He was educated at Blenheim School, Leeds; Woodhouse Technical School, Leeds; Leeds College of Technology; and Leeds University. He graduated B.Sc. (Honours, Engineering), at the University in 1932. Did textile research for the Wool Industries Research Association, Torridor, Leeds, 1932-5. Was awarded the Blair Fellowship for one year's research in some foreign country, and conducted research in U.S.A. and Germany, 1935-6. On his return to Leeds, resumed his research work at Torridor and wrote a thesis, for which he was awarded the Ph.D. degree, Leeds University, 1937. Appointed Textile Research Officer to the New Zealand Government, he went to New Zealand in August, 1938. And so, to-day, he finds himself, not an official of the New Zealand Government, but a prisoner—condemned because he would serve his fellows with his knowledge and research but is not prepared to murder them.

Two years to the month before going to New Zealand—in August, 1936—Sidney Townend married Grace Monica Dean, B.A. Both were members of the Social Credit Party in Britain and both are members of the same party in New Zealand. Before uniforms were banned in 1936, both wore the greenshirt of the Social Credit Party.

Monica Townend never expected to be the wife of a much abused prisoner when she went to New Zealand. She has given broadcast talks to women in New Zealand and has written several articles for the woman's page of the Auckland *Mirror*.

The background of both is somewhat orthodox. So orthodox that we would not have expected to call either comrade. Their stand against war is firm, however; and this pacifist steadfastness creates a bond of union.

In his first statement of appeal, made on October 10, 1942, Sidney Townend averred :—

The principal relevant beliefs which I hold and on which I base this Appeal are:—

1. That the root cause of war is economic rivalry between nations and that this rivalry is inevitable under the existing financial system.

2. That ends never justify means but rather means determine the ends.

3. That thought and action prompted by truth can never damage a legitimate cause; it must strengthen it.

The first mentioned belief on the root cause of war is in contra-distinction to the idea which many are led to accept that war is the result of ill-will and bitterness between peoples. The converse is the truth; war itself generates hatred and bitterness.

The stand that I am taking against war is a logical development of holding this belief as to the root cause, which I have helped to propagate for 10 years. . .

In the normal operation of what has proved to be a faulty monetary system, a shortage of purchasing power in the hands of the people is inevitable. Because of the ineffectiveness of the home market to buy the goods and services available, there has been a continuous scramble for foreign markets and favourable trade balances—though favourable to one must be unfavourable to another. This economic rivalry must lead to friction between nations. ...

That the home market has been ineffective has accounted for the anachronism of acute poverty and enforced idleness in an age of plenty. Out of these depressed conditions dictators have arisen. Palliatives used to prop up the faulty system include public works schemes, re-armament programmes and war and have always been at the expense of rising debts to financial institutions controlled by a group of international financiers. The interests of these individuals are not those of the people of their respective countries. They have tremendous power over governments and control directly or indirectly every powerful means of propaganda.

SIDNEY TOWNEND and GRACE MONICA DEAN. Picture taken at the Wedding in Leeds, August 1936.

I maintain that any practicable solution if international trade rivalry is to be avoided, must be based on the restoration to countries of the sovereign right to create their own credit on the introduction of a sane monetary and economic system. There is still not the slightest indication that any government of the United Nations contemplates taking these essential first steps without which all talk of lasting peace after this war, is empty and futile.

The second belief which I stated, namely that ends cannot justify means may even be more poignantly expressed by saying that out of wrong actions we cannot expect to achieve right. Killing, or inflicting suffering on a person against whom you know no personal wrong, must impair the objective no matter how much it might otherwise be justified. Many are prepared to support the bombing of an arsenal even if it means killing workers employed in it. Few, however, can honestly support the killing of the wife and children of a worker in that arsenal and yet because they live in close proximity to the factory, this must frequently happen.

As science gives ever-increasing aid to war, the lethal weapons become increasingly deadly and less discriminating; killing and maiming is done at more and more remote distances. A young lad in his early 20's in a hideous high-powered bomber operates a lever releasing a stick of bombs; he sees a pyrotechnic display and returns to his base to report that he got his target. He never sees the mangled bodies of the men, women and children whom he probably has murdered and everything is done to deaden his imagination so that he might not even see it in his mind's eye. As modern war develops such crime which I personally cannot possibly justify, must unavoidably increase. For this reason alone, worthwhile results — so ardently hoped for—become impossible. As a result of these acts and of the insidious propaganda let loose in war, more and more bitterness is roused and man's mind is ever coarsened. Rather than progressing towards peace, freedom and happiness, we are slowly reverting to barbarism. Because of the foregoing facts, I have been driven to the conviction that only the stand of non-violent resistance is capable of redeeming the dignity of man.

The 3rd belief that thought and action inspired by truth can never damage a legitimate cause is the impelling force behind my present stand and conduct.

I have stated publicly that I share the same views relating to war as Mahatma Gandhi, the Cardinal Archbishop of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford, and Dr. Alfred Salter, all of whom are pleading for a negotiated peace at the earliest possible moment. Many will argue that at this stage, propagating for peace will damage the Empire's cause. Since I believe that truth is always opportune, I am convinced that such action must be in the interests of the great mass of the people.

I now wish to give a few more personal details in support of my appeal.

In 1932, I was introduced to Social Credit and slowly realised how peace between nations and economic security and freedom of the people were inter-related and that their fruition was prevented by a faulty money system . . . Since 1933 I have been a member of various Social Credit Movements. In England I have paraded in the streets with posters, sold and distributed Social Credit literature and addressed indoor and outdoor meetings for this cause. In 1935 I felt compelled to resign from the church which I served for many years, as it, together with those of most other denominations, failed to shoulder its responsibilities on these matters. I attended numerous peace meetings, including the War Resisters' International Conference in Denmark in 1937 . . . I have tramped on the Continent on 3 occasions with International Youth Movements and have travelled in several countries in connection with my studies and work. My attitude towards war is formed on this background of experience.

Since coming to this country in 1938, I have continued to work for the removal of the root cause of war. I have protested against the war to the Prime Minister and every M.P. . . .

While now not a member of any religious body this appeal is made with my whole physical, mental and spiritual being. It is truly religious in the deepest sense and I assert that in taking this stand, it is in a deep and sincere desire to serve society to the best of my ability.

In view of my complete sincerity I cannot help but feel that it is this court of law which is being tried before the principles embodied in this statement.

Before the magistrates at Christchurch in April, 1944, Sidney Townend gave the reasons for the attitude of non-co-operation, adopted by him at Balmoral Detention Camp, on April 10 last.

Comrade Townend told the Court:

REASONS FOR NON CO-OPERATION.

The stand of non co-operation which I have taken is I feel the only method left available by which I can protest against a decision made against me by an Appeal Board in October, 1942. This was to the effect that my refusal to serve in the Armed Forces was not accepted as being based on conscientious objection. In the eyes of the law I was and still am regarded as a liar—to put it quite bluntly. The stand I have taken against war I can but reaffirm is truly a sincere one.

If this separation from my wife and segregation from society to which I am subjected was because I would not fight, then I should have to oppose the law itself and not the administration of it. The subsequent sentences passed against me are, however, based on the Board's decision that I was considered as not being true to my conscience. I have continually rebelled against this decision, and while in prison a year ago, I restated my case in a letter to the Minister of Justice and applied for a re-hearing of my appeal. I was notified that it was considered I had not supplied any new and material evidence which would justify a re-hearing. In February of this year, I again made application for my case to be re-heard and this time submitted evidence regarding my character and the principles I held, from certain gentlemen with whom I have been associated since coming to this country in 1938. The only reward for this effort was a memorandum note from the Controller of Detention to the Balmoral Camp Supervisor stating that the evidence which had been submitted was not considered to "constitute new and material evidence," and therefore a re-hearing could not be granted. I believe that the most ardent criminal could rightfully expect more personal consideration from the Minister's Department.

I could protest strongly against the detention system with its appalling waste of manpower, mentally and physically; against the unjust indeterminate sentences and against the iniquitous conscription system, but I feel that I must restrict this stand I have taken to a protest against the invalid judgment passed against me . . .

I have not arrived at the decision to non co-operate without giving it much thought and for over a year I have obeyed the letter of the law in prison and camp as I think my records will show. But for a long time now I have been convinced that to go on obeying the laws which are at present dictating how I must exist, is both servile and compromising. There is no virtue in accepting conditions when those conditions can only be imposed on men whose consciences have been judged insincere. I therefore resolved to make the only gesture which it was left to me to make—that is to cease co-operating with the detention system as token of my revolt against the original sentence passed on me.

I repeat—I am true to my conscience in the stand I have taken against war and I shall continue to press for the repeal of the indictment made against me. In making this protest I feel that I am contributing to the defence of the principles of justice and honest government, the preservation of which must be the desire of all freedom-loving people.

COMMUNISM
THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED
Twenty-nine chapters, exposing Moscow Adventurism and Reaction, and giving the full story of the Communist Party in Great Britain, The United States, Russia, Germany, Holland and China. An unanswerable factual review. Price: 1/6; post free, 1/9.

UNITED STATES NEWS-LETTER

Dear Friend and Comrade,—I wish to tell you how pleased Mrs. Floyd and I were to see the two pages in the April "Word" regarding William Floyd and his last book. It was a fine account and review. I also wish to thank you for your kind mention of me, but wish the printer had spelled my first name Sherman instead of Therman.

I call "The Word" the "Arbitrator of Britain," and you the William Floyd. Also in a review of your "Richard Carlile," published in "The Arbitrator," I called you the modern Carlile. I have long been interested in Carlile, but it took your pamphlets really to make me admire him. I have also long admired Robert Taylor, and bought copies of his three books back in 1918-1919 when I was in Washington, D.C., during the last war. What have interested me most in "The Word" are the references to the Rev. Adlard and the series on South Place. I knew of Adlard when he was in this country, and have a notion that I may have met him, as I know many Unitarian ministers and used to meet many casually. I am a great admirer of Moncure D. Conway and published a tribute to him in "The Truth Seeker" in 1926. When in London in 1932 my wife and I attended a meeting at South Place. We knew Conway's daughter, Mrs. Sawyer.

I am so interested and pleased that you are anxious to come to the U.S.A. to visit the intellectual shrines. I, too, admire Theodore Parker and Lucretia Mott, and I included them in my "Humanist Calendar" in "The Arbitrator." My wife is a Parker descendant and I a Coffin. Lucretia Mott was born a Coffin.

Another of my heroes was Abraham Lincoln. It may interest you to know that I am a native of Bloomington, Illinois, in the heart of the Lincoln country, and my grandfather, Wakefield, was one of his friends. Lincoln's close association with Bloomington was neglected by his biographers until I published a book, "How Lincoln Became President," in 1936.

I have also written articles disproving Lincoln's authorship of the famous letter of condolence to Mrs. Bixby of Boston.

Altho I was born in Illinois and my grandparents were pioneers in that State, I am of pure New England ancestry, beginning with the "Mayflower" in 1620.

Among "sacred groves" in this country I have visited are sites in Bloomington, Ill., where Lincoln made his first great speeches and where he became a Republican and most important founder of the party. Phoenix Hall, where Lincoln spoke many times, was built and owned by my grandfather. I have visited the places in New York and New Rochelle where Thomas Paine lived. In New York and Peoria, Illinois, I have visited the sites of Robert G. Ingersoll's homes. I have visited the homes of the great around Concord, Mass. But, unfortunately, the great New England renaissance is a thing of the past. Elizabeth Cody Stanton is even more of a "hero" than Lucretia Mott, and I had the honour of knowing very well her wonderful daughter, Harriet Stanton Blatch. Her granddaughter, Nora Stanton Barney, our good friend, is holding high the torch handed down to her.

I, too, have "sacred groves" in England where Paine dwelt and first thought on the rights of man, Carlile struggled and Taylor turned Deistic preacher. When in London in 1932 my wife and I had an unforgettable evening with F. J. Gould and memorable visits with J. M. Robertson and Joseph M'Cabe. As the granddaughter of Robert G. Ingersoll, my wife belongs in the main Humanist tradition and has the same "heroes" that I have.

I am now reading an interesting book by Fred Gladstone Bratton called "The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit" (N.Y., 1943). It takes up many of our heroes, but is written from the non-Humanist Unitarian point of view and sometimes (I think) gets off the main Humanist line. I am making a study of the Humanist tradition and hope sometime to get something into print. I miss not having "The Arbitrator," and wish some "angel" would finance a similar paper here. The loss of William Floyd is irreplacable.

I greatly appreciate the work you are doing. —Fraternally yours,

SHERMAN D. WAKEFEILD.

New York, 10, June 15, 1944.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I notice that the "Word" is being sold in this city. I would like to see the sales and circulation organised here from one centre. That would mean building up the United Socialist Movement in this city. Please think of this.

I received to-day an interesting and arresting manuscript from Dr. George Hartman titled "Challenge to Socialist Pacifists." May be this essay could be published in your columns as a contribution to the thought and study of the United Socialist Movement of Britain and the United States.

I have shown the Duke of Bedford's pamphlets to several people. I believe that you will receive several orders for them in consequence.

The people of the United States will be more interested in "The Word" if they read in its columns items about events and people in the United States. Letters from the United States could discuss Socialism in relation to the Presidential Election or the activities of the Communist Party.

I attach examples:

SOCIALISM AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The year of 1944 will be a great year in the life of the United States. The people of the United States feel that their votes this year are important. It is a year of destinies.

Anti-Parilamentarian Socialists are few in this country. The time of election is the time of spread of the Socialist message. It is time when people go to meeting halls to get the Socialist message.

So the Socialist Party who had for many years a declining vote, is hoping to-day to regain the vote of Debs. What program will be presented to working people of the United States will be decided in a Convention at the city of Reading. The city has a Socialist Mayor. It is obvious that Norman Thomas will be the Presidential Candidate.

There is another Socialist Party that will, too, wage a campaign for Socialism, this is the Socialist Labour Party. Minority Parties who have not the means of propaganda displayed by the Political Parties of the Capitalist, have to suffer the consequence of not being able to reach the larger mass of the public opinion. The election laws are very disfavourable to minority parties.

The Socialist Movement is a world Movement. Socialists in the United States feel that success in their campaign ought to be a message of courage and inspiration to all working men and women throughout the world. Therefore they look for support and understanding from the Socialists of Britain. They want criticism, but criticism that develops their movement, clarifies their policy, and raises their propaganda activity to a world discussion.

"COMMUNIST" SUICIDE.

Suicide with music. We have here in the United States a strange tribe called Communists. Once upon a time they left the Socialist Party of the United States because the Socialists were not aggressive enough in fighting Capitalism. With cheering mobs, and bands of music they advertised the Socialist as not loyal to the working class. All the mean means of assassination, blackmail and outright treachery were used to destroy the Socialist Movement under the guise of being more revolutionary than the Socialists.

Now at great meetings in every large city of the United States with bands of music and hoorays they announce that they will not exist any more as a Communist Party. They find Capitalism good for the United States. Revolution is not needed any more. More than that The Capitalists of the United States have to be protected.

No tears will be shed over the "Communists'" grave. Not more than those that will be shed over Hitler's grave. The sooner the better. And we can hope that such ugly movements will not rise again to plague mankind.

If the science of psychiatry is to gain more importance in solving human problems, it will gain, if it can give any explanation of how human beings in a free country can cheer their own death.

I look to your co-operation in giving notes and news, criticisms and comments, from every angle, on the movement in the United States.

Greetings to all the comrades.

Fraternally,

DAVID BERKINGOFF.

Bronx, N.Y., 19 4/44.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH Of New York

Dear Mr. Berkingoff,—I rejoice to hear from you, and to know you as one who knew our late friend, William Floyd. My friendship with him was a very close and intimate one, and extended back for more than thirty years. It comforts me to read this tribute to him in "The Word," and I feel very happy that this paper republished my tribute as spoken at the funeral. It is indeed a part of the mystery of life, isn't it, that this paper in far-away Scotland should pay this handsome tribute to this modest and self-forgetting man here in New York.

With highest regards, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES (Minister).

10 Park Avenue, May 15, 1944.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you so much for the pamphlets and for the copies of "The Word." I find them all very interesting and think you are doing fine work. I am not a conscientious objector and my husband is a corporal in the army, but I would do anything to further people's right to object to military service if they cannot conscientiously do so. The thing that fascinates me so much about "The Word" is its direct and obvious descent from Carlile's journalism.

Do you by any chance know whom Robert Taylor married? I tried vainly to find out.

Thank you so much for the pleasure your correspondence and writings have given me. There are too few people of courage in the world, and I like being in correspondence with one of them.

I had a letter to-day from Dr. Ruth Borchardt at London University asking me for information about Carlile. I do not have it, but I am going to do my best to find it for her. If only I could find where Theophila Carlile settled in this country.

I am glad you like Thoreau. I think "Civil Disobedience" is one of the greatest political essays ever written. I read it to my classes this year, and was surprised to discover that they were quite impressed by it. The New England group were wonderful, weren't they? They were fired with a spirit that we seem to have lost to-day, and to the spirit they added excellent powers of expression. I have a relatively low opinion of current college scholarship. It lacks what the New England front possessed so abundantly.

I am going to send you a reprint of an article of my husband's and mine on William Vaughn Moody's poem, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation." It is an anti-imperialist poem, written at the time of our aggression in the Philippines. Everything else I've ever written has been dull and pedantic.—Yours truly,

ADALINE GLASHEEN.

Norton, May 27, 1944.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Your air mail letter reached me on June 5th, 30 days after you wrote it. The booklets you sent by common mail came to hand the next day. I have put you on my exchange list, and I am greatly in your debt for all this good literature. I will distribute it around to the best possible advantage.

I regard Bedford's "Straight Speaking" as the very best thing that has come to my attention and most timely for use in our present National Party campaign. It is right in line with the Party's disapproval of "Unconditional Surrender." I assume it is okeh with you and the Duke for me to republish it in my

little village paper, the "Boise Valley Herald."—Best wishes,

A. CORNELL.

Middleton, Idaho, June 19, 1944.

My dear Dr. Aldred,—I am taking advantage of our national holiday, July 4, to write you more fully as to the Pacific International University, which has received the immediate and unanimous approval of all liberals both here and throughout the world. Several colleges have communicated with us from various different countries requesting the privilege of affiliating with this International University. Everyone welcomes it as the greatest and most significant development in higher education of modern times. So we welcome your generous words of interest and appreciation. I am enclosing herewith a brief "Blue Print" of the University of sufficient interest to your American and British readers, to print in "The Word." We have an Option on the Chapman College property to purchase, and have arranged a lease which will enable us to fully occupy the property and to announce a full University program beginning this coming September—two months hence.

We are nominating the former Anglican priest and now Unitarian-Rationalist minister of the famous old Manchester church, the Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewight, M.A., Manchester, for a Doctor's degree at well as for the Humanist Friend's Ministry. We have a good old Londoner on the Board of Trustees of the University, Mr. Alexander Henderson Morgan, who is also a member of the Rationalist Press Association, of which Mr. Micklewight is such a distinguished member.

Mr. Morgan is a minister of the Humanist Friends' Society.

Another word regarding the University: we are expecting the noted author, Miss Pearl S. Buck, to act as Chairman of the "International Council", which is in fact an Advisory Board for the University, to include outstanding names of friends of international education throughout the world. We naturally expect that you will be among these as well as to serve as one of our official representatives in the British Isles. Dr. Chellew, of Oxford University, will also serve as an official Representative. Speaking of Oxford, reminds me of your friend, the Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewight, M.A., of Oxford University, whom I have mentioned before in this letter. It will interest friend Micklewight to know that I know very well and very personally our mutual good friend, Dr. Pryns Hopkins, Editor of "Freedom" Magazine and friend of the University. I also know by his books and his "Unity" Magazine, Dr. Curtis Reese of Chigago, one of our greatest Humanist leaders.

You mention the early publication of the revised British edition of "Conscription of Conscience" book.

In closing, I wish to thank you for the very fine way in which you have presented the various chapters of my book to your readers through "The Word." A number of people here in the U.S. have read the articles and written us, commending both you and the articles. You are *reaching* as well as *making* many fine friends throughout this country with your fearless magazine.

Fraternally yours,

LOWELL H. COATE.

Los Angeles, Calif., July, 1944.

THE PEACE NOW MOVEMENT

National Campaign Headquarters:
20 Berkeley Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
Telephone, TROwbridge 8802

Dr. George W. Hartmann, Chairman
Francis Behn Riggs, Treasurer
Dr. Dorothy H. Hutchinson, Vice-Chairman
Miss Bessie Simon, Corresponding Secretary

Dear friend and fellow-citizen:—We are placing before your readers a copy of an "Open Letter" to the President of the United States. It is a serious appeal, and we trust you will give it wide publicity.

In the "Christian Century" for February 2, Oswald Garrison Villard has an article entitled *A Last Plea for Europe*. It is a cry "on behalf of the millions now condemned to die." With the author, we ask *who* will "take the lead now in demanding that no single stone be left unturned to save Europe and America from the horror that lies before us"?

Surely it is right that some solemn effort be promptly made by all persons of good will to find a peaceful alternative to the gruesome undertaking —War to the limit of unconditional surrender.

While this project is conducted by the "Peace Now" Movement, we want the Open Letter to reflect faithfully the real sentiments of all those who are willing to attach their signatures to it, and to imply nothing more nor less than just that.

By appealing to the President, you are not committing yourself in any way to the general aims and methods of our organization or placing yourself in the position of aproving our past, present, or future activities. Your signature will represent your *individual* views only and not those of any public or private innstitution with which you may be associated. All we seek is to encourage other groups and personalities to labour independently along similar and parallel lines.

Our letter is going to every member of Congress and to many other outstanding people in this country. We ask your U.S. readers to petition the Chief Executive and his advisers to make every effort to find some way to avoid the supreme tragedy of continuing this war to the bitter end?

If readers can dedicate themselves to this urgent task, let them write the President along the lines indicated below and mail immediately.

Yours fraternally,

BESSIE SIMON.

AN URGENT PUBLIC APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Hon. Frankin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

All over the world war-weary peoples yearn for the coming of peace. The most pressing need of wounded Humanity is for peace, not next year or five years from now, but as soon as the technical details for the cessation of hostilities can be arranged. As citizens of the great American Republic, we plead with you to use the great power the inhabitants of this country have temporarily placed in your hands to follow your Inner Light and thereby lift the burden and curse of war from all mankind. One stroke of your pen as Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces could compel an armistice and peace discussion within 24 hours.

We believe all nations are ready to silence their guns, if, with the aid of a Congressional Peace Aims Commission, you will immediately proclaim to their peoples your advocacy of definite terms for a new Universal Treaty or World Constitution that will appeal to the best and noblest in man everywhere. As matters stand to-day, neither the American people and their colleagues within the United Nations nor the people of Germany and Japan know what will result for them and their children if the war is pursued to the point of a complete military triumph by ourselves and our allies. Surely our fellow men and women deserve to be told for what purposes they are being asked to die or to risk their lives—and to be informed with some exactness what their probable future will be.

America to-day need fear no foe. Democracy needs to conquer economic security but it need fear nothing from the forces of Nazism and Fascism.

Under the conditions of modern warfare, international and civil wars tend to wreck and ruin more individual and social values than they preserve or create. Therefore, rather than committing this nation to limitless death and destruction for the sake of obscure goals, we hope you will so shape American foreign and domestic policies during the coming weeks that, in friendly co-operation with all countries, we can resume our lofty cultural mission of blazing the trail to Peace, Plenty, and Freedom for the entire Human Family.

Such an approach from America, by far the strongest single economic and political power in the world, could not be construed as an act of weakness, but would be interpreted as a magnanimous and statesmanlike proposal to end this war and all war for the good of all.

If this suggestion seems politically and diplomatically feasible to our Allies and Associates in the struggle, perhaps you could personally electrify the world by flying to Berne or Stockholm, and from such non-belligerent soil broadcast to the multitudes in both hemispheres the minimum essentials of a democratic and humanitarian peace on the basis of which an armstice might be concluded immediately. Millions everywhere now silent for fear their neighbours would interpret their constant longing for peace as disloyalty to the community they truly love could then rejoice in Thanksgiving with them at the ending of this incredible tragedy of Total War.

Were something like this unprecedented act of practical idealism to occur, it would redound to your own imperishable glory and to the everlasting honour of our great country.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Dear Friend,—For a long time now I have been contemplating writing you to acknowledge the donations to the Labadie Collection which never fail to come. Enclosed you will find listing of them. I thought you would be glad to know they are being well preserved and are placed in the Collection to be readily found. I think you are doing a big work. I hope that it is being placed and preserved in other places also. Libraries do endeavour to save things, but it is as well to follow up gifts to see how well.

I was interested in reading your "Richard Carlile-Agitator" (1941) to read that the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, under Brougham, was organised to counteract such works as Paine, Volney, Diderot, and Carlile. Carlile wrote a letter to that society that was later reprinted in *The Free Enquirer*, published by Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright in New York from 1828-1832 (October-October). We have that in the Labadie Collection. Four complete years lacking only two issues.

I always like to come across something by, or about, your late colleague, Rose Witcop. Her three sisters are in this country now, as you know, and meet together at Towanda, Pa. I hear of them through a mutual friend. I picture those early days in London, when you were producing the *Herald of Revolt* (1911-14) and *The Spur* (1914-1921), and she was producing the paper during your long anti-militarist imprisonment.

I send you a list of the Strickland Press and Bakunin Press publications to be found in the Labadie Collection of the University Library. The Strickland Press publications seem complete and are arriving regularly. We want all *The Spur*, except for one issue, Vol. VI., No. 5, October, 1919. We have this copy. Perhaps comrades in U.S.A. who received this paper from you regularly, or some one who has a bound volume, would make a donation to this important Radical collection of literature. It is very important to have *The Spur* complete.

The same remark applies to *The Commune*, which you seem to have issued in two series, covering the years 1923-1929. We have only February 1927 and April-May 1929 issues. But we would appreciate a complete set or bound volumes. I am sure that U.S. readers could help us in this matter.

We have, in the Labadie Collection, some rare pamphlets published by James Watson and others, and a work by Thomas Spence. That group, Spence, Thomas Skidmore, George Henry, and Frederick William Evans, and George Houston, interest me very much.

The Labardie Collection grows all the time. It has better housing facilities and is officially recognised. I hope you will be glad to know that your own work, and that of the Duke of Bedford, have a place in it, and always will have that place.

With my warm greetings and appreciation, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AGNES INGLIS.

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan-Library, Anne Harbor, U.S.A., July 30, 1944.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you for the issues of *The Word* which wou have sent. We hope that the name of our library is kept on your mailing list.

We will be pleased to receive the three year

(*Concluded page 17*)

SNELL TRIBUTES: A Commentary

In July we published a study of the late Lord Snell's career. Such straight speaking will not increase our circle of friends. Second thoughts are said to be best: and our second thoughts would reject decisively the hypocritical maxim, "speak only good of the dead." Of the dead as of the living, and by the grave as by the cradle, we would speak the truth, so long as it is relevant. We reject the custom of eulogy. The tributes paid to Snell's memory evoke our iconoclastic humour.

On Sunday, April 23, the South Place Ethical Society's tribute was delivered by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, who was, at one time, editor of *The Echo*.

Ratcliffe declared that Snell was "the first man in England to rise from the level of the rural poor to a position in the titled governing class." We are not sure that this statement is true or that the sentiment is creditable.

Ratcliffe declared that Snell was a shining example of integrity and "displayed this character and spirit as a lifelong adherent of ethical religion." We would ask if Snell displayed this spirit when he subscribed the House of Lords' Oath of Allegiance in place of simple affirmation for which Bradlaugh, his hero and mentor, fought. Ratcliffe's tribute was so much hypocrisy and lamentable sentimentalism.

The cremation was at Golder's Green on April 26. Mr. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, was present, and there were members of both Houses of Parliament. Many Members of Ethical Societies and the Rationalist Press Association were present. Mr. H. J. Blackshaw, minister of the Ethical Church, conducted the service. Then Mr. Attlee spoke from the standpoint of the Labour and Socialist Movement, the Executive of the Fabian Society, the L.C.C., etc. Our membership of the Labour Movement goes back forty years and we speak with more active and actual knowledge of the real movement than Mr. C. R. Attlee, whose entire career has been professional and mediocre and thoroughly self-advancing because it adapted Socialism to Capitalism in war-time and in peace.

It was stated in the House of Commons that Lord Snell had been "asked to undertake an inquiry into the selection of aliens to be sent overseas in the *Arandora Star*." We are not clear as to the work done by his Committee. We do not wish to be unjust to Snell's memory but to our mind the investigation seems to have achieved nothing. We know that many of the victims of the *Arandora Star* were Anti-Fascists and Freethinkers, Humanists and Ethicists, and members of the Socialist Movement. The victims were not all Fascists. Were their memories not worthy of being recalled? Had we been in Attlee's place, paying tribute, the ghosts would have haunted us. Even the alleged Fascists were humans and had left loved ones behind. If we must have sentiment beside the coffin, let us be thorough. In the name of Socialism, Humanism, Freethought, and Rationalism, please do not let us salute only the accepted great.

Two days after the South Place Tribute came the Westminster Abbey Service. Cabinet Ministers, etc., assembled. The very poor were not there. The Dean and Chapter, arrayed in their capes, proceeded to their place. And then came the Order of Service of the Established Church. Some Rationalists were inspired by this tribute. We were not impressed. The Pagan Christian State had honoured the memory of its most correct statesman.

On June 5, the newspapers announced that Lord Snell had left £21,487!

"A CALL TO MANHOOD."

This pamphlet will be ready next month. Contents listed in our next issue. We make a last appeal to every comrade who wishes to help this work to send a donation. Make your gift now.

FRANCIS RUSSELL
Fifth Duke of Bedford.
Born 1765. Died 1802.
Painting by J. HOPPNER, R.A

Full length figure, life-size, standing in Peer's robes. The face is seen in three-quarters to the right, looking at the spectator. His left hand supports his robes, and the right grasps a roll of paper. A curtain and column, with writing table, occupy the right portion of the background, and an open landscape, seen through an arch, fills the remainder. Canvas 96 in. by 59 in. To be seen, South Corridor, Woburn Abbey.

Several references to the political forthrightness of the fifth Duke of Bedford have been made in these columns. He was the rigorous enemy of war and tyranny and a bold defender of civil liberty.

The fifth Duke took his seat in the House of Lords on December 5, 1787. Sharing the Whig views of his family, and accepting Fox as his political leader, the Duke developed a strong sympathy with the ideals of liberty and peace, and a stern antagonism to war and tyranny.

In 1792 the Duke of Portland called a meeting of Whigs at Burlington House to consider the propriety of supporting the proclamation against seditious writings and democratic conspiracies. Fox had not been invited because of his extreme radicalism and opposition to these measures. The Duke of Bedford withdrew.

Though he revealed much character, the Duke owed little to his education, which had not fitted him for public life. He explained to Lord Holland in 1793 that he hesitated to address the House of Lords from fear of expressing himself in incorrect English and so exposing his deficiencies. His friendship with Lord Lauderdale strengthened the Duke's attachment to Fox, developed his Liberal outlook, and encouraged him to overcome the defects of his education. He nerved himself to participate in debate and became, in the course of two sessions, a leading debater in the Upper Chamber.

When the Bill for suspending the "Habeas Corpus Act" was passed in May 1794, the Duke signed a protest with four other peers. Eight months later he brought forward the motion for peace with France. This was defeated by 88-15. In the House of Commons, a similar motion, moved by Fox, was rejected by a large majority. The peace minorities were right. The compact war majorities were wrong.

In November 1795 the Duke strenuously opposed the Government's Bill extending the law of treason.

"WHY GO ON BLUNDERING ON?"

As stated in our announcement columns, the *Boise Valley Herald*, in its issue for Thursday, June 29 last, (Vol. XXXV., No. 29), commenced the reproduction of the speeches made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bedford. The first speech selected was that made on June 2, 1942, dealing with "Peace and Reconstruction."

In an editoral, headed "The Series That Begin in This Issue," our fearless contemporary states:

The Boise Valley Herald, in this issue, is beginning the publication of a series of articles that is a direct and forthright challenge of the ideology or thought patterns that total up to this war and the causes behind it.

The main title of this series is "Why Go Blundering On?" For the convenience of our comment and that of our readers, we are adopting the policy of numbering the paragraphs in each instalment, so that comment can cite the paragraph by instalment number and paragraph number. For example, Par. 7, Inst. 1 (this issue), allusion is made to one of the officials of the Bank of Montreal making a statement that, to our mind, constitutes a possible lead to the root cause of war. Without saying that we will be able to find room for them, immediately upon receipt of them, we do invite short letters of comment on the startling and well-expressed commitments that our readers will find characteristic of this series of articles."

The *Boise Valley Herald* takes for its motto the definition of a newspaper proclaimed by Joseph Pulitzer in the following passage:—

"The newspaper must be both a school house and a forum—both a teacher and a tribune—an instrument of justice, a terror to crime, an aid to education, an exponent of true Americanism; it must be forever unsatisfied with merely printing the news — Forever fighting every form of wrong — forever independent — forever wedded to truly humanitarian ideals forever aspiring to be a moral force—forever rising to a higher plane of perfection as a public institution.

This fearless paper should be read and circulated widely throughout the United States and the English-speaking world.

True to this definition, in its issue for June 22, our contemporary said:—

ANNOUNCING A NEW SERIES.

The "Boise Valley Herald" has lately come into possession of a line of comment that attacked war administration from a vantage point wholly at variance with all the rules of the books.

Since the war has been in progress, a new voice has been raised in the British House of Lords that, so far as we have seen, strikes us as being truer to the cardinal points of the pole-star of truth regarding social, economic and human welfare-progress for a new and better world and is being done with such a mastery of language that it is not at all surprising that, so far as the general press is concerned, there has been, so far as we have seen, no hint of its existence, and yet it has historical significance.

This has not come to our attention by any of the commercial distributing agencies but rather through the good offices of a rebel source of distribution. Its title is "Why Keep Blundering On?"

ISOLATED PACIFISTS.

There must be a large number of pacifists who are prevented for various reasons, from attending meetings and other social gatherings, and who are thus deprived of making personal contact with others of similar outlook. It is felt that one way perhaps of helping to solve this problem, would be to start a pacifist pen-friendship Circle.

The Circle would send out fortnightly or monthly letters of an individual character, and these would provide a medium for an exchange of ideas, and for the expression of personal views of pacifist interest including pacifist literature. The aim of the Circle would be to strengthen Pacifist friendship by endeavouring to maintain a helpful relationship with those who are "ploughing a lonely furrow." All those who are interested, are cordially invited to write to the undermentioned. As the scheme would be voluntary, any gift such as stamps, etc., towards postage expenses would be appreciated.

A. J. COOK.
93 Melville Road, Stonebridge Park,
London, N.W. 10.

Every Reader must realise that this paper is produced monthly at a heavy loss. It cannot continue unless **you** send **your** donation **now.**

IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU. "Word" Special Investigation Report on 18B. A most important and informing document. 1s. Post Free 1s. 2d.

ANARCHISM AND INTEGRITY

The other day a comrade walked into the Strickland Press and handed over three issues of the one-time London Anarchist or Kropotkinist monthly journal, "Freedom." They were for July, August, and September, 1907, Vol. XXI., Nos. 219, 220, and 221. He said:

These issues contain the signed articles you wrote thirty-seven years ago. I will look out for other numbers containing your articles of that time. You have certainly lasted the distance. It is funny that the Anarchists don't appreciate you, seeing how you have spoken and written so faithfully and been imprisoned so much, always defending yourself, and standing up for our ideas in all the courts of the land from the lowest to the highest. No other man in the Anarchist movement has such a record.

The same day another comrade called to ask my advice about some prosecution he was facing. He said casually:

I was at the Anarchist meeting yesterday. Someone asked a question about you. The speaker said that you were not an Anarchist and had never been one. He said that if they wanted to understand Anarchism they must read Peter Kropotkin and Herbert Read.

A little later, a working-man came in and asked for some books or pamphlets on Anarchism. He threw aside, in truculent disgust, our "Studies in Communism," "Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism," "Socialism and Parliament." At last he said:

I want a book by an Anarchist, A REAL ANARCHIST! I want something by Herbert Read.

I thought: "Poor soul! What humbug!" And I resolved to come to grips with the question of Anarchism, war, and integrity. We believe that, without integrity, a man cannot be an Anarchist.

Our "Freedom" essays have been reprinted or else will be collected with our various essays. There is no need to summarise them here. They defended and defined the principles of Anarchism very clearly, whilst one attacked Capitalist literature and journalism, and explained why we broke with Fleet St. in our youth. More important to consider is the Kropotkin myth.

Kropotkin liquidated his Anarchism in a most reactionary militarism and imperialism. He was never a real Anarchist but rather a political liberal and would-be reformer. Only the Czarist setting caused him to be mistaken for an Anarchist. The movement he founded ended in complete purposelessness and futility. What remains of it to-day is a bogus syndicalism, men denouncing war in their spare-time, but drawing wages from the manufacture of bombing aeroplanes. Words! but no sincerity.

The evidence of the Kropotkin futility is before us when we have a false gloss put on Kropotkin's career as a basis for Anarchist propaganda and the proletarian youth are invited to regard Herbert Read as an authority on Anarchism. It is a pathetic sight to see so-called agitators—probably Capitalist news-agents seven days a week but spare-time Anarchists — selling Herbert Read's "The Philosophy of Anarchism" or his "Poetry of Anarchism" and pretending that here are the classics of Anarchist thought destined to emancipate the common-people.

Reviewing the first book, that most orthodox paper, *The Listener*, described Read as "**a man whose life has been given, if we may judge by his feelings, to a search for essentials.**"

There is nothing in Read's life to warrant any such conclusion. Read's Anarchism is essentially an artistic pose and an absolute unreality. It has not influenced his life in any way. His Anarchism is utterly worthless.

Reviewing Read's "Poetry and Anarchism," *The Listener* said: "It is a brave, stirring affirmative book."

We propose to prove from Read's own life and writings that, speaking morally and spiritually, and therefore, truly Anarchistically, that he is not a brave, stirring, affirmative character. We can conclude, therefore, and also Anarchistically, that he cannot write a brave, stirring, affirmative book.

"Who's Who" for 1944 publishes the following biography of Herbert Read:

READ, Herbert, D.S.O. 1918; M.C.; D. Litt. (Hon. Men.); M.A. (Edin.); Director, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Publishers; b. 4 Dec. 1893; e. s. of late Herbert Read of Muscoates Grange, Kirby-moorside, Yorks; m. 1st, Evelyn Roff; 2nd, Margaret Ludwig; three s. one d. Educ.: Crossley's School, Halifax; University of Leeds. Commissioned Jan. 1915 to the Yorkshire Regt. The Green Howards); Captain, 1917; fought in France and Belgium, 1915-18 (M.C., D.S.O., despatches); Assistant Principal, H.M. Treasury, 1919-22; Assistant Keeper, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1922-31; Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh, 1931-33; Sydney Jones Lecturer in Art, University of Liverpool, 1935-36; Editor, the Burlington Magazine, 1933-39; Leon Fellow, University of London, 1940-42.

Then follows a list of his publications from 1919 to 1943, the titles of which have little relation to the social struggle.

If Read is genuinely an Anarchist, one would have expected that, as the director of a leading firm of publishers, much of the literature issued by that firm would have been Anarchist thought for the comrades If so, why is it not on sale? Where is it being circulated? Is his Anarchism merely a play-time affair?

Again, is his record consistent with one who had read and been converted to Anarchist ideas and idealism as a young man? Let us consider what he has to say on this subject.

Read's "Annals of Innocence and Experience" was issued by Faber in 1940.

Chapter 5 is entitled "The Impact of War." We make two excepts from this chapter that tell their own story:

At the outbreak of war in 1914 I was already in a military camp. This was not the outcome of any immediate patriotic zeal on my part, but was to some extent a consequence of my patriotic past. A year or two before I became an undergraduate, and while still contemplating the possibility of a medical career, I had joined the local territorial unit of the Royal Army Medical Corps. By the time I reached the University, this had become a meaningless and arduous engagement, to which I was nevertheless bound for a period of years. But at the University there was an Officers' Training Corps, and I eagerly seized the opportunity to transfer my military trend to this more agreeable branch of the service. It is true that as time went on and my political ideas developed in the manner just related, I had certain qualms of conscience. But very few of those who joined the O.T.C. in those days had any serious motive. War was considered as a very remote contingency, and meanwhile here was an open-air club, with possibilities of friendship and youthful enterprise, and an annual camp which was in effect a free holiday for many who could not otherwise afford one. . . .

There, happily at play, I was caught by the war. In the years that followed I was often to ask myself what I would have done if I had been a free agent. Politically I was a pacifist, and regarded the war as a conflict between rival imperial powers which would bring destruction to the peoples engaged. I hoped that the war would be stopped by international working-class action, and the failure of the responsible leaders to bring about a stoppage was my first lesson in political disillusionment. But fundamentally—that is to say, ethically—I could not claim to be a pacifist.—Pages 139-140.

I received a commission within six months and was posted to a battalion of the Green Howards, my local North Riding regiment, then training in Dorset . . . I had become a regular reader of the "New Age," at that time the most independent and lively periodical being published. The officers' mess occupied a building ordinarily used by the local Masonic Lodge, and there we had an ante-room where all the usual magazines and newspapers were available. They were displayed on a green-baize table, and there, when I had read it, I left my copy of the "New Age." I was seated deep in an arm-chair one afternoon when the senior subaltern, traditionally responsible for the social conduct of the junior subalterns, came up to the table and casually picked up the "New Age." He looked at it for a minute or two and slowly the colour deepened in his rather florid face. He turned suddenly to address the room, and holding up the paper between his finger and thumb as though it were unclean, he shouted in a loud voice: "Who brought this bloody rag into the mess?" I wish I could say that I sprang to my feet to defend my intellectual interests; but alas, I was not so naive as that. I shrank still deeper into my chair and watched the angry senior subaltern stalk out in disgust, throwing the offensive periodical into the waste-paper basket as he passed. I had learned my lesson, and in future read the "New Age" in the privacy of my tent or cubicle.—Pages 140-141.

So long as we remained in England I confined my mess reading to the "Tatler" and the "Bystander" and other periodicals of the kind which were the only literary recreations of the majority of His Majesty's officers.

In Chapter 4, Read admits that prior to this time he had been influenced by Kropotkin's pamphlets, published in 1912 and 1913, and had studied Syndicalism. In 1916, he acquired Georges Sorel's "Reflection on Violence" and wrote an article to the "Yorkshire Post" protesting against its reviewer's failure to present to his readers the true import of his book. This was printed under his initials. Read explains (page 133):

"It should be remembered that I was then an officer of His Majesty's Army!"

On page 107 of this worthless book, Read explains his attitude towards Atheism thus:

I never have adopted an attitude of active disbelief. It has never occurred to me to proselytize on behalf of rationalism or atheism.

And so, *ad nauseam*, with an explanation of his sympathy with Catholic intellectual groups, etc. This man is said, at Glasgow street corners, and in other cities, to be an Anarchist pioneer by stupid, ignorant, self-styled propagandists who deny that Aldred is an Anarchist. What nonsense!

(To be concluded.)

IF IN THE NIGHT?

If in the night all Shame and Wrong
All Prejudice, and Hate, and Fear,
That we have garnered to our souls
And let them prosper there,
Did melt away, as the deep snow
Melts from the sunlit hills afar.
I wonder would we be as sweet
As little children are?

JOE CORRIE.

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PAMPHLETS.

The following pamphlets, written by the Duke of Bedford, are published by the Strickland Press. They can be obtained direct from the publishers. Postage, one penny extra on each pamphlet ordered. If ordering a quantity, add 6d. postage for 12 pamphlets.

ONE PENNY EACH.

Can We Overdo The War?
After the War—Work for all?

TWOPENCE EACH.

*Peace and Reconstruction.
Propaganda for Proper Geese.
Hope Not Dope.
A Path To Walk On.
*The War and the Empire.
*When Germany is Defeated.
If I Were Prime Minister.
The Way Out.
Night Bombing.
Parliament and Peace.
*War Aims.
Are Socialists Right.
*Conscientious Objectors.

THREEPENCE EACH.

What a Game.
*The Conscientious Objector.
Is This Justice (18B).
Don't Be a Gull.
The Better Way.
*Regulation 18B.

FOURPENCE EACH.

Straight Speaking to a Militarist.
Essays on War and Peace.
The Neglected Issue. Essays on Money.

SIXPENCE EACH.

Poverty and Over-Taxation.
Why Blunder On?

Pamphlets marked with an asterisk are reports of speeches delivered in the House of Lords.

Verbatim Report, famous Pacifist speech made by the Hon. Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, in the House of Representatives, Washington, on Tuesday, December 8, 1942, will appear in our next issue. Miss Rankin is a pacifist and war-resister. Her speeches should be read and circulated widely in Great Britain as well as in the United States. We hope to issue some of them at an early date, and to publish original articles from her pen in these columns.

Printed and Published in Great Britain by THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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VOL. VI. No. 2. OCTOBER, 1944 Price: TWOPENCE

BUT WAS IT LUCK?

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT PEARL HARBOUR

Speech made in the United States House of Representatives, Washington, on Tuesday, December 8, 1942.

By Hon. JEANETTE RANKIN

(Member for Montana.)

Miss J. Rankin (Montana):

Mr. Speaker, we have been at war a year. During that time the American people have had abundant opportunity to take stock of the Nation's situation and to raise a large number of pertinent questions, not out of any spirit of disunity but in a firm belief that the Nation's welfare requires a vigilant exercise of the traditional American right of free inquiry.

As a Member of Congress who voted against the declaration of war on December 8, 1941, I wish to take advantage of this anniversary occasion to insert in the Record a number of historically significant documents bearing upon the hitherto obscure antecedents of the Pearl Harbour attack and to raise a few questions of my own as to the meaning of certain activities which led up to that attack.

Pearl Harbor was the greatest thunderbolt in American history. It is proper to inquire, indeed, whether any responsible American source foresaw the Japanese attack. In this regard I wish to present the following remarkable statement, amounting to a prediction, from the *Christian Century* magazine of November 19, 1941—3 weeks prior to the Japanese attack—page 1433:

It is no secret that the whole colonial structure of the white empires is threatening to fall apart unless we intervene in Asia. Many British leaders would welcome American involvement with Japan. * * * So the thesis of Sidney Rogerson's pre-war book Propaganda in the Next War—that the surest way Britain can bring the United States to her aid will be to involve us in war with Japan—is being validated by events.

"Show me the motive, and I'll show the criminal," was a favorite saying of Sherlock Holmes. Here we have an apparently well-defined motive and also a suggestion as to the intended method of realization.

What does Mr. Rogerson, who is an English author, have to say specifically about the plans of the British imperialists? His book, Propaganda in the Next War, published London in 1938 as one of a series of books on The Next War edited by the well-known writer, Capt. Liddell Hart, was banned from export to America by the British censorship in 1939. A copy had been secured earlier by the Library of Congress, however, and now reposes in the rare-book room. On page 148 Mr. Rogerson makes this admission as to the plans of the British imperialists:

To persuade her—

The United States—

to take our part will be much more difficult—

Than in 1914—

so difficult as to be unlikely to succeed. It will need a definite threat to America; a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home by propaganda to every citizen, before the Republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. The position will naturally be considerably eased if Japan were involved and this might and probably would bring America in without further ado. At any rate, it would be a natural and obvious object of our propagandists to achieve this, just as during the Great War they succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany.

In other words, 3 years before Pearl Harbor, Britain's imperialists had figured out just how to bring the United States once more to their aid.

But exactly how was Japan to be embroiled with the United States? There is no better way of goading a nation into war than by imposing economic sanctions, especially in the case of nations devoid of essential raw materials. Indeed, at the very time Mr. Rogerson was writing his revealing book, the phrase "economic sanctions mean war"—an echo from the League of Nations' threat to Italy in 1937—was still on everybody's lips. If Britain were merely to induce the United States to sever commercial relations with Japan, who was extremely dependent upon imports of raw materials in exchange for silk and manufactures for the continuance of her economic life, would not that suffice?

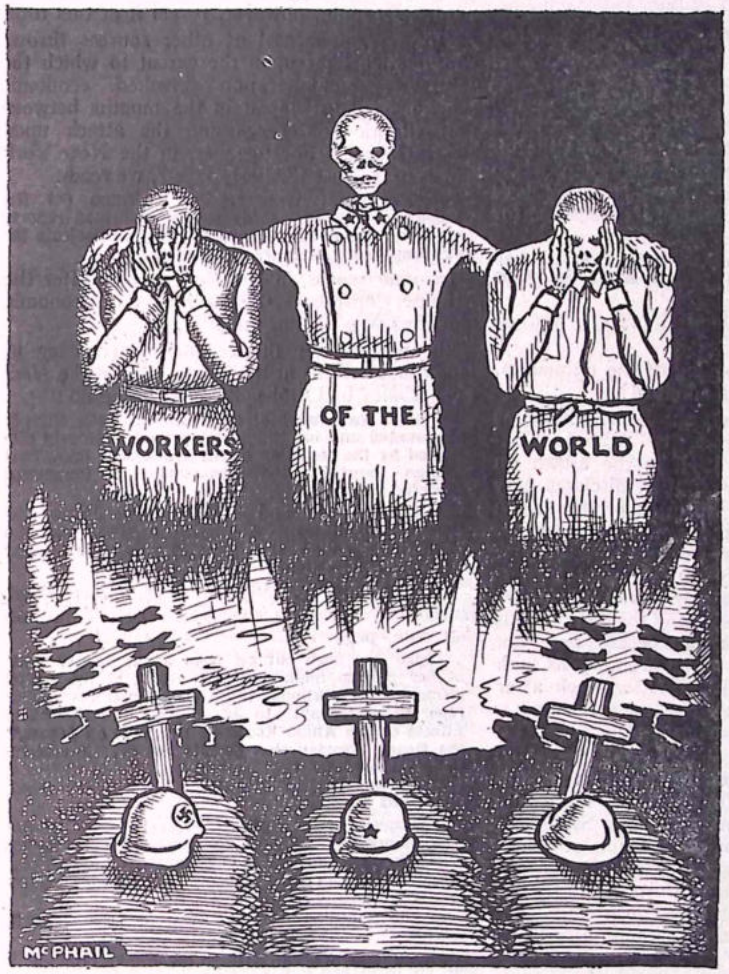
Is there any evidence of any specific occasion on which the British Government sold this policy of economic sanctions against Japan to the Roosevelt administration? In the Ladies Home Journal of July 1942, page 17, in an article entitled "How War Came," Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley—an intimate friend of the President—make the following significant revelation:

When they—

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill—

met in a Newfoundland bight for the Atlantic conference, Churchill wished to meet the issue head-on. He asked the President—as the British, Australians, and Dutch repeatedly had besought this Government before—to join in an ultimative declaration to Japan.

Now, an ultimatum is a demand accompanied by a threat. It sets up a dilemma: "Do so and so—or else." In this case the punitive alternative to be offered to Japan was to consist, as we shall see, of an economic blockade—in other words, sanctions—an admitted provocation to war.



THE ONLY UNITY?

[Specially drawn for "The Word," by McPhail

Support C.O. FELLOWSHIP WEEK, October 21st—28th.

Are War Resisters divided? No. Prove the unity of the C.O. movement, the unity of youth and age witnessing against war and destruction. As one phase of the Second World War ends and post-war conscription threatens to evolve to make a Third World War inevitable, the need for C. O. Fellowship becomes imperative.

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But of what demand was the ultimatum itself—the first horn of the dilemna to be offered to Japan—to consist? And what evidence do we have that President Roosevelt actually accepted Mr. Churchill's Atlantic conference request that such an ultimatum be sent?

There seems to be excellent evidence that such an ultimatum was sent by President Roosevelt. No less an apologist for the administration's foreign policy than Mr. Henry Luce, editor of Time, Life, and Fortune, has admitted both that President Roosevelt served such an ultimatum to Japan, and that it was the sending of this ultimatum which resulted in the Pearl Harbor attack. Mr. Luce alleges that the ultimatum was sent out of America's love for China, but inasmuch as it was sent at Mr. Churchill's instigation at a time when Britain desperately needed an ally in Europe as well as in the Orient and not at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war, during which indeed we continually sent to Japan both oil and scrap iron, may not the American public wonder whether it was the interests of the British Empire in the Orient which were primarily at stake? Here is Mr. Luce's historic admission, as found in Life magazine for July 20, 1942, page 30:

The Chinese, for whom the United States had delivered the ultimatum that brought on Pearl Harbour—

Expected large lease-lend shipments, and so forth.

Just what was the wording of the ultimatum, then, since its existence is admitted?

A perusal of the Department of State bulletins covering the period from the Atlantic Conference of August 12, 1941, to the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, discloses only a single item relating to Japan—a brief mention of repatriation of American and Japanese nationals in the bulletin of October 11, 1941, page 276—though this weekly journal of the State Department was replete with even trivialities regarding other countries during this period, thus indicating that the American people were not being fully informed as to the negotiations with Japan. On December 15, 1941, a week after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt released a message to Congress purporting to cover the negotiations with Japan.

While candid admission that any of the communications sent Japan constituted an ultimatum is not made, the requirement made on September 3, 1941, that Japan accept the principle of "non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific" as detailed in the Department of State Bulletin of December 20, 1941, page 538, apparently constituted the gist of the Roosevelt administration's demands.

This requirement was the equivalent to asking Japan to guarantee the inviolateness of the white empires in the Orient, of which the British Empire comprised approximately 90 percent in both area and population. The American people would have been gratified had President Roosevelt demanded assurance that Japan respect the territorial integrity of the Philippines, to whom we had agreed to grant independence in 1946, but the American public may well wonder where President Roosevelt got the authority to conduct our foreign affairs "as if Congress did not exist" —to quote one of my colleagues—and to commit American lives, fortunes, and prestige to securing a guaranty for British and Dutch imperial interests in the Orient—irrespective of the merits of those interests.

Later, more specific guaranties were demanded of Japan as to China, Indo-China, and so forth.

Concurrently, Japan was presented with the other horn of the dilemna hatched at the Atlantic conference; namely, economic sanctions of ever-increasing severity.

What is the evidence that the Roosevelt administration, which had frozen Japanese assets in this country as early as July 25, 1941, rapidly accelerated its economic strangulation of Japan following the Atlantic conference?

To secure an accurate statistical answer, I applied to both the Department of State and the Department of Commerce, asking for month-by-month figures on American exports to Japan in 1941. To my surprise, I received from both Departments an identical response: "Because of a special Executive order, statistics on trade with Japan beginning with April 1941 are not being given out."

Inasmuch as the Japanese certainly know what they received in the way of goods from the United States throughout 1941, it becomes proper to inquire, "From whom are these statistics being concealed?"

As a Member of Congress, I was, of course, able to exercise my congressional prerogative of securing this data from an administrative department. Because of its allegedly confidential nature, I cannot, however, reveal it at this time.

However, a perusal of other sources throws considerable light upon the extent to which the Roosevelt administration invoked economic sanctions against Japan in the months between the Atlantic conference and the attack upon Pearl Harbor. For instance, in the New York Times of August 17, 1941, page 7, we read;

Vice-President Wallace, the chairman (of the Economic Defence Board) to-day confirmed reports that this group was already working on projects for exerting trade pressure on Japan.

In other words, in less than a week after the Atlantic Conference the machinery of economic sanctions was getting under way.

Six weeks later the economic stringency in Japan had become acute, as we read in the *New York Times* of October 24, 1941, page 36:

Japan's raw material shortage has been sharply aggravated and her industrial activity seriously disrupted by the cessation of her trade with important foreign countries, the Department of Commerce reported to-day.

Ship movements and trade between Japan and the United States, the British Empire, and the Netherlands Indies, it is pointed out, have become virtually non-existent.

By December 2, 1941—5 days before Pearl Harbor—we read in the New York Times of that date, page 6:

Japan has been cut off from about 75 per cent. of her normal imports as a result of the Allied blockade, the National Industrial Conference Board reported yesterday. In an analysis entitled "The Effects of the Allied Economic Blockade on Japan," the Board asserted that despite the drastic restrictions imposed by that Government to stretch out available supplies, the blockade may ultimately prove disastrous. . . .

"Premier Hideki Tojo of Japan despatched the Kurusu mission to Washington because Japan to-day is on the verge of economic collapse . . .," Contemporary China, fortnightly digest of the Chinese News Service, Inc., stated yesterday.

Is the situation in the Pacific as serious as it appears?

A week before the attack on Pearl Harbor I asked a prominent non-Japanese Oriental:

Yes (he replied)—it is serious. Japan has no choice but to go to war or to submit to economic slavery for the rest of her existence.

The question remains, Did President Roosevelt realize that "economic sanctions mean war" at the time he appears to have adopted Mr. Churchill's suggestion to impose them as the punitive alternative for his ultimatum to Japan?

It is hard to see how he could have failed to realize this, inasmuch as he himself had made the following statement to the Volunteer Participation Committee on July 24, 1941, as reported in the *Department of State Bulletin* of July 26, 1941, page 72, and also in the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 7, 1942, page 26:

Now, if we cut the oil off, they (the Japanese) probably would have gone to the Dutch East Indies a year ago, and you would have had war.

Whereupon, immediately after the Atlantic Conference of 2 weeks later, Mr. Roosevelt proceeded to invoke these self-acknowledged war-producing sanctions.

Was it not strange that Mr. Roosevelt, who, by refusing for years to enforce the Neutrality Act of 1936 to prevent shipments of war supplies to Japan despite popular demand, had largely contributed to supplying that nation with the raw materials for the armament now being used against our own troops, after the Atlantic Conference when an incident with Japan seems to have been desired, suddenly changed his policy and not only cut off war supplies but virtually everything required by the civilian population of Japan as well?

As a member of the President's own party, Congressman Hatton W. Sumners, of Texas, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, remarked in a letter to the Saturday Evening Post, published in that periodical on April 4, 1942, page 26:

We have been a very foolish people, which has made it possible for . . . politicians to get away with murder. This blaming the Pearl Harbour tragedy on the treachery of the Japs is like the fellow who had been tickling the hind leg of a mule trying to explain his bunged-up condition by blaming the mule for having violated his confidence.

Astounding as the Pearl Harbor attack was to the American public as a whole, if it was anticipated by the administration why did the President permit our forces at Pearl Harbor to be taken by surprise? Even if a Japanese attack was desired, certainly no one desired a successful attack.

The answer seems to be that everything possible was done to warn our forces at Pearl Harbor of the extreme likelihood of attack. According to the report of the Roberts commission on the facts of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Admiral Kimmel and Lieutenant General Short, who were in charge of the Hawaiian area, were sent repeated warning by the War and Navy Departments.

Thus we read in the text of the Roberts report, as given in Senate Document No. 159, pages 6-9, and also in the New York Times of January 25, 1942, page 30, that—

On October 16, 1941, the commanding general, Hawaiian department, and the commander in chief of the fleet were advised by the War and Navy Departments of . . . the possibility of an attack by Japan.

Another warning was sent on November 24, 1941.

The Roberts report continues.

On November 27, 1941, the Chief of Staff of the Army informed the commanding general, Hawaiian department, that . . . hostilities on the part of Japan were momentarily possible. . . . On the same day—

November 27, 1941—

the Chief of Naval Operations sent a message to the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, which stated in substance that the despatch was to be considered a war warning . . . that Japan was expected to make an aggressive move in the next few days.

Additional warnings were sent November 28, November 29, November 30, December 1, December 3, December 4, December 6, and December 7—the last one arriving in Hawaii after the Japanese onslaught had begun.

Thus, we see that for 2 weeks prior to the Pearl Harbor attack almost daily warnings had been sent, not to mention less frequent precautionary dispatches earlier. What more could have been done in the way of warnings is hard to see. Indeed, do not the frequency, urgency, the very wording of these warnings, indicate in themselves that the Pearl Harbor attack came as no surprise whatever to the President?

Why, then, were our forces taken unawares December 7, 1941? Apparently simply because a deep-rooted and traditional sense of over-confidence insulated our Pacific commanders from taking these warnings seriously.

Has Prime Minister Churchill ever admitted attempting to get the United States into this war?

Yes; quite frankly—after we were in. Why was it that previously he said he wanted only the "tools"? In February, 1942, in a speech delivered before the House of Commons in an effort to save his administration at the time of the fall of Singapore, this boast was wrung from him—as reported in the New York Times of February 16, 1942, page 6:

When I survey and compute the power of the United States and its vast resources and feel that they are now in it with us, with the British Commonwealth of Nations all together, however long it lasts, till death or victory, I cannot believe that there is any other fact in the whole world which can compare with that. This is what I have dreamed

of, aimed at, and worked for, and now it has come to pass.

A blunt acknowledgment, surely.

Has either Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt ever acknowledged that the Atlantic conference was the specific occasion of their efforts to get the United States into the war by embroiling us with Japan?

It is hard to see what else the following admission from Mr. Churchill's speech in Parliament, January 28, 1942—as reported in the New York Times of that date, page 10—can be called:

It has been the policy of the Cabinet at almost all costs to avoid embroilment with Japan until we were sure that the United States would also be engaged.

On the other hand, the probability since the Atlantic conference, at which I discussed these matters with President Roosevelt, that the United States, even if not herself attacked, would come into the war in the Far East and thus make the final victory assured, seemed to allay some of these anxieties, and that expectation has not been falsified by the events.

This would seem to indicate that not only did President Roosevelt accede to Churchill's pressure to send an ultimatum to, and impose sanctions upon, Japan but made a blanket commitment to bring America into the war even if Japan did not attack.

A very curious piece of evidence appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of October 10, 1942, page 9, in an article by Lt. Clarence E. Dickinson, United States Navy, entitled "I Fly For Vengeance." Lieutenant Dickinson relates:

On this cruise we had sailed from Pearl Harbour on November 28 (1941) under absolute war orders. Vice-Admiral Wm. F. Halsey, jun., the commander of the aircraft battle force, had given instructions that the secrecy of our mission was to be protected at all costs. We were to shoot down anything we saw in the sky and to bomb anything we saw on the sea. In that way, there could be no leak to the Japs.

Could such orders have been issued by Vice Admiral Halsey except by specific direction from the Commander in Chief, namely, the President of the United States?

In other words, if Lieutenant Dickinson's account is true, did not the President at least 9 days before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, without a declaration of war, authorize an identical attack upon the Japanese—also without a declaration of war?

Today approximately 1,000,000 American boys are fighting from three to eight thousand miles away from home. The American people are willing to struggle for the "four freedoms" but we realize that we must retain them at home if we are going to give them to others. Exercising our traditional right of free speech and free inquiry, we are going to continue to ask and to see answers to all questions as they arise.

When are we going to get the full story of what happened at the Atlantic Conference? We asked for it then and ask for it now.

When President Roosevelt had so persistently refused to enforce the Neutrality Act against Japan when public opinion definitely demanded it, why did he so suddenly change his policy at the Atlantic Conference?

A year ago, one of my Congressional colleagues, having observed for months the adroitness with which President Roosevelt had brought us ever closer to the brink of war in the Atlantic only to be continually frustrated in the final step by a reluctant Congress, seeing fate present the President on December 7, 1941, with a magnificent moral categorical, right out of the blue—a *casus belli* beyond all criticism—exclaimed in despair: "What luck that man has!"

But was it luck?

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 1st OCTOBER

GOVERNMENT'S "BEVERIDGE"—PINK PILLS

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

Why Jesus Wept. Guy Aldred's Humanist pamphlet. 12 essays. 72 pages. 6d. Post-free, 8d. Secure Now.

Rhys Davies Active

Our comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., has arranged to address the following meetings between now and the end of the year:

Oct. 6—Llangollen, N. Wales.
"Peace."

,, **8**—Glasgow N.C.L. (Afternoon) and Study Circle (Morning).

,, **13**—Briton Ferry, Glam.
"The Church and Peace."

,, **15**—Kettering.
"The Peace that is to come."

Nov. 12—Cross Street Unitarian Church, Manchester.

Dec. 2—Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society.

Evening Meetings unless otherwise stated. See Local Press for actual time. All Socialists and Pacifists concerned should support these meetings. Questions and discussion welcomed.

During his recent campaign through the country for Socialism and Pacifism, our comrade, Rhys Davies,, has said many good things. We select some of his sayings:—

At the Parents' Pension Association meeting, Manchester, 2nd September, 1944:—

When a son was lost in the war of 1914-18 the mother was paid a small weekly pension as a matter of right. In this war, there is no such provision; pension is payable only in case of need, and the needs of the parent is determined by, and largely on the basis of, the Poor Law Means Test. It cannot be wrong in this war to do what was deemed right in the last. In any case, I would spend so much of every nation's substance on the social services that there would be nothing left in any country for the military gangsters to squander on battleships, bayonets and bombers. ... ...

At the meeting of District Nursing Associations, Hindley, Wigan, September 6th:—

The White Paper on National Health Policy is just one of those glowing promises which the Government feels compelled to make in war-time in order to maintain that abstract thing called "public morale." The result of these proposals may be guessed when we bear in mind the fate of the Education Act. Parliament spent months discussing that Bill, and it was known all the time that its main provisions could not possibly be implemented because of lack of schools and teachers. The day is, however, fast approaching when a grand inquest will be held on all those responsible for this perfidy.

At the Church of England Men's Society Demonstration, Stoke-on-Trent, September 7th:—

The Christian Church, especially in Europe, was shaken to its foundations because of the behaviour of the majority of the clergy during the Great War of 1914-18. In this war it looks like perishing for similar reasons. The Churches condemn drunkenness, delinquency, thieving and moral lapses in the matter of sex, but support their respective Governments in every war as it comes along. War is surely the greatest evil of all. Nearly every other sin to which man is prone increases in the wake of war. It is sheer blasphemy and paganism on their part to pray to the Almighty asking Him to bless the armies of their respective countries as if they could order God at will, and yet treat Him as a joke."

I wish that there was a Chair established in some University somewhere to find out where this hatred between nations comes from. In my own lifetime we, the British, have hated the Greeks, the Turks, the Boers, and the Russians all in turn; and now we hate the Germans, with whom our forefathers fought against the French over a century ago. We are not quite sure of our friendship towards our "dearly beloved" French Allies even now, and we are not too enamoured of the Yankees either; the only people we really love are ourselves and we are not absolutely certain of that on occasions.

A HUMANIST AFFIRMATION

By BERNARD FANTUS

On April 14, 1940, a man of international renown in the field of therapeutics, Bernard Fantus, passed away after a year's illness. Fantus did much to humanise the practice of medicine. He made a deep awareness of the patient's needs and feelings the inspiration and test of all his research.

During his illness, Dr. Fantus took careful notes on his own case, making as other doctors said, "a guinea pig of himself." In his dying weeks he dictated instructions that would guide his research staff in its work for months ahead, so that his work for humanity might go on.

Fantus originated the "blood bank" and also "candy medication." He was the first to make evil tasting medicines palatable. In a hundred ways he combined sympathy and the skill of a true scientist so as to help humanity.

A signer of the original Humanist Manifesto of May 1933, he felt that that document was far too academic to reach many people, and compiled an affirmation of Humanism as a beginning of a more natural and commonly understandable statement of faith in man and life that could be improved and widely circulated.

He wanted suggestions for improvement of this statement. How would you change it? What would you add?—Ed.

1. Humanism affirms that religion exists for man and not man for religion.

2. Religion must deserve the respect of humanity and must be able to bear the light of science and reason.

3. The world and its creation is the great divine miracle before which humanity bows reverently but not without hope of an ultimate better understanding.

4. Man is the single greatest evolutionary factor on this earth to-day and, to that extent is divine. By an intelligent appreciation of his powers and responsibilities he will make the world much more fit to live in.

5. Nothing human is alien to religion and all that is good, beautiful and true is sacred.

6. The world is man's country, and to do good, the religion of humanism.

7. "The place to be happy is here, the time to be happy is now, and the way to be happy is to make others so."

8. Humanism must take the path of social and mental hygiene and discourage sentimental and unreal hopes and wishful thinking.

9. Love thy neighbour and even thy enemy: For to "understand all is to forgive all."

10. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Exploitation of the fellowman is the greatest sin, intelligent co-operation for man's common good the greatest service. Humanism demands a shared life in a shared world.

DUNDEE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Guy Aldred and Oliver Brown spoke at the Cinerama, Dundee, on Sunday, September 24. Comrade Scott was in the chair. An excellent speech was delivered by Oliver Brown from the standpoint of Scottish Nationalism and Pacifism. Guy Aldred addressed himself to the subject: "When Will War End War," and dealt with the Dumbarton Oaks' conference, the economic forces at work to perpetuate war, the Gold Standard, Land-Lease and the imperial issues of oil, rubber, and exports. Great discussion followed and much opposition was shown by the Communist Party. In reply Aldred attacked vigorously the policy and history of the Communists, so called.

This is Aldred's first visit to Dundee since November 1919, when he addressed meetings in the Gilfillan Hall, under the auspices of the International Ex-Service Men's Union. The headquarters of this body was at 190 Overgate. His subjects then were: "Why an International Union of Ex-Service Men?" and "Capitalism and The Soldier."

The present war is the answer to the Why. His treatment and his son's treatment to-day, as a soldier of the second generation, and the state of the world, say all that needs to be said on the second subject.

Comrade Fletcher, the oldest active Socialist in Dundee, ex-member of the Council, moved the vote of thanks. Before leaving Dundee Aldred had a keen discussion in his shop, which is the centre of Socialist thought in the Jute city.

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held in

THE COSMO CINEMA

(Rose Street, off Sauchiehall Street)

Sunday, October 8, 1944, at 6.30 p.m.

Speakers: RHYS DAVIES, M.P.; GUY ALDRED.

Chairman: Bailie Alex. Porter.

Donation Ticket. *Questions.*

ANARCHISM AND INTEGRITY

(*Concluded from page* 24.)

This nonsense is ramified by a strange process of intimacy of pretence and corruption.

To bolster Herbert Read's claim to be considered an Anarchist, the Anarchists circulate his excellently produced work, published by Kegan Paul, entitled "*To Hell with Culture.*" There is a sub-title: "Democratic Values are New Values."

This work is No. 4 of *The Democratic Order* series, edited by Francis Williams, issued in 1941. Williams writes a pro-war introduction. Thus, in circulating this work, the Anarchists circulate approvingly in war-time militarist platitudes. The work itself contains no expression that warrants an anti-war conclusion. In his most extreme passage, Read writes: "*When Hitler has finished bombing our cities,*" etc. *Our* cities!

Under some circumstances, the cry "To Hell with Culture" would be quite a sound slogan. It was the motto of the first Christians and signified their protest against the Paganism that still prevails. But the motto led to a thousand years of darkness and misunderstanding and helped neither the Christian ethic nor the Christian philosophy. A number of folk mouth the slogan with Socialist emphasis to-day, but really speak in gutter terms and not in understanding proletarian approach. There is nothing wrong with culture, so long as it is not a substitute for integrity. Ignorance, also, can be a plausible substitute for integrity, if it pleads poverty. Culture that lacks integrity is really ignorance: and the slogan should be "*To Hell with Ignorance—Refined or Admittedly Vulgar*!"

Read's slogan takes a trick and the average Syndicalist Anarchist thinks that this man, whose learning and degrees are set out at the beginning of the book as "Note on the Author," is one of them. They do not understand the insult of his descent to patronage.

Read opens his essay by explaining the title. He quotes:—

When will revolutionary leaders realise that "culture" is dope, a worse dope than religion; for even if it were true that religion is the opiate of the people, it is worse to poison yourself than to be poisoned, and suicde is more dishonourable than murder. To hell with culture, culture as a thing added like sauce to otherwise unpalatable stale fish!

Read explains this quotation:—

This pamphlet is to be about the place of "culture" in the Democratic Order, so I begin with a quotation which gives me both a text and a title. It comes from the writings of a man recently dead who was both a true artist and a true Socialist.—Eric Gill.

Eric Gill was certainly not a Socialist. To write that he was "a *true* Socialist" is but to emphasise the falsehood and the nonsense of the description. He was a man of talent rather than an artist because the term artist implies not merely talent, not even genius, but also a subtle power of vision, which Eric Gill lacked. He was a commonplace, a very commonplace, man of talent, and only a very commonplace person could write such falsehood about him. Anarchists know that Eric Gill was not a Socialist. Yet they circulate this rubbish by Herbert Read as being Anarchism and so become parties to his propaganda of bogus values. Herbert Read knows that his description of Gill is false and beyond apology. But he ventures it because he lacks the courage to stand alone. A deadly crew of semi-pacifists—posing as cultured in the very sense Read pretends to disown—have acclaimed Eric Gill as a pacifist: absolutely without justification. To echo this falsehood is to gain supporters. And so Read maintains his reputation by broadcasting the basis of corrupt appreciation. The process is the easiest and most despicable way of achieving reputation known to would-be philosophers. And so even Freethinkers, insisting that Anarchism is essentially Atheistic in outlook, cite with approval Herbert Read as an authority, and he declares that he has no time for Atheism, and flirts with so-called Catholic intellectualism! What a muddle!

We have Eric Gill's unnecessary and much over-rated *Autobiography* before us as we write, published by Jonathan Cape, in 1941. Let the Socialist and Pacifist reader study it for himself.

Chapter VI. (page 131) opens by saying:—

We entered the enchanted garden of Christian marriage in the year 1904 when I was twenty-two years old.

This is a most orthodox description of ecclesiastical blessing for mating. There is an Anarchist and a Socialist view of marriage that does not deem the process of conventional conformity and all that it implies as the highest expression of mating between the sexes. The man who could use this expression was not a Socialist. And Eric Gill meant it slavishly and orthodoxly, with the male human as everything in the family, and the female human the mere appendage.

In the same chapter, page 182, Gill writes:—

So, it was now somewhere about the year 1911, I seriously began to consider the practical steps which were necessary if you contemplated joining the Church. In my own mind I was a Roman Catholic already—because the Catholic Church claimed to rule the world in the name of God and I knew no other institution that even claimed to do so. The mere claim was a proof of its justification. No institution could make such a claim and not be justified.

And so on. The writer of this theological and philosophical authoritarian nonsense is said to be "a true Socialist" by a man claiming to be an Anarchist: denouncing "culture," in a book circulated by Anarchists claiming to be Atheists!

The chapter proceeds to describe how Gill gave up rationalist books (which he read for a short period) for Chesterton, and concludes:—

So on February 22nd, my 31st birthday, 1913, we went together and were baptized and on the following Saturday the three little girls followed in their parents' footsteps.

Note, the woman's view did not matter. Gill became a Catholic! So, in Christian marriage, his wife had to become a Catholic! She had no mind, no vision, no spiritual experience of her own. And the three girls followed the following Sunday. Ram, ewe, and baa-lambs! Anarchists circulate this intolerable rubbish as—Socialist and Anarchist literature! Why not circulate the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and be perfect in their Anarchist activity?

In chapter VII., on page 198, Gill makes what is supposed to be a rather smart, but is actually almost smutty reference to copulation. Any and every Catholic would find this reference offensive if we wrote it. But we are only an Atheist and an Anarchist. And Herbert Read would not approve of our directness of speech.

Gill proceeds to describe the advantages of having joined the Church of Rome (page 200):—

It was less than a year after our reception into the Church that I got the job of carving the set of representatives called "the Stations of the Cross" in the new Westminster Cathedral. . . . This job lasted four years. Fortunately I had other work as well, or I could not possibly have carried on. Among other things I had a big war memorial to do in Dorset. And this brings me to "the Great War."

The Stations of The Cross! Big War Memorial! True Socialist! Pacifist! Such are our estimates of value.

This true Artist (sic), this true Socialist (sicker), who did the big war memorial at Dorset to give expression to the greatness of his pacifist soul, describes his war reaction (pages 201-205):—

I suppose it will be clear to anyone who reads this book that I wasn't the sort of person to go rushing headlong to the recruiting station as so many of my friends did. Nor was I the sort to suffer agonies of doubt and indecision as to my duty. . . . Wars might be just or unjust but they were not, as far as my thinking then went, in any way particularly inhuman. . . . . It didn't make any difference whatever to my life. I went on with my work and we went on with our endeavours to make a holy and human life for ourselves and for our children. I was certainly not in the least ashamed because I didn't join up. I thought quite simply and quite honestly that it was no affair of mine. I was not a pacifist in the specific sense of that word, still less "a conscientious objector." I said quite openly, I will go when they call me up—not before. I didn't ask for exemption and I made no effort whatever to obtain it, but I made no objection when an influential friend, entirely out of the enthusiasm of his heart, obtained an exemption for me until I had completed my job at Westminster Cathedral. I finished it in August, 1918, and I was "called up" in September and was put into the Royal Air Force Mechanical Transport.

My war experience was therefore entirely unheroic. I was conscripted in September and was out of it before Christmas—rather less than four months and all of them spent in home camps learning to drive motor lorries and going round the said camps as a scavenger.

Gill describes this four months as a monstrous and momentous period of desolation.

At the time of his conscription Eric Gill was thirty-six years old. He had no thought on war; was utterly indifferent. Had no courage to oppose it. Centred in his family and called this callousness "Christian marriage," Read calls him "a true Socialist," and Pacifists say it is essential to read and to study him to understand pacifism. What imposture!

It makes one's blood boil to think of Herbert Read being applauded as an Anarchist in view of his own confessed record, and to know that Anarchists (so-called) are circulating writings in which Read eulogises Gill as "a true Socialist."

On page 93, Gill writes of his mood in 1899 as "a mood of desperation, even a sort of rationalism." On pages 110-112, he describes becoming an agnostic—for five minutes—and taking "to reading the sixpenny booklets of the Rationalist Press Association and Fabian tracts." But these were too much for Eric Gill, and he proceeds to complain (p. 112): "Of course, the agnostical socialist cannot see further than death."

This writing appeals to a number of our Catholic Pacifist friends, especially to some school teachers, who at one time insisted, in their sublime impertinent ignorance, that one could not be a pacifist without studying Gill. They could not understand that the man was devoid of heroism, of responsibility, and integrity. Even his "enchanted garden of Christian marriage" was a lie. He did not enter in because he did not remain loyal to the ideal it is supposed to define.

In chapter VII, headed "Postscript," section 5, sub-headed "Escapades," Gill writes (pages 270-272):—

Another thing I was entangled in concurrently with my entanglement in the Arts and Crafts movement and from which I had to make a more or less ignominious escape was the Socialist movement. I had been a fairly enthusiastic member of the Fabian Society, and had even got so far as to lecture to that earnest body of reformers. . . .

There was a great wave of Nietzschian influence among us at that time, and I completely succumbed to it in company with a young Fabian woman with whom, largely on account of our mutual enthusiasm, I fell very much in love. All these things went very much together and formed between them a pretty complicated entanglement. My Socialist enthusiasm was perfectly genuine, so was my enthusiasm for Nietzsche. . . . And my love affair was a genuine mixture of matter and spirit—both real and both good. . . . I solved the problem in a practical though unheroic manner. I went off with my Fabian friend for a week and thus, having cleared away the passionate side of the matter, was in a clear frame of mind. It was, as anyone who has been through such turmoil knows, a heart-rending experience. I won't attempt to harrow the reader with a description of my agonies—sleeplessness, exhaustion, misery. But I came back with my problems solved—and was reconciled. Perhaps this adventure marked the turning point and I saw that Socialism and Neitzscheanism . . . could not, for me, supply a practical rule of life. I was too deeply in love with the mother of my children and too deeply in love with the Christian idea of family and the home and parental love, thus to throw everything away. I could not bear it. I should have broken my own heart as well as hers It was shortly after this affair that we moved to Ditchling and soon afterwards I resigned from the Fabian Society. It was an escape.

"A true Socialist," writes Read. "The enchanted garden of Christian marriage," writes Gill. And he left the Fabian Society because of his passion for a woman member of the society. He had to get the virus out of his system. Her feelings—what happened to her as a result of his experiment—did not matter. What a humbug the man was in every way: in his piety, his ethics, his patriotism, his militarism, his pacifism. And he is imposed upon us by the stupidity and the charlatanism of his co-intellectual pretenders as a true Socialist, a true Pacifist: someone to be admired—and followed maybe! at a distance, let us hope.

Let us write plainly, even if it costs us friend-

ship and/or support. We do not believe in the enchanted garden of Christian marriage. We do not believe that the first Christians believed in any such garden. We have very definite views and morals on the sex question. We have a very definite concept of freedom which we have avowed and lived up to all our days. But we would not go away for a week with some one as, to use our bold Anglo-Saxon tongue, an experiment in lust. We would not hold that a certain course was vicious or sinful and pursue it. But then we are an Anarchist. We believe in integrity and we aim to express integrity in our living. We are not an intellectual and we are not a pretender. In the struggle to end war and social misery, we have no time for charlatanism in ourself and we do not applaud it in others. Of all moral error, sometimes called sin, there is but one unpardonable offence—hypocrisy. This is unpardonable because it becomes constitutional and strikes at the very essence of life. Hypocrisy is the infamy of living in the darkness of blasphemy, outrage against truth.

It is true that Read makes "Anarchist" atonement for his military conformity in war-time, and respectable conformity all the time, by editing, with an introduction, selections from the writings of Kropotkin. This work is *not* published by the firm of which Read is a director. It was published by the Freedom Press on December 9, 1942.

At the beginning of this volume of selections, Read makes a quotation from Kropotkin's *Anarchist Morality* as a keynote for the publication which we have stressed a little more strongly in this article. The Kropotkin quotation reads :—

All we can do is to give advice, and while giving it, we say: "This advice will be valueless if your own experience and observation do not lead you to recognise that it is worth following.

Anarchists can do more than give advice, which is a very cheap thing to do. They can live their philosophy and example their advice. If advice is worth following, it should be followed—lived up to. Can anyone say that Herbert Read has, in the faintest degree, attempted to live his Anarchism? Is his career other than a most conservative respectable expression of stagnant mediocrity? This article has answered this question, and a further study of the writings mentioned will emphasise the accuracy of this indictment. Read's introduction to the Kropotkin selection indicts him and Kropotkin and everyone who pretends to be an Anarchist in the Kropotkin-Read sense.

On page 12, Read describes Kropotkin's settlement as a Socialist or Anarchist agitator in 1886. He adds :—

The remainder of Kropotkin's life was devoted to the elucidation and exposition of the principles of Anarchism.

In this way, Read evades all reference to the war of 1914-18 and to Kropotkin's militarist reaction.

Is this honest writing? One can hardly say that the war was a small issue and that the question of militarism is not involved in Anarchism. If Kropotkin was right, as an Anarchist, to support the war, why does not Read say so? If Kropotkin was wrong, why does not Read record the fact? Why so blatantly and so cowardly leave it? This is not honest but dishonest writing. This is not Anarchism but mediocre reaction.

We feel strongly on this point. We were the first Anarchist writer to declare, in 1914, that Kropotkin intended to go pro-war. We did this in the *Herald of Revolt*. The Kropotkinists were astounded. Even Emma Goldman, who made her stand against war in the United States, lamented, for some unknown and unintelligible reason, the fact that we were the first person to denounce Kropotkin. Then he had to be repudiated by those who had followed him. But we were never forgiven by these puny, incompetent, misbelieving Anarchist pretenders.

In *The Spur* for May 1917 appears an article that we wrote in The City Workhouse, Exeter, in April of that year. It describes how we were marched across Exeter, handcuffed, from the Higher Barracks, Exeter, to the Workhouse, under military escort. The essay will be reprinted soon and need not be summarised. It describes a glaring placard, announcing meetings to celebrate the Russian Revolution, and our reaction to a pro-militarist message Kropotkin sent to the Albert Hall meeting celebrating that revolution. Kropotkin's letter had little time for the revolution itself. It justified his rally to the Czar's banner—"which his pro-war attitude was"—in the early days of the war. It repudiated all his one-time anti-militarism.

Herbert Read ignored this reality and falsely speaks of Kropotkin's devotion to Anarchism. What mockery! What knavery! What travesty of thought!

Was excited pleading for war devoting one's life "to the elucidation and exposition of the principles of Anarchism"? When Blatchford went pro-war his Socialist reputation died. When Ramsay MacDonald turned National Government his Socialist reputation vanished. Is there some different standard by which Kropotkin should be judged?

On the same page 12, Read's introduction describes Kropotkin's return to Russia. Again he lies. He says :—

When the despotism of the Czars was finally overthrown in Russia, Kropotkin, though then 75 years old, was one of the first exiles to return to help in the work of reconstruction.

It is simply not true that Kropotkin returned to help in the work of reconstruction. He returned to Russia to pursue the cause of militarism and to pervert the revolution to the cause of war.

Describing Kropotkin's life in Russia, Read quotes Emma Goldman's account of how Kropotkin, early in 1918, grouped around him specialists in political economy and formed a Federalist League. This group was dissolved by the Bolshevik Government and its material was confiscated.

We are opposed to the Bolshevik Government and its record of persecution. We are opposed to the terrible sufferings imposed on the Anarchists: the Anti-Parliamentarians or Old Bolsheviks; and later, the Trotskyists. But the truth concerning Kropotkin is not so simple as this statement by Read implies.

We have before us, as we write, *The Birth of Russian Democracy*, by A. J. Sack, Director of the then Russian Information Bureau in the United States, published by that Bureau from its office in the Woolworth Building, New York City, in 1918. This is an invaluable History of the Russian Revolution, with accounts of its spiritual leaders, down to that date. It is factual, Anti-Bolshevik, and, as regards Kropotkin, entirely on his side. The author regards him as a saint of the revolution. We are treated to an enthusiastically friendly account of Kropotkin's activity in Russia following his return from exile, as well as given a very complete account of his life. It is not possible to deal with this record in the present essay. We will reproduce later the "Socialist" conspiracy against and denunciation of the Bolsheviks for their Socialist opposition to war. We will reproduce the terrible militarist German extermination speech made by Kropotkin at the National Conference at Moscow, on August 28, 1917. This was one of the most vile and hopelessly warmongering speeches ever uttered by any person. It anticipated and completely overshadowed Vansittart.

Like Gill and Read, Kropotkin wanted in integrity.

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Manchester Housing Scandal

In the June issue of *The Word* we published the resolution of the Aylesbury Borough Council on the matter of housing finance. The Neath Town Council has followed the Aylesbury example. Manchester has endeavoured to do so. Here is the result.

The Housing Committee of Manchester City Council recently decided to build 158 municipal flats at a cost of £67,172. Instead of following the orthodox capitalist municipal method of borrowing this amount, they decided to pay it *out of surplus funds in the Housing Revenue Account.*

Immediately the Committee's intentions became known the Ministry of Health refused to grant the City Council necessary permission. So Manchester was forced to borrow the money and pay back the capital and interest at the rate of £2847 per annum for 60 years. In effect, the allegedly democratic ratepayers of Manchester have been ordered by the Coalition Government, with its alleged Socialist Ministers, to get into debt to the tune of £170,820, when they could have provided themselves with the flats at a cost of only £67,172.

Local authorities all over the country are to be forced to take these unwanted loans for post-war rebuilding by this capitalist Tory-Labour Coalition administration, whilst the common people are indulging in a hysteria of victory shouting. In this, our commonplace and complacent parliamentary careerists will burden all attempts at social reform with forced levies which will provide the banks, building societies and insurance companies with profits of something like 170 per cent. derived from unnecessary interest charges. Such is municipal and parliamentary democracy.

An increasing number of local authorities are considering supporting the Aylesbury motion for monetary reform in municipal activity. Many municipal Socialists, who oppose our anti-parliamentary ideas, feel that municipal Socialism is an empty phrase, a purposeless capitalist careerism, unless some stand is made on the scandal of exploitative finance. They would embody these practical challenging phases of social credit in their program as a step towards the final struggle for Socialism. The Neath Town Council has followed the example of the Aylesbury Borough Council, and the Hexham U.D.C. also has passed a motion requesting the Government to consider giving support to the motion for monetary reform.

Councillor E. Thomas, in raising the motion at the meeting of the Neath Town Council, referred to the town's increasing debt of more than £600,000 and the annual interest upon it of £30,000. The following notice of motion was seconded by Councillor T. Hugh and was carried by a majority :—

While the Council is fully alive to its responsibilities to the ratepayers in the development of essential public services and the supply of necessary houses, it is gravely concerned about the prospect of the increasing rates these expanding services will impose upon the already over-burdened ratepayers under the existing monetary system, and calls upon the Government to take what steps are necessary to restore to Parliament the sovereign authority over the monetary system which was taken from it in 1694.

The 1694 allusion is a direct challenge to the Bank of England, the finance-power that controls parliamentarism.

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CONSCIENCE AND CITIZENSHIP

By LOWELL H. COATE, M.A., Ph.D.
(Superintendent, The Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

This is the opening chapter (revised) of Dr. Coates' work, "The Conscription of Conscience" (published in U.S.A. in 1934). A revised edition is being published in Britain by the Strickland Press.—Ed.

Until 1930 there was comparatively little discussion concerning the freedom of conscience in the United States, except, of course, during the Great World War when the question as to the Conscientious Objector was raised by the Government and definitely recognised.

The Puritans fled to America in 1620 to escape the persecution of the church and king. America was founded on the belief in liberty of conscience. Roger Williams at Providence was the first completely to separate church and state and allow full toleration for Anglicans, Catholics, Baptists and Quakers. Complete toleration was established by Penn in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1662.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted in 1791 and provided that

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; . . ."

Prior to this amendment there had been some discussion throughout the various colonies as regards the amount of freedom that should be permitted and the extent of toleration which should be granted to the individual's conscience. Some were more tolerant than others. Many were actually more intolerant after coming to "free America" than their previous persecutors had been with them.

But after the adoption of the first amendment to the Constitution it was rather generally accepted that there should be a definite and liberal amount of freedom and toleration for the conscience of every American citizen, and there has been little occasion to raise any further question regarding it during the last century.

But with the arrival of the first World War, a new and greater spirit of nationalism suddenly developed, which raised new problems relative to the question of the individual and his conscience, which, until then, had been generally accepted by all groups and faiths to be sacred unto oneself. Several religious sects, to be sure, had expressed their passive protest against all war and militarism by voluntarily renouncing their right of franchise, even to the extent of refraining from voting for the President of the United States, declaring that it was inconsistent to help elect a Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy whom they refuse military service. This method of silent protest, or "passive resistance," is practiced to this day by some of the Mennonites and Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren.

None of these movements was taken seriously, however, as their protests were merely formal, until America definitely entered the World War. The Draft Law provided noncombatant service for members of all these pacifist sects, including the Quakers and others, but those who objected on conscientious grounds to participating in active warfare, and had no affiliation with any of these pacifist organisations, were classed as Conscientious Objectors, and dubbed as "C.O.'s." They created the first real problem of the United States as regards the government's relation to the individual's conscience.

One Conscientious Objector protested that the principle of the draft was in violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The case was carried clear enough to the United States Supreme Court, and near the close a decision was rendered which definitely established the draft law constitutional, and removed permanently any question which might arise on that point.

A different phase of the problem arose after, however, when a few prominent and well-known personalities applied for citizenship in the United States, among them being Madame Schwimmer, an internationalist; Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh, of Yale University, and Miss Marie Averil Bland, both Canadians; Mrs. Webb, a Quaker, and Miss Graber, a Mennonite. The prominence of these individuals and the slight variations in the different phases of the principles of constitutional freedom of conscience for which they arose centred the public's attention on them in a remarkably unusual way and incidentally served to crystallise a tremendous amount of latent sentiment on the subject.

The point which drew the most fire in the way of editorial discussion throughout the country was the fact that different judges denied citizenship to applicants for naturalisation because they were unable to conscientiously say they would bear arms in any war which the government might declare, even though it might seem to them to be a very unjust war. In other words, in order to become good citizens the judge would require them to perjure their consciences if necessary, and in several cases insisted upon it.

The whole proposition involved the question of freedom of conscience, and had its original setting on quite a definite anti-passive basis. The continual refusal of the courts to grant citizenship to applicants who confessed to some degree of pacifism, or who insisted that in all cases they must put conscience above law, resulted in a somewhat complex situation in which the real issues easily became confused. Each successive episode threw light upon the matter from a different angle. If there are any who doubt that a situation existed for which a remedy was needed, perhaps they will be impressed by the record of a case which was reported only in "The Christian Century," April 9, 1930, directly by the party most immediately concerned.

This was the case of Rev. T. F. King, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Lake Arthur, Louisiana. Its essential facts can best be told in Mr. King's own words in a letter under date of March, 1930. He writes:

Last November I received notice advising me to appear in court for the final hearing of my application for citizenship. The examination proceeded smoothly until the judge came to the question of war, and here I will set down the gist of the conversation between the judge and myself.

Judge—"What did you do during the World War?"

Answer—"I served for three years in the British army, and spent about fifteen months overseas in Salonica." (I showed the judge the discharge papers verifying this.)

Judge—"Supposing the United States engaged in a war that you considered was wrong, what would be your attitude?"

Answer—"I would consider it my duty to protect and defend democracy."

Judge—"But supposing, take a concrete case, California wanted more territory, and decided to seize some in Mexico, and every man was drafted for some form of service, would you object or be loyal?"

Answer—"I do not believe the United States would engage in such a war."

Judge—"I do not want any conditions. Under such circumstances, a war of aggression, would you object?"

Answer—"In all probability I would. I would first have to consider my duty to God and to humanity."

Judge—"In other words, you cannot subscribe under any and every condition to the doctrine, "My country right or wrong"?

Answer—"No."

Judge—"Then you cannot be admitted. What we want are citizens who are prepared to say, "My country right or wrong, but my country."

In a separate sheet I am giving further particulars, which need not be published. The above letter tells all that is necessary.

(Signed) T. F. KING.

On a "separate sheet" are given the names and addresses of the judge and the clerk of the court, and the place and date, November 4th, 1929, of the hearing. This information has been checked against the Louisiana reports and we find that the judge named is a judge of a Louisiana State Court residing at that time at the place mentioned.

The King case went one step beyond that of Professor Macintosh.

In the Macintosh case the applicant declared that, in the event of being called upon to participate in a war, he would be compelled to exercise his own judgment as to its justice, and that he would consider an order to serve in an unjust war to be a violation of his higher duty to his conscience. It was replied by some critics that an applicant for citizenship should have such faith in his government's integrity that he would not envisage the possibility of its engaging in an unjust war. In the case of Mr. King, the applicant did express such faith and it was the judge who insisted upon conjuring up the hypothesis of a patently unjust war and demanded that the applicant for citizenship should avow his willingness to bear arms in the furtherance of such a program, and presumably of any other upon which the government might embark.

This indicates the nature and importance of the problem as it developed in the United States prior to the second World War.

Madame Schwimmer, avowed pacifist, was rejected because, believing all war to be wrong, she confessed that she would never bear arms, even if, in spite of her sex and years, the government should order her to do so.

Mrs. Webb, a Quaker, and Miss Graber, a Mennonite nurse, sharing the anti-war convictions of their respective communions, were refused citizenship because they said that, while they would die for the country of their proposed adoption, they would not kill for it.

Professor Macintosh, though not irrevocably opposed to war on principle, volunteered the admission that his oath of obedience and loyalty must be qualified by the consideration that he would not fight in what he believed to be an unjust war.

Mr. King would have been satisfied with swearing to protect and defend the laws and the constitution,—as some critics said that Professor Macintosh ought to have done and could very honestly have done—but in his case the judge forced the issue by insisting that it was an indispensable test of fitness for citizenship that one should be wiling to take his oath to participate in a war even if he knows it to be unjust and wrong.

Analyzing this whole situation "The Christian Century" for the date mentioned already, had this comment to make:

"It becomes increasingly clear that the question is not, What do you think about war, but, What will you do in case of war?"

Madame Schwimmer would not have been rejected if she had been willing to say: "Yes, I believe that war is wrong, but I will fight if I am called upon to do so."

Mrs. Webb and Miss Graber would not have been rejected if they had said: "We have religious convictions according to which killing an enemy in war is as great a sin as killing a fellow-citizen in time of peace, but if the government orders us to kill we will set our religious convictions aside and kill."

Professor Macintosh would not have been rejected if he had said: "If war arises which I believe to be contrary to the will of God I will relegate God to the status of a secondary authority and implicitly obey the command of the government, no matter what I think about it."

In fact, that is substantially what the court seems to have tried to get Professor Macintosh to say, and what all the editors who defended the action of the court criticise him for not saying. One and all, they agreed that a citizen may have his private opinion as to the right or wrong of a command of the government but that the criterion of loyalty is obedience, regardless of one's personal judgment as to right and wrong, or "the will of God."

Mr. King would have come through with flying colours if he had said: "Of course we both know that a war of aggression against Mexico would be wrong, but if Congress should declare such a war to win territory you can count on me to serve at the front just as actively as I did in the Great War when I thought I was helping to make the world safe for democracy."

In all of these cases quite evidently the real question was not, What do you think? but, Will you obey commands no matter what you think?

On June 30th, 1930, the following announcement appeared in the daily news dispatches:

"By a decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, the former decision of Judge Burrows of the district court refusing citizenship to Professor Douglas C. Macintosh has been reversed."

To Judge Burrows it appeared that declaring one's unwillingness to do what he considered morally wrong, even if the government commanded it, or more especially to refuse to engage in a war which the applicant deemed unjust, constituted a defect in one's devotion to the constitution and the laws of this country. Unconditional obedience was to be the test of loyalty. "There's no other way but to trust and obey" the government, said Judge Burrows. "One must obey God rather than the government, if the two conflict," said Professor Macintosh. Judge Martin T. Manton said that Professor Macintosh was right.

"There is a distinction between justifiable and unjustifiable wars recognised in international law. The rights of conscience are inalienable rights which the citizen need not surrender and which the Government or society cannot take away,"

wrote Judge Manton in the Macintosh case, and went on to point out that the Kellogg pact recognised the distinction between "a morally justified and an unjustifiable war."

The case was later carried to the United States Supreme Court, for it was considered less important for one man to get citizenship than it is to have the highest court decide whether the abdication of conscience to civil law is a fundamental principle of our constitution.

An examination of the editorial pages gave the impression that controlled press public opinion was not in unanimous agreement with Judge Manton's opinion that conscience should be permitted to attach reservations to the oath of allegiance. For while many joined with the "New York World" in applauding the ruling of the Court of Appeals, others agreed with the "Boston Transcript" that the decision of the lower courts was sound, because it is not easy to see "How any man is competent to interpret with exactness the will of God."

Of Miss Bland the court wrote:

"This applicant said that she would promise to defend the constitution as far as her conscience as a Christian would allow. The government, by its constitution and by its acts of Congress, never exacted more from any applicant."

Judge Manton — and for that matter Miss Bland's attorney—both took occasion to deny that her case paralleled that of Mms. Rosika Schwimmer, the Hungarian pacifist, who was denied citizenship by the United States Supreme Court, a year earlier

"because she had no sense of nationalism, but only a cosmic sense of belonging to the human family."

All three of these cases were fought purely as a matter of principle, since the persons concerned were all beyond the age of active military service. Miss Bland was forty-seven, Professor Macintosh was fifty-three, and Madame Schwimmer at the time she applied for citizenship was forty-nine.

Sitting with Judge Manton in the Court of Appeals were Judge Swan and Judge Hand, and the decisions in the case of Mr. Macintosh were unanimous. In his rather lengthy opinion Judge Manton said, in part:

The question presented here differs from that presented in the case of Schwimmer vs. United States. She stated that she was an absolute atheist, and said, "I am not willing to bear arms," but she was willing to do everything that an American citizen must do except fight. This applicant was willing to bear arms and reserved merely the right to determine for himself whether the war was justified according to the dictates of his conscience.

Mhe. Schwimmer said she was an uncompromising pacifist, and was found to have no sense of nationalism, but only a cosmic sense of belonging to the human family, and opposed the use of military force as admitted by the Constitution and by the laws.

The appellant, on the other hand, was willing to give the United States "all the allegiance he had ever given or ever could give any country," but said he would not put allegiance to Government of any country before the will of God. This appellant, from his answers, indicates an upright sense of obligation to his God, and has carefully explained his willingness to be a citizen of the United States, assuming the responsibilities and obligations of its form of government, and at the same time he has a high regard for his general duty to humanity. He wishes to keep pure his religious scruples.

It will, of course, be recognised as a duty of the citizen to bear arms in defence of his country, but there is also the well-recognised affection for his government if, by reason of a conscientious religious scruple, he requests being excused from bearing arms. . . . Nor is there any fixed principle of the Constitution of this country requiring a citizen with conscientious scruples to nevertheless bear arms in time of war. Congress has recognised that persons having conscientious scruples against bearing arms shall be exempt.

No more is demanded of an alien who becomes a citizen than a natural-born citizen, and when an alien becomes a citizen he is accorded all the rights and privileges accorded to a natural-born citizen.

Appellant's application should have been granted.

While applauding the decision in favour of Dr. Macintosh and Miss Bland, the *New York World* remarks:

"Judge Manton was evidently handicapped in his ruling by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1928 upholding the denial of citizenship to Madame Schwimmer. In order to get around that decision it was necessary for the Court of Appeals to draw as sharp a distinction as possible between these cases. It found certain differences, and they were mainly religious. Dr. Macintosh merely wished to 'keep pure his religious scruples.' Madame Schwimmer, however, was 'an absolute atheist,' and an 'uncompromising pacifist, with no 'sense of nationalism."

During the same session of the court in which Madame Schwimmer was denied citizenship for her refusal to bear arms a young Italian by the name of Zangara agreed to bear arms and was granted citizenship. He apparently took his oath too seriously, as it was he who later shot and killed Mayor Cermak of Chicago and threatened the life of the then President-elect Roosevelt. Such is the irony of such inconsistency.

Cicero long ago showed that the highest law derives from the welfare of the people. Right is that which should be granted because experience has proved it to be good; it must validate itself. There is no divine right either in kings, nor in democratic majorities, which may become as tyrannical as any dictator. Both have frequently been known to be wrong, and the great and significant advances in history have been made by individuals or groups who were unimpressed by the mob mind, or who dared to resist the authority of both church and state when they became tyrannical.

As H. J. Laski says in *The Problem of Sovereignty*:

"That state will be the stronger which binds to itself members by the strength of a moral purpose validated. The legal sovereignty of a state is not identical with its moral sovereignty. Government does not stand above the moral code of the individuals."

Mr. Laski further avers that:

"All great advances in human history have been made possible because individual men and women have acted on what they believed to be true whether it was popular or unpopular, whether it was safe or perilous, and most often when it was both unpopular and perilous. Disarmament will come about when a sufficient number of people refuse any longer to bear arms, to manufacture armament, or to ask for armed protection. To deny the authority of conscience is therefore to deprive a man of his moral personality."

To deny it is to commit moral suicide, to move to utter degradation.

The state is a territory over which there is a government claiming or exercising authority. Sovereignty is the ability of the government to secure general assent.

There is no sanction for law except the consent of the human mind. The safeguards of the state are therefore the wills of its members. But the state is only one organization among many, and it must be estimated by what it accomplishes for the community. The purpose of the state, it has been well said, is to help the individual to be his best self and to enable all to live "the good life". But right cannot be determined by majority, and as between the state and the individual, the individual has no right that does not involve the good of society, while the state has no right or moral coercion over the individual conscience.

We are obliged to differentiate between the nation and the state, and Patriotism must be distinguished from loyalty to the state. Instances have occurred repeatedly in history where men have best served their country by resisting its government, as in the case of Cromwell, Washinton, and the signers of the Declaration of Independence, or Garrison on the question of slavery.

In the report of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship held in England in 1924, we read:

"Even when the government is dominated by public opinion and popular sentiment, no such infallibility can be claimed for it as to forbid the independent judgment of the individual conscience, even admitting that too may, and often does, err. Still less can the state claim such absolute moral authority, when the machinery of government is, as sometimes happens, being used by politicians for their own individual interests, or the interests of a class or group."

And Doctor Charles E. Jefferson insists that:

"This love of country will sometimes lead a citizen to resist the authority of Caesar. No government is given authority by God to force men to do what they believe is wrong."

No less an authority than Zachariah Chaffee, Professor of Law in Harvard University, states in his *Freedom of Speech*:

"It is true that a majority decision is the best way of determining how the government shall act, but it is not the best way of deciding what is right."

Further evidence could be accumulated on this point, but we shall now proceed to the grounds on which freedom of conscience is particularly based. The right of liberty of conscience is claimed on the grounds of individual and social right.

As an individual right, the claim to liberty of conscience is based on the slow evolution of society and the painful achievement of our common humanity, won through long centuries of conflict between authority and freedom. The fight for freedom of thought began twenty-five centuries ago among the Greeks of Ionia. It came to a climax at the trial of Socrates two centuries later, in 399 B.C. The two-fold issue was freedom of speech and freedom of conscience.

Socrates maintained the supremacy of the individual conscience, that a man cannot be coerced by any human authority into any course which his own mind condemns as wrong; and also maintained the public value of free discussion. The sun might as well be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society, he declared.

At the age of seventy this reformer-philosopher of Athens was arraigned before his 501 judges on a nominal charge of being an atheist and a corrupter of the youth. In his noble *Apology* he challenges them thus:

"If you propose to acquit me on condition that I abandon my search for truth, I will say: I thank you, O Athenians, but I will obey God, who as I believe set me this task rather than you."

For twenty-three centuries since Socrates, a long line of martyrs has maintained the individual right of freedom of conscience. The stoics upheld *individual* right against public authority, and the Roman Republic allowed full liberty of opinion. But when Christianity became the one exception, punishable with death, millions laid down their lives rather than yield to the authority of the state in the worship of the Emperor, or taking service in the army. It was their stand for liberty of conscience which at last won the edict of toleration in 311 A.D.

It was liberty of conscience which was held against the tortures of the Inquisition. The Renaissance from the Thirteenth Century won back for Europe intellectual freedom, and the Reformation won moral freedom by another succession of distinguished martyrs. John Huss in 1498; Servetus by Calvin in 1553, because he doubted the doctrine of the Trinity; and Giordano Bruno in 1600 in Rome for his heresies of belief in the science of Copernicus.

Meantime the fight for liberty of conscience was being continued in England. John Milton wrote his "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," in 1644. John Locke followed with his "Letter Concerning Toleration," and John Stuart Mill published his essay "On Liberty" in 1859.

This brings the story of the struggle for individual freedom of conscience down to comparatively recent times. It is apparent that there has always been a danger of the encroachment of the state upon personal rights from the time of the Pharaohs, who built the pyramids by slave labour, to Louis XIV, who proclaimed "I am the State," and even to the democratic majorities of our own day. As one commentator has said, "The voice of the majority is neither that of God nor of the devil, but of man."

"If fifty-one per cent. of the Senate, including those interested in the manufacture of munitions, vote for war, I cannot on that account surrender to them the control of my conscience upon a moral issue,"

writes Sherwood Eddy.

The fight for liberty as a legal right has been a long one. The old demands of the barons in 1215 formed the basis of the Great Charter of Anglo-Saxon liberties, "to all freemen . . . for us and our heirs forever." These ancient Anglo-Saxon rights of liberty are reasserted in the United States Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, and are further defined in the American Constitution.

In our state constitutions, twenty-six states declare in substance that it is "the privilege of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience," and nineteen declare that "no human authority ought to control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience."

William Penn wrote into the constitution of New Jersey that "No man or number of men on earth have power or authority over man's conscience in religious matters."

Voltaire once said to a friend: "I disagree with every word you say, but would give my life for your right to say it."

Attorney General Stone, while Dean of the Columbia Law School, with Judge Julian Mack, of Chicago, made an official investigation of "conscientious objectors" for the Wilson administration during the first great war. In a remarkable survey of the subject, he insists that:

"Both sound morals and sound policy require that the state should not violate the conscience of the individual. All our history gives information of the view that liberty of conscience has a moral and social value which makes it worthy of preservation at the hands of the State . . . When one realises the seriousness of their purpose and the power of their influence . . . he can have no illusion that the mere application of force to them (conscientious objectors) . . . will bring any real solution of the problem . . . Not a few of them were sentenced to be shot and others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by courts-martial for disobedience to military orders, and all were subjected to indignities, and in many cases to physical violence by their more patriotic fellows . . . As was to be expected, cowards and slackers sought refuge among them, but the number of such was much smaller than has generally been supposed . . . Most of them . . . were neither physical nor moral cowards . . . One of them, Richard L. Stierheim, was drafted and sent overseas before the government had provided any means for relief for the conscientious objector.

In France he refused to perform military service and deserted. He was tried by court-martial for desertion, convicted, and sentenced to death. While awaiting execution of sentence, on November 3, 1918, as reported by the commanding General, he volunteered to go out into No Man's Land, at imminent peril of his life to rescue the wounded. He rescued six men unassisted, under machine-gun fire. He then volunteered to go into No Man's Land to bury the dead, and for nine successive days he continued to render service of this character, exposing himself unhesitatingly to imminent peril of death in the aid and succour of wounded men. General Pershing forwarded his record to the Judge Advocate General with the recommendation that his sentence be remitted and that he be assigned to duty with the non-combatant service.

It is against the background of twenty-three centuries of human fight for freedom, of a thousand years of struggle in Anglo-Saxon countries for religious and political liberty, and full three centuries of American traditions that the social right of liberty of individual conscience on moral issues in peace or in war is claimed.

RICHARD CARLILE DATA

Since we commenced our Richard Carlile studies considerable interest in his "life" and work has been evinced by readers and comrades throughout the United States. Evidence of this fact is to be found in our correspondence columns.

The late Mr. W. Van Der Weyde, at that time President of the Thomas Paine National Historical Association, wrote us from New York, under date Aug. 25, 1914, an appreciative letter of the large and very full penny pamphlet (1912) "Life" of Richard Carlile we were circulating then. This "life" is embodied in our *Richard Carlile, Agitator* (1941). With Carlile's *Jail Journal* (1942) and Dr. Brook's *Carlile and the Surgeons* (1943), this biography tends to raise interest in the great struggle for civil and intellectual liberty, and the fearless stand for world democracy made by Carlile. These books should be studied and circulated widely by every lover of human freedom. These three well illustrated books will be sent post-free for six shillings. Copies will be sent freely to United States enquirers since it is invaluable to the development and defence of civil liberty in the United States to know something of Carlile's thoughts and battle in Britain.

Mr. Van der Weyde wrote:

I am so glad that you are interested in Carlile. He was indeed a remarkable man and the bravest of champions for truth and justice. In America, Carlile and his splendid fight for free speech, free press, anti-militarism, is practically unknown. I appreciate that, in present day England, too, he is hardly better known, and you have rendered the world a great service in publishing your fine pamphlet about him. Mrs. Carlile Campbell's biography of her father, "The Battle for the Freedom of the Press," interested me greatly, but your pamphlet more. . . . Good luck to you!

Mrs. Carlile Campbell was Richard Carlile's youngest child, Theophila. She was the daughter of Eliza Sharples. She died in the United States on January 21, 1913, in her seventy-eighth year.

At the time of her death, Theophila was the last surviving child of Richard Carlile. On the death of their mother, Eliza Sharples ("Isis"), the children of Carlile's second union went to the United States. The elder daughter, Hypathia, married, was widowed, and died in extreme poverty in Chicago somewhere about 1880. Theophila married Colin M. Campbell, one of the first and most formidable of Bradlaugh's disputants in Bonner's Fields, in 1848. Colin Campbell lived to the age of ninety, mentally clear and vigorous to the end. He died in Chicago on April 13, 1906. Theophila survived him nearly seven years, but was over twenty years his junior. She left a daughter, Mrs. Theophilus Campbell Bassett, who cherished the memory of her mother's family. The Bassett family should possess some Carlile correspondence, records and manuscripts.

Mrs. Campbell's "life" of her father was published in 1899, under the title of "The Battle of The Press." We quoted this "life" in chapter XXVI. of our Carlile biography (1941 revised and enlarged edition). We criticised it in our 1912 edition. Whilst holding to the criticism, we thought that it was unnecessary to embody it in the later edition. We intend to review the "lives" of Carlile in a separate essay.

Her brother, Julian, was killed in the American Civil War. He was born in 1834 and was three years older than Theophila.

In our journal, *The Commune*, for September, 1928, we reprinted the speech made by James Watson, one of Carlile's colleagues or shopmen, at the Hall of the Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square, London, on January 23, 1854. A public tea was given to Watson on the occasion of his retirement from Radical bookselling. In the speech, Watson recounted the story of his own life and of Richard Carlile's struggle for the freedom of the press.

The day after the meeting Watson received a letter addressed to him from Liverpool as follows:—

Liverpool, January 23, 1854.

My Dear Watson,—Here am I in Liverpool, and after travelling by sea and land a month, to have the pleasure of seeing you, of dropping in at some Paine celebration, where you might be presiding, I learn from the "Reasoner" that a party is to be given to yourself this night, at which trains and time alike forbid my being present. It is inexpressibly annoying, but "suffering is the badge of all our tribe." I shall arrive soon after this.

Ever yours affectionately,

RICHARD CARLILE.

This letter was from Richard Carlile's eldest son, who had been present at the burial of his father at Kensal Green cemetery, London, in February, 1843. Three years later he emigrated to America and settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he became a member of the legislature. He had moved the adjournment of the House of Representatives in 1853, on the anniversary of Paine's birthday, to call attention to Thomas Paine's services to the cause of human freedom, and had organised a local dinner in memory of Paine, at which 600 persons had participated.

On February 12, 1854, a dinner was given to Richard Carlile the younger at the Hall of Science, City Road, London, at which 40 leading Free-thinkers were present. At night, a packed public meeting was held and a public presentation made to Carlile. James Watson presided.

After Watson had told of his intimate association with the guest and the guest's father—he had known the guest of the evening from childhood—Robert Blond paid a tribute to the memory of Richard Carlile senior, and proposed the toast: *Reformers, Political and Religious, throughout the world.*

G. J. Holyoake said that the London Secular Society had convened the gathering to pay a tribute to the memory of Richard Carlile, and a deserved compliment to his son. He eulogised Carlile for having "taught freethinking audacity"; without which a freethinking party could never have been built up. But his speech suggested that such audacity was needed no longer.

Holyoake continued:—

The first cup of tea I took in London was in the parlour below with Richard Carlile; and the first discussion I held in London was on this platform and with himself. On my trial he stood by my side, and my first provisions in prison were brought by his hands. When I was again at liberty, he had been two months in his grave; and it is no small pleasure to me to be able, this night, to offer to his son the thanks I owe to his father.

Holyoake presented the address, worded:—

ADDRESS BY THE LONDON SECULAR SOCIETY TO RICHARD CARLILE,

Of Wisconsin, U.S.A., on his visit to England. Presented at the Hall of Science, City Road, February 12, 1854.

The people of Scotland entertained the sons of Burns, not because they had written "Tam O'Shanter, but because their father had! nor do we think it necessary that you should have reproduced your father's career to be entitled to public respect. We honour you for your father's sake. "The good men do" should not "be interred with their bones"—the services of those who suffer in the public cause

should be a heritage to their children. We are gratified at the useful cause you have pursued in America, and you drew the attention of the legislature of Wisconsin to the honour due to our countryman, Paine, to whom Republican America owes so much and acknowledges so little. Your father nobly vindicated Paine, his political and religious works. Your father, by his impassable courage, legalised Free Discussion among the English people; and we pray you to accept this address, and carry back to Wisconsin this testimony of the esteem in which his services are held in England.

This was signed by the chairman, the speakers at the meeting, and the Committee of the London Secular Society.

Richard Carlile replied. He was received warmly. He expressed thanks in the name of his father. He had shared many of the consequences of his father's devoted career, but he honoured his father's memory for that very spirit of public devotion. None of the privations his father suffered in prison were equal to those he suffered in poverty. His father had friends, but they were of no use to him in his struggle. Had his father been the Bank of England, his means would have been insufficient to his purpose. His father would have flooded the country with the *Age of Reason* and the *Rights of Man*.

After an absence of eight years, he found little improvement in England. There were no more Halls of Science. Thought was stagnating. For himself, he would sweep the Bible away. In America, only the religious had defended slavery, and they had done so from the Bible. The address presented to him would hang on his walls at Milwaukee.

Other speakers included Richard Moore, C. F. Nicholls, James Cross, and J. P. Adams, Hon. Secretary, London Secular Society.

The following day, Holyoake approached Richard Carlile for a written report of his speech. Carlile, whose manner suggested distance, and contrasted sharply with his regard for James Watson, replied that he spoke without notes. This reply was dated February, 15, 1854, and put Holyoake in his place. It eulogised American Institutions and expressed the younger Carlile's determination to end his days in America, "*under institutions not likely to exist in England in my time.*"

He was right.

Carlile was given presents of books to be taken back from England to Horace Greely, Lloyd Garrison, Joseph Barker, Dr. Frederick Hollick, and others.

Before leaving London he was ill with asthma. *The Reasoner*, edited by Holyoake, and described as "the Gazette of Secularism," had reported Carlile's arrival in England, the dinner to him, and his declaration of American citizenship. In its issue for Sunday, June 11, 1854, it published an account of his death.

Taken ill during the voyage, he was so ill when the ship reached New York that the captain had him removed to Staten Island Hospital, where he died the same day. His widow did not learn of his fate until a month after his burial.

During his illness en voyage Carlile's boxes had been broken into and plundered. His small farm in Milwaukee was mortaged, but the bond was cleared by an American Freethinker, named Harris.

Richard Carlile the younger left seven children, three boys, aged 18, 16 and 13 respectively; four girls, who were younger.

Some descendants of these children should be living in America. It should be possible for our American comrades to trace records of the activities of Richard Carlile of Milwaukee, and perhaps throw more light on the activity of Richard Carlile, of Ashburton and London, of glorious Free-thought and Republican memory. There must be some records in Milwaukee.

Richard Carlile the younger was the eldest of Carlile's six children. He was the son of Jane Carlile and his two younger brothers were Alfred and Thomas Paine Carlile. Julian Carlile was his half-brother and Theophila and Hypatia Carlile his half-sisters.

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(*Continued from Vol. V., No. 9, page* 104.)

Fox contributed to the *Monthly Repository* for many years, and edited it from 1831 to 1836. This journal contains a more complete history of the progress of English thought and reform than any other paper published during the same period.

Fox helped Mill found *The Westminster Review*, and drew around him a fine literary circle, which included Hazlitt, Douglas Jerrold, and Leight Hunt. He gave the first welcome to the Martineaus. Harriet has been mentioned, but his relations with James have not been touched upon.

James Martineau was a fellow-citizen of Norwich. Early in 1831, Fox visited Martineau in Dublin and preached before the newly formed Unitarian Association there. Fox "dedicated" Martineau's eldest son, Russell, afterwards the distinguished Hebraist of the British Museum. In October, 1831, Martineau was invited to succeed the Rev. P. Taylor in Eustace Street Chapel, Dublin, but refused on a matter of principle connected with the State. His admirable letter of resignation was accepted on November 13, 1831, and published by Fox a month later in the *Monthly Repository*. Martineau visited Fox at Dalston, and preached in South Place. Fox asked him to settle in London and become head of the Stamford Street Congregation. But Hope Street, Liverpool, invited Martineau, and he went to Liverpool. Martineau contributed to the *Monthly Repository* so long as Fox was editor.

South Place was a true pioneer Humanist Society. It was the first religious society to petition against the wrongs of deists, the death penalty for theft, the oppression of woman, and to insist on the national education of both sexes. At the Society's dinner at the London Tavern, on February 6, 1833, Fox, as chairman, with the poet Campbell at his side, proposed the toast which was the motto of the Society: *Civil and Religious Liberty*!

Fox looked back over the seventeen years he had proposed the Toast, and described the persecution of Richard Carlile, the Manchester Massacre, the Six Acts, the French revolutionary struggle, and the Society's sympathetic attitude towards America. He concluded:—

"You will remember how often her sons have mixed with us at these social meetings, and how often we have found delight in contemplating that noble country, with her broad rivers, her rich and yet uncultivated plains, her cities ever and anon springing up in her desert wilds—with the horn of plenty in her hand, and the olive of peace on her brow, and crown and mitres under her feet. With feelings the most expansive to all our fellow-creatures, and the most firm as regards our own principles, let us drink, 'Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over!'"

In 1833 Fox ceased to administer the sacrament, and the trustees of Dr. Williams' Trust took back the communion plate they had lent to South Place. Men who give others their own flesh and blood to eat, and the recipients of such communion, find sacraments turned into fossils—not bread, but stone. He desired to preserve the sentiment of old observances; for christening, he substituted "dedication", and for the communion proposed a friendly supper.

In 1834, Fox offered to resign. His resignation was not accepted. In accepting the refusal, Fox delivered a sermon, on September 22, 1834, defining his concept of the power of the pulpit.

"When, more than seventeen years ago, I became the minister of Parliament Court Chapel, where this congregation then assembled, the only confession of faith which was received or required from me was a declaration of belief in the duty of free inquiry and the rights of Religious Liberty. That declaration ought not to be restricted to investigation and profession of theological doctrine. Pulpit instruction, to attain any power of usefulness, must extend to topics of far greater practical importance than the articles of any creed. We must carry into moral questions, into civil and political life, into the investigation of institutions and manners, the same fearlessness and frankness, and the same reference to great principles and ultimate purposes, that are requisite in theology, even though they entail a repetition with aggravations of the same results, in the imputation of bad motives or bad tendencies, the aspersions of character or conduct, and the interruption of that peace which is never advantageously preserved when it obstructs freedom of thought and speech, the promulgation of truth, and the progress of individual or social reformation.

(To be concluded.)

PARLIAMENTARY PAEAN.

Some talk of Alexander,
And some of Winston C.,
Of Morrison and Bevin,
Miss Ellen or Attlee;
But we make NO distinctions,
We're proud of all of us.
Comparisons, we reckon,
Might well prove odious.

We listen to our speeches,
We clap the things we say;
Revenge and Retribution,
Bomb, burn, destroy and slay!
No peace, no rest, no pity!
"Loud cheers," reports the Press,
While several Christian Bishops
Our fiery phrases bless.

Of course, we sometimes bicker,
Or even disagree,
To show we know the meaning
Of true democracy;
But on the major issue
We sing in unison—
Let violence outdo violence
Until our war is won!

The Leader of our leaders
We (most of us) revere.
Each word that slips between his lips
Is music to our ear.
The lovely things he offered;
Blood, tears and toil and sweat,
They made us shriek with pleasure—
Our cheers are ringing yet.

The voice that breathes from Eden
Helps all of us a lot.
At well appointed moments
He keeps our hatred hot
With dreadful horror stories
Of war engendered crimes.
We wallow in our fury,
These ARE exciting times!

That gentle airman, Harris,
Is close held to our heart.
His policy of bombing
Has raised the kindly art
Of blind and bloody slaughter
Up to the n'nth degree.
If Carnage is God's Daughter,
Then what must Harris be?

Alas, we are not perfect,
We have our secret shames,
R.D., J.M., and other
Unmentionable names,
Who deprecate the killing,
The wreckage and the rot;
Who stand up for the conchies—
That vile, peace-loving lot!

Who ask us awkward questions
About our noble aims,
Condemn our ruthless methods,
And call our war rude names;
Who will not even join us
In the mighty cry we raise—
"Unconditional Surrender!"
That magic, lovely phrase!

But these are few in number,
And easily withstood.
In general, as Crusaders
We think we're pretty good.
So we make no distinctions,
We know we're all all right.
Then carry on the killing,
Continue with the fight!

IVAN BEUTTLER.

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KROPOTKIN AND WAR

By L. PERNO

As one who rejects the law of violence, root and branch, I was somewhat timid in denouncing Peter Kropotkin (whom I had the pleasure of knowing personally) as a militarist, in spite of the fact that I had a letter from him in which he expressed himself definitely in favour of war with Germany in 1915. Together with the rest I admired his lucid theoretical views condemning Militarism, State, Capitalism, exploitation, and War, and, in consequence, felt somewhat hesitant to open my mouth in condemning him for his approval of the war with Germany. After all, contradictory views are regarded everywhere as a normal occurrence, and one might easily look like a little dog trying to drive a big elephant off his set course—it would only annoy him and amuse the public. The logic of non-resistance (or non-violence) has never been popular, and it appeared to me at the time that if an attempt was made to measure the activities of a great revolutionary writer, such as Kropotkin, by such a standard, it might even appear ludicrous. So I decided to keep my thoughts to myself. Readers of *The Word* can imagine, therefore, how glad I was to find in the August issue an editorial dealing with Kropotkin's militarism. This article has inspired me to express my agreement with the effort of those who wish to keep militarist ideas out of bounds for human affairs.

In May 1915 I wrote a short article about Edward Carpenter, the worthy successor of John Ruskin, pointing out his militarist tendencies in relation to the war against Germany. A copy of this article was sent to Kropotkin. I had heard about his war-mindedness in a roundabout way and was anxious to hear direct from him what views he held on this vital matter.

Below is a translation of Kropotkin's letter, which he wrote to me after perusing the article :

9 Chesham Street, Brighton,
18th June, 1915.

I read carefully your article on Carpenter, but I hesitate to write about it. Our points of departure are so fundamentally different. I shall, however, say one thing.

In my opinion, if you believe that all men are brothers—nay, more than brothers—a whole, of which you are a part—then no act of violence will leave you indifferent; you will define the aggressor and struggle against him by word and deed. Such has always been my attitude.

Tolstoy would have said: One should not resist violence by violence, since every act of violence breeds new violence. That is "his" interpretation of history. History taught me a different lesson.

Carpenter is a man of the world. Wherever he sees violence committed, he responds to it in kind. And such a person could not remain a passive observer of violence committed by Germany (the State "and the people") against the Belgian and French "peoples." He could not remain "neutral," that is to say, in essence, a supporter of this violence.

People who consider themselves the enemies of violence have no right to reproach him for this. Whenever violence is committed, they, more than anyone else, should decide "who is the aggressor," and open activities against him by word and deed. Had the religious people always regarded this as their sacred duty and acted accordingly (as did the knights of the Holy Grail in the folk lore), there would have been less violence in the world, and we should not have to wait for bloody insurrections of the masses to terminate the oppression of man by man.

This point of view, I believe, explains also Carpenter's point of view.

I should have liked to write more fully about it, but am not feeling so well again.

With a firm hand-shake,

P. KROPOTKIN.

This letter calls for some comments.

Tolstoy did not derive his point of view from any particular "interpretation of history." On the contrary, his point of view was a religious-philosophical one, and it would make no difference whether history contradicted it or not. The course of history is nothing but the sequence of events in their chronological order, and we know quite well from our own experience how little these accord with the moral law, or how little influence the manifestation of the moral law in man has had upon the course of events in the past. Nevertheless, the real progress and well-being of mankind depends upon ever greater conscious application of the moral law. Tolstoy's eyes were always fixed on what ought to be, not on what is, or was.

It is remarkable how easily the contradiction involved in Kropotkin's reasoning escapes his attention. He desires that the emancipation of man should not depend exclusively upon bloody insurrections of the masses, and yet he advocates violence, i.e., bloody insurrection, i.e., war, as the only effective remedy. For it was against *this* remedy that I was arguing in my article on Edward Carpenter, which I sent to Kropotkin for his perusal, and which he regarded as ineffective because it excluded violence.

In the appendix to his book "The Healing of Nations" Carpenter quoted a few "Letters from the Front (from the daily Press)," dated Christmas 1914. In these letters, both the Germans and the English appeared in their true light. Here is the first of these letters :

Last night (Christmas Eve) was the weirdest stunt I have ever seen. All day the Germans had been sniping industriously, with some success, but after sunset they started singing, and we replied with carols. Then they shouted, "Happy Christmas!" to us, and some of us replied in German. It was a topping moonlight night, and we carried on long conversations, and kept singing to each other and cheering. Later they asked us to send one man out to the middle, between the trenches, with a cake, and they would give us a bottle of wine.

Hunt went out, and five of them came out and gave him the wine, cigarettes and cigars. After that you could hear them for a long time calling from halfway, "Engleeshman, kom hier." So one or two more of our chaps went out and exchanged cigarettes, etc., and they all seemed decent fellows.

There were altogether six such letters, all very good, and all revealing one peculiar feature, namely, that the Germans were the first to initiate fraternisation. The British, on the other hand, seemed to be the first to issue a command to the effect that "all communications and friendly intercourse must cease." Those who decided that the "Germans" were the aggressors, naturally must have thought it necessary to pull up the fraternising units before the thing went too far and the effect of hypnotism lost its power over good people.

And yet it was Carpenter himself who spoke of the German "mass-people" (I don't quite like the term) as being "kindly, studious, sociable, rather naively innocent," and of Britain that she

had laid land to land and market to market over the globe, and showed no particular scruple in the matter. Why should not Germans—he said—do the same? It was true that Britain always carried the Bible with her—but this was mere British cant. Britain carried the Bible in her left hand, but in her right a sword; and when she used the latter she always let the former drop. Germany could do likewise—but without that odious pretence of morality, and those crocodile tears over the unfortunate whom she devoured. It was only a question of Might and Organisation and Armament.

About these "kindly, studious, sociable, rather naively innocent" mass-Germans, Carpenter said that they were

"dragged by the scruff of the neck into the arena of militarism and world politics."

About the British, on the other hand, he said : **"A free people will not fight for the trumped-up schemes and selfish machinations of a class—not, unless they are grossly deceived by Press and Class plots."**

I, for one, am unable to see why those who were dragged to the battlefield by the scruff of the neck should have greater responsibility for the war than those who were brought there blindfolded by the deceptive Press and Class plots.

It is truly astounding that such good and highly gifted people as were Carpenter and Kropotkin, instead of declaring themselves on the side of the people (or mass-people, according to Carpenter), should have declared themselves on the side of the war, that colossal violence and deception, necessary only for narrow-minded, unscrupulous politicians, adventurers, capitalists, or State-Socialists haunted by the idea of World Revolution.

When during the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Tolstoy was asked on whose side he was, he replied :

"On neither side, but on the side of the deceived and oppressed working people of both sides."

Indeed, the weak submission of the leaders of the working-classes to the sway of the war-fever artificially created in the laboratories of the Press, Parliament, and Broadcasting House, is a far greater impediment to the emancipation of the people than the actual carnage itself. Wounds will heal, the dead will be buried, and the damage repaired, but unless the leaders, chosen or self-appointed, see the daylight and resist the fever, the calamity will come again and again.

There is but one way out, and that is for the working people to drop their leaders altogether and follow their own good common sense. They will then find that their true friends were there long ago patiently waiting for them to take this obvious step.

"TIME BRINGS MANY CHANGES"

Under this excellent caption, our comrade, the Rev. J. F. Gerrard, B.A., Vicar of St. Thomas's Church, Wigan, publishes the following editorial commentary in his *Parish Magazine* for August, 1944 :—

Wars will only cease, says Keir Hardie, when the ordinary man refuses to obey the commands of his rulers to murder his fellowman. Left to themselves, men everywhere would seldom resort to murder, so governments spend millions of money on propaganda to whip up the blood-lust and keep it at fever heat. Propaganda has been described as "Pigs' Meat for the Swinish Multitude." Like the present pork rations it can be had off points and in any quantity. Lies, distortions, misrepresentations, are all gist to the propaganda mill, and they are poured forth in an endless stream in speeches, books and wireless talks. The chief weapon of propaganda, used by all countries alike, is the representing of the war they are engaged on as a "holy righteous cause." A study of history books will show that every war has been a "just war"——— for that country which produced the book. But, unfortunately for themselves, the war politicians have not always been consistent in their utterances on war and its causes, and it is interesting and illuminating to disinter some of their speeches from the oblivion in which, we feel sure, they hoped they were buried. We append two gems culled from the writings and speeches of the two most prominent men in the government. The first appeared in "The Labour Leader" for September 3rd, 1914, by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, and the second is from a speech of the Prime Minister in 1938.

YOUR KING AND COUNTRY NEED YOU
By Herbert Morrison.

"Your King and Country Need You! Need hundreds of thousands of you to go to hell and to do the work of hell. The Commandment says: "Thou shalt not kill." Pooh! What does it matter? Commandments, like treaties, were made to be broken. Ask your parson, he will explain. Your King and Country need you! Go forth, little soldier! Though you know not what you fight for, go forth. Though you have no grievance against your German brother—go forth and kill him! Though you may know he has a wife and family dependent upon him—go forth and slay him, he is only a German dog. Will he not kill you if he gets a chance? Of course he will. He is being told the same story! His King and Country Needs Him!"

"I have always said," declared Mr. Churchill "that if Great Britain were defeated in a war, I hoped that we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations. The story of Hitler's struggle cannot be read without admiration for the courage, the perseverance, and the vital force which enabled him to challenge, defy, conciliate, or overcome all the authorities or resistance which barred his path."

After this, comment would be superfluous.

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WAR AND THE STUDY CIRCLE

Thomas Johnston's Anti-War Speeches Recalled.

Glasgow Socialists for some years past have been familiar with the weekly lecture announcements of the Glasgow Study Circle. The announcement of speaker and subject is preceded with a statement of the aims of the organisation as follows:—

STUDY CIRCLE

(Founded by Robert Shanks)

For the discussion of the Principles and Problems of National and International Life in the light of the Teaching of Jesus.

Meets every Sunday Morning at 11.15 at 100 West Regent Street, Glasgow.

On October 8, our Comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., addresses the Study Circle. In the afternoon he speaks with us at the Cosmo Picture House. In view of his uncompromising pacifism, we hope that Rhys Davies will remind the Study Circle of the hypocrisy that is associated with the activities of organisations of this description, owing to their ultra respectability. The Study Circle offers us an outstanding example of ineptitude and humbug in this matter.

Readers of these columns will have noted our reproductions of the writings of Thomas Johnston, now Rt. Hon. and War-time Secretary of State for Scotland, culled from the "Forward" during the last war, or his pamphlets. Also the reproduction of his crude pictorial attack on the monarchy with which he now consorts so proudly. Crudely attacking the monarchy yesterday and joyfully consorting with it to-day is a mild offence compared to his war charlatanism. For war means a direct toll of human sacrifice.

Johnston's path to office in these days of war was made possible by the false publicity given to him during the interlude of peace by organisations like the Study Circle.

We reproduce the following report from the "Glasgow Herald," for Thursday, December 19, 1932:—

FRENCH PACIFIST FILM SHOWN IN GLASGOW

"We must, if we are to be safe, visualise a world state, a world legislature in terms of a world mind." This statement was made by Mr. Thomas Johnston last night when he addressed a crowded audience in the Regal Picture House, Glasgow, at a meeting held under the auspices of The Study Circle.

Following Mr. Johnston's address, the French Pacifist Picture "War is Hell" was shown for the first time publicly in Scotland. The picture graphically depicts the destructiveness of war and the unhappiness which enters into the lives even of non-combatants, and deals in a vividly interesting way with a friendship formed in No Man's Land between five soldiers of different nations. Mr. William Niven presided at the meeting.

GAS MASK TRAINING

Mr. Johnston in the course of his address produced a gas mask, which he asked the chairman to put on, and observed that that was the kind of mask that was being handed out to civil populations in the Near East. Workmen, he said, had to stop their work when a whistle blew and put on such masks. After twelve years—after the Treaty of Peace, the Locarno Pact, the Kellog Pact—it had come to this that in Great Britain the Red Cross Society could suggest nothing more than that the civil population should be handed these infernal masks at £1 each. That was the only method which was suggested to save us from utter annihilation.

"You cannot save your babies with this, and you cannot train infants in the use of gas masks. Mr. Baldwin was perfectly correct when he said in the House of Commons that in the event of another war the children and the weaklings would go first, and I put it to you that so far as the Committee of Imperial Defence knows,, so far as our scientists know, if you permit war to break out again the children of the belligerent nations must eventually die."

A WORLD PEACE

There were two views about war. One was that it might be made slightly less ferocious, slightly less hellish—that resolutions should be passed at Geneva declaring that in future wars people were not to be killed with anything above 8.6 inch guns. The other view was that war being indeed a great, crazy, useless and costly bestiality, mankind, out of sheer terror, should declare its outlawry under all circumstances and for all purposes. They must, if they were to be safe, visualise a world state, a world legislature in terms of a world mind. They must, for a beginning, have a world police supplanting the national armies, navies and air forces

Some of the folk who listen to Rhys Davies will have been present at the Regal Picture House when the Study Circle exhibited, for the first time in Scotland, the French film, "War is Hell." They will have applauded Tom Johnston's address and felt smugly satisfied that they were forwarding world peace. All that they were doing was this: they were forwarding the, to the common people, quite useless career of Thomas Johnston and paving the way to the hell of the second World War.

Outside the picture house some of our comrades were circulating the second edition, then recently issued, of our booklet "At Grips With War." The promoters of the meeting showed no friendliness to this activity. On the contrary they were opposed. Had it been suggested by some of their members that we, having suffered so much imprisonment for resisting militarism and also for attacking Imperialism, ought to have been invited to speak to the film, they would have been horrified. We were an atheist! Enough to make every member of the Study Circle shudder. That we were an anti-militarist did not matter. Once upon a time the Christians made every respectable Roman citizen shudder. But then they **were** anti-militarists and actually opposed war. Like them we oppose war—consistently and persistently. And we utter terse, unkind thoughts about militarism. When we pledge our resistance to war, we mean what we say. So disturbing! Especially if you live in the suburbs!

One, Jesus of Nazareth, was a disturbing person also, in his day. We wonder if the Study Circle really has any time for his teaching; or if it is only a conventional, pseudo-cultural, waste-the-Sunday institution.

It was very pleasant for the public who saw the film, "War is Hell." It was very nice to hear Thomas Johnston's attacks on Gas Mask drill in 1932. But what did he do about it? And what did his attitude become in 1939? And the Study Circle members did what—applauded in 1932 and supported conscripting politicians in 1939?

Has it discussed the problem of war in the light of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth? If so, will its secretary tell us, that the militarist political advancement in Coalition Cabinets is the result of such discussion? Are we to believe that individual moral ineptitude follows naturally from such discussion.

War is Hell! Thomas Johnston parades his views before the Study Circle! What irony! What deceit! What studied callousness!

DUKE OF BEDFORD URGES MONETARY REFORM.

The Duke of Bedford, speaking at a public meeting in the Central Halls, Edinburgh, last night, said that Socialism, so far as he had seen it, was not the remedy for the world's troubles, but he was open to be convinced. Certainly the country needed some sort of monetary reform, and this should be the first problem to be tackled in the post-war period.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Edinburgh No Conscription Committee. The Rev. Dr. Hector Macpherson presided.

—*Glasgow Herald*, Friday, September 8, 1944.

We were present at this meeting and made a full note of the speeches. These will be published later. Gordon Stott was the other speaker. Both speakers spoke forcibly. The Duke of Bedford, replying to questions, pointed out that he did not urge monetary reform as a substitute for Socialism. He did think that it was an imperative step in social change and ought to have its place as a first plank on the Socialist platform.

COMMUNISM

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JEAN VALJEAN, 18B.

All Socialists have been moved by Victor Hugo's immortal story of Jean Valjean. Have we not wept at the account of his terrible sufferings and then been raised to wrath at the fact of his yellow passport.

"See here!" said Valjean to the good bishop without waiting for him to speak. "My name is Jean Valjean. I am a convict. I have been nineteen years in the galleys. Four days ago I was set free, and started for Pontadier, which is my destination; during those four days I have walked from Toulon. To-day I have walked twelve leagues. When I reached this place this evening I went to an inn, and they sent me away because of my yellow passport, which I had shown at the Mayor's office, as was necessary. I went to another inn; they said: 'Get out.' It was the same with one as with another; nobody would have me. I went to the prison and the turnkey would not let me in."

A little later, Valjean shows the passport:—

He drew from his pocket a large sheet of yellow paper, which he unfolded. "This is my passport, yellow as you see. That is enough to have me kicked out wherever I go . . . See, here, here is what they have put in the passport: 'Jean Valjean, a liberated convict, native of——,' you don't care for that, 'has been nineteen years in the galleys; five years for burglary; fourteen years for having attempted four times to escape. This man is very dangerous.'"

The time of this incident was 1815. The yellow passport was a fact. Hugo immortalised the horror of it. The conviction and imprisonment of Jean Valjean, his treatment in the galleys, were infamies. But he was convicted, however wrongly.

Just after our last issue was published, with our plea for the release from prison of Alberto Pacitti and Gino Bertolini, they were released conditionally. Each has his identity card marked in red ink "18B," with other details. Bertolini has his employment card marked "18B" and a long screed in red about not being employed without state consent. The Aliens' Act restrictions are applied to these young men, born in Glasgow. Other ex-18B's—soldiers in the last war—have been to us, exhibiting their cards. They also are under aliens' restrictions, British born, British descent though they are, and never out of Britain except to fight for the country, as the saying says, which means its financiers and ruling class.

The 18B'ers have never been charged and so never convicted. But they are red-inked as "dangerous men"! What progress! 1815, the yellow passport! 1944, the red-inked identity card and employment card! From yellow to red—progress!

We repeat our demand for the unconditional release of Alberto Pacitti and Gino Bertolini and all ex-18B'ers.

At the present moment, these people are free. But they cannot get work. They cannot discharge their responsibilities. They cannot live. Who is going to help them? What are they to do? They are the Jean Valjeans of 1944.

LOVE'S WAY.

Judas, for silver pieces, sold
His Saviour, Master, Lord;
But we betray Him too, for gold,
And slay with bomb and sword.

How can we ever hope to find
A Heaven here below
Unless we always bear in mind
The Way His love did show?

He hung upon a cross of shame,
Dying that we might live
And on His lips no word of blame,
He'd naught but love to give.

"Father, forgive them, for" He cried
"They know not what they do!"
Was ever soul so sorely tried?
Was ever love so true?

Let us, then, try to live in peace
And stop these cruel wars,
For surely one day they will cease
If we obey God's laws.

ARTHUR POINTER.

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I.L.P. "CONCHIE" MAGISTRATE

The following news item is culled from the *Evening Times* for Friday, May 19, 1944 :—

2 LEFT WORK EARLY: FINED

For leaving their work in a shipyard earlier than usual and thereby defrauding the firm of 1s. 3d. two men were fined one guinea each at Govan Police Court to-day, with the alternative of 14 days' imprisonment.

I understand that when men are fined for an offence such as this there is a whip-round among their workmates to pay the fine," said the Fiscal.

The fined men were William Stewart (19) of Hinshaw Street, Glasgow, and Joseph Borg (19), 78 Millbank Street, Glasgow, both apprentice sheet metal workers.

"Left on Their Honour."

The men were seen by plain-clothes police leaving by an adjoining sewerage work. Stewart was arrested and Borg made off.

In passing sentence Bailie Myer Galpern said—"There have been quite a number of cases on similar lines before me. Is it lack of proper supervision?"

The Fiscal—The men work on different parts of a ship and proper supervision is impossible. The men are left on their honour.

Myer Galpern is a member of the I.L.P. It is quite possible that the actual offence was much exaggerated. *And the men were engaged on war work.* That fact explains the prosecution. Note, however, the strong capitalist-society awed tones employed by this Socialist bailie, and then see the same bailie pleading for exemption as a conscientious objector from military service.

The following report is from the *Glasgow Herald* for May 15, 1942—just two years before :—

GLASGOW COUNCILLOR AS OBJECTOR

Conditional Registration.

Claiming exemption from military service on moral and pacifist grounds, before a Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in the Justiciary Buildings, Glasgow, yesterday, Councillor Myer Galpern was conditionally registered as a conscientious objector, with the provision that he should take up agricultural, forestry, or land reclamation work.

Councillor Galpern, who represents the Shettleston and Tollcross Ward in Glasgow Corporation as an I.L.P. member, declined to take the oath, explaining that he had no religion. "My objections are that I will not do anything that will assist in the prosecution of the war, but will perform work under civil control," he stated.

When asked by the chairman, Mr. J. M. Hunter, K.C., if he drank tea, he replied that he did.

Mr. Hunter—Tea is not a necessity, and do you realise that it is heavily taxed? I should have thought you would have refrained from drinking tea, as the taxation being raised at present is used for the production of munitions.

Councillor Galpern—I had never thought of that before. I will give up drinking tea.

Persons with moral objections, he said, should in no way aid the war effort. He later stated, in reply to a question by the chairman, "I regard war as a crime against humanity. There is no security based on military preparedness."

Bailie James Carmichael supported Councillor Galpern's statements, and said—"I have known him for 15 years and I think from his discussions with me privately, politically and otherwise that he holds very strong pacifist views."

Note his plea :—

Persons with moral objections, he said, should in no way aid the war effort.

If this was true on May 14, 1942, it remained true on May 19, 1944. Then what was Myer Galpern, *who pledged himself to give up drinking tea because it aided the war effort*—a ridiculous and whining agreement having no relation to truth—doing in presiding over a war prosecution and sending two workers to prison for not doing war-work to the last ounce of efficiency? What have James Maxton and John M'Govern to say about such conduct? What has the C.B.C.O. and the I.L.P. War Resisters to say to this Socialist C.O. turned magistrate?

Let them look at the facts. The workmates have a whip-round to pay the fine! Why? Because the fine is resented. The suggestion of defrauding the employers—as though employers never defrauded their workers, especially on time items, on occasion, and especially in big impersonal works, where there is no direct personal contact between an employer and his workers—is so much camouflage to cover the fact that this is a Ministry of Labour prosecution, and that the real issue is one of totalitarian industrial conscription.

The Glasgow. *Evening Times* for Wednesday, August 16, 1944, published the following news-item :—

Sheriff's Comment.

"PROSECUTIONS ARE ABSURD"

Sheriff Substitute James Macdonald, K.C., was critical of the methods of the Ministry of Labour and National Service in two cases which were called before him in Edinburgh Sheriff Court this morning.

Two mineworkers from Rosewell, Midlothian, had pleaded guilty to charges of being late for work on eight different occasions.

The accumuative time on which the charges were based were trifling, and the Sheriff said that "the prosecutions are perfectly absurd."

When asked by the Deputy Procurator Fiscal if the accused were to be admonished, the Sheriff replied: "No admonitions at all. These cases should never have been brought. I dismiss the charges."

The *Evening Citizen*, Glasgow, same date, published a report from which we excerpt :—

SHERIFF SPEAKS HIS MIND

When two Rosewell pitworkers came before Sheriff Macdonald at Edinburgh Sheriff Court to-day admitting having been late at their work on eight occasions, the Sheriff dismissed both accused.

"The prosecution is perfectly preposterous," said the Sheriff.

The fiscal pointed out that the prosecutions were brought by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. They wanted them prosecuted.

The Glasgow Herald for Thursday, August 17, reported the case beneath the headings :—

LATE FOR WORK

Sheriff Dismisses Two Miners

Giving the same details as the reports quoted, but mentioning that the Depute Fiscal was Mr. J. Gibson, the *Herald* report concludes :—

Sheriff Macdonald said, "There is no justification for these prosecutions. They were only late one or two minutes. These are ridiculous prosecutions."

Mr. Gibson pointed out that the prosecutions were brought by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. "They wanted them prosecuted," he told the Sheriff.

It is clear that Sheriff-Substitute James MacDonald, K.C., was opposed to these prosecutions. It is clear that such proseceutions are instituted by the Ministry of Labour. We do not suppose that Sheriff MacDonald is a member of the I.L.P., and we shall be surprised if he should prove to be a conscientious objector. We do not believe that he has promised not to drink tea for the duration. But he seems to be able to stand against bureaucracy and to render a more wholesome verdict in these matters of national service than the I.L.P. conchie-non-tea-drinking bailie. What contrasts in justice and what a study in lick-spittle capitalist "Socialism!"

LINK WITH LISTER.

Some time ago we published a picture of The Strickland Press building, showing that it was situate in the slums of Glasgow. Few people realise that these premises are historic and linked with the great work of Lord Lister.

"City and Clyde," in the "Evening Times," Glasgow, for Friday, September 1, 1944, published the following paragraph on the subject :—

One of the very few remaining Glasgow men who have a link with the work of Lord Lister at the Royal Infirmary is Mr. Andrew Brown who to-day celebrates his 93rd birthday.

Hospital appliances used by the famous surgeon were made by Mr. Brown, whose shop was at 104 George Street until his retiral from business in 1939.

Quite recently Mr. Brown presented to the Corporation a Lister steam carbolic spray, which can be seen at the People's Palace, Glasgow Green.

Mr. Brown was born at 3 College Street, in the same building as the poet Motherwell.

One of Mr. Brown's vivid recollections is the day on which Dr. Pritchard was executed.

He was a pupil of Hutchesons' Hospital School at the time, and so great was the crowd congregated in Jail Square that he had to make a detour through Glasgow Green.

The Strickland Press took over the George Street premises from Mr. Brown in 1939. At that time Mr. Brown had worked in the George Street shop for over seventy years.

P. J. Dollan's Court Martial.

We have published full accounts in these columns of Sir Patrick Dollan's prosecutions, appeals, and prison experiences (*sic*) as a conchie, during the first World War. But we have not recorded his one and only Court-Martial.

Dollan was court-martialled at Hamilton Barracks on June 2, 1917. *The Tribunal*, organ of the No-Conscription Fellowship—which gave such scant reporting to our court-martials, imprisonments, and prison resistance—devoted great space to Dollan's court-martial in its issue for July 5, 1917 (No. 65). But Dollan belonged to the I.L.P.!

We reproduce the report :—

DOLLAN'S "C.M."

At his court-martial, which was held at Hamilton Barracks on June 2nd, P. J. Dollan, in his statement, laid chief emphasis upon the illegality of the charge against him.

He said that, believing in social service for the common good, he accepted from the Central Tribunal exemption on condition of finding work of national importance, and was endeavouring to comply when the Committee on Work of National importance notified him that no work, however essential it might be for the public welfare, would be allowed unless it was performed at least 50 miles from his home. Such proposal was no part of the Tribunal's decision, and its legality was being contested in the High Court of Justiciary. He pointed out that the deportation of citizens had been effected under powers conferred by the D.R. Acts—not the M.S. Acts. "Apparently," he said, "the Government is more anxious that I should remove 50 miles from Glasgow than that I should take up work of national importance. Otherwise, I would have been allowed to take up one or other of the five tasks which I offered to undertake in accordance with the decision of the Central Tribunal."

He maintained that his arrest was illegal, as he was in communication with the Central Tribunal on the date of his arrest. He had been arrested, he said, not because he did not comply with the Tribunal's decision, but because he "did not recognise an unsigned edict of deportation issued by a body which has no legal authority to issue such an edict, let alone to enforce it at law.

"it is somewhat inconsistent," he continued, "that the Government which protested against the deporatation of workmen from Belgium by the German Government should itself arrest British workmen who protest against deportation here."

Not a very heroic defence : and, of course, the High Court declined to uphold Dollan's argument. But it served its purpose and saved him from much punishment. The man who protested against Defence of the Realm Acts n 1917, said not a word in 1940-44 against the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the right of the citizen not to be detained or interned or jailed without charge and trial. What a study! What a pretty study in Socialism and in conscience!

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— by —

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SEED-TIME AND HARVEST

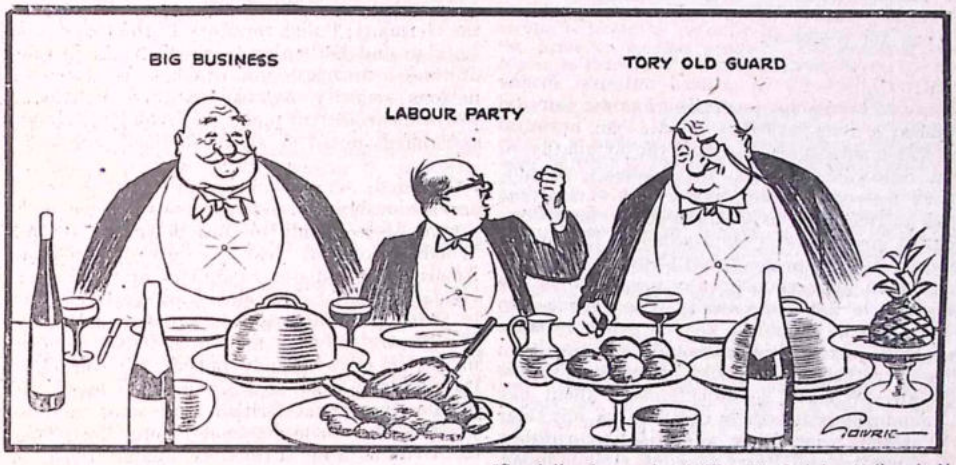
By Councillor Charles A. Earl

As I write in early September the harvesting of corn is practically finished, and the harvesting of fruit and vegetables is under way. It is not, however, of this kind of harvest that I want to write about just now, but before I go on to my main subject I would like to emphasise one or two points. Before the outbreak of the present war the agricultural worker was more badly treated than any other worker (except perhaps the miner), he sowed but others reaped. He sweated for a bare existence and others waxed fat on his labour, he was indeed a slave. However much he resented his low wages and long hours of work, he had no remedy; indeed in many instances his very home depended on his keeping his job. He lived in a tied cottage, and his family would be without a roof over their heads if he got the sack. The workhouse is not a homelike institution. Then came the war, and suddenly the agricultural worker found himself one of the most important and essential workers of the country. He found that the King and Country at last realised that they really needed him; up to now they had taken him for granted, and so long as their food was produced they didn't care two hoots what his conditions were like; but now, unless the fighting men and women, the munition workers, to say nothing of statesmen and kings, were fed, there could be no war, so they quickly began to make a fuss of the farm labourer. He was now a great patriot, and must be looked after; his wages must be increased; his housing improved; amenities must be provided, and so on. Now the tragedy of this is, that during all the bad times, the agricultural workers themselves were not completely organised in a trade union, and workers in other trades did not, generally speaking, regard the agricultural workers' troubles as their troubles, they did not live up to the old Socialist doctrine that "the concern of one is the concern of all," In other words, they forgot they were all brothers. Has this lesson now been learned?

1914-1918 World War. 1919-20 Treaty of Versailles. League of Nations 1921-1938. Wars in South America, China, and Abyssinia. Persistent opposition to Russian progress, the Arcos incident. Constant upheavals in Europe. Deliberate refusal by Great Britain and France to implement certain clauses in Versailles Treaty. Dawes Plan. Kellogg Pact. Locarno and Munich. 1939—2nd World War. That, comrades, is a brief account of the seed-time, with its unemployment, distressed areas, and starving millions, its destroying of foodstuffs, the refusal of men and nations to co-operate. The insistence on private profit and the hateful doctrine of every man for himself. Then began the harvest resultant upon the terrible sowing. Whole nations, including our own, turned into slaves, conscription everywhere. Our freedom was certainly in peril (our Tory masters frankly and boldly advertised this fact), but we did not defend it with all our might. We listened to newspaper and wireless propaganda, we did not know how to think for ourselves. We failed to realise as workers that it was the ruling classes that had brought this war upon us. That it was again to be a gigantic struggle between imperial and capitalist interests and that the common people of all lands were to be set against one another in order to protect and preserve those interests, and we allowed our freedom to be taken away from us. I say quite emphatically that 95 per cent. of the common people, the fighting men and women, the munition workers, civil defence, home guard and others, had not the foggiest idea what the trouble was all about. Why they should be expected to kill the common people of other countries, people whom they had never seen and who could not possibly have done them any harm. No, like sheep they allowed themselves to be driven to the slaughter without understanding why. Some of us know how difficult it was, during the years between the two wars, to get people interested in the affairs of their town and country, let alone in international affairs. They could not be persuaded to attend meetings or discussion groups, they could not be persuaded, many of them, to use their votes. Consequently when trouble came they were easy prey for the propaganda put out by the ruling classes, and it was the same in all countries. The bands played, the flags waved, we sang our "Rule Britannia," our "Star Spangled Banner," our "Watch on the Rhine," our "Marsellaise," and our "Internationale," and allowed ourselves to be blinded to the fact that we should have been shouting, "Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your lives and chains." We forgot, we workers of the world, that our interests were common interests. We forgot that the world was our country and that all men were brothers. We forgot that in between wars we profoundly distrusted the reactionary ruling classes; we forgot that for a very long time we had striven to throw them from off our backs, and so in our ignorant forgetfulness we permitted them to bind still more chains to our bodies and allowed them to compel us to give our very lives and homes, and all the things we value most, in order to preserve their vested interests.

1939-1944. The sowing during these past five years has been even more dreadful. We have seen the workers of the world busily destroying each other, blasting their homes and families. We have seen death and destruction dropped from the air by the workers on to the homes of their comrades, and it must be definitely realised that to a very great extent the ruling classes who make the wars are the ones who suffer the least. Royalty, Presidents, Dictators, and Statesmen do not live in the congested areas of the dockside or the factories. It is only the worker who is compelled to live there, and it is the worker and his home and family that gets bombed out of existence. Jack, Bob, and Tom have never met Hans, Carl, and Fritz; they have all got nice little wives and two or three kiddies, but one day their respective rulers say to them, "Go and kill each other," and for no other reason than that they proceed to their bloody work. What will the harvest be? The Atlantic charter is not to apply to our Indian and African comrades. Franco, the Spanish Civil War "hero," is commended by Churchill. Badoglio, who poisoned with gas our Abyssinian brothers, also receives the esteem of our rulers. Obsolete Kings and Queens, who in time of trouble left their peoples to shift for themselves, are to be reinstated, and private enterprise and exploitation of the workers is to be pursued with greater vigour than ever before. Atlantic Charter, White Papers, Beveridge, Uthwatt and other Reports, having served their purpose of temporarily giving the people something to distract their attention from the horrors of war, are pigeonholed, and now the common people of all lands have got to begin paying for all this wicked destruction. We have enthusiastically supported "Salute the Soldier" and other savings weeks; we have anticipated joyfully our post-war Income-tax credits; but have we stopped to realise that before we can get any interest or repayments, we have ourselves got to earn the money before it can be paid back to us? Did we fondly imagine that the Tory capitalists were going to pay us out of their ill-gotten gains? What a foolishly mistaken idea! No, the fact is that we shall be compelled not only to earn the money to repay ourselves, but also to pay the interest on the money lent by our capitalist rulers, and while we are doing this, and when all the excitement has died down, we shall recall with bitterness and sorrow the loss of dear ones, the broken bodies, the wrecked homes, and I hope we shall ask ourselves, "Why"! What has been

LABOUR IN TRAINING



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Cowrie."

LABOUR PARTY: "Make no mistake. We shall fight you tooth and nail as soon as we've finished with Hitler."

accomplished that will make such frightful and appalling sacrifices worth while? Comrades, are you again going to allow yourselves and your children to be bamboozled and betrayed by the ruling classes. Will you now take control for yourselves and see that the New World is a world of brotherhood and not of slavery? Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose, but everything to gain.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Certain recent speeches in Parliament, and events elsewhere, though mostly of a discouraging nature, are of sufficient importance to call for comment.

Mr. Gallacher's ill-natured outburst in the House of Commons, protesting against Captain Ramsay's long overdue release—an outburst in which apparently he had the sympathy of Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Pritt—shows us how much we could expect in the way of freedom and justice from a Communist or near-Communist government. Mr. Gallacher, it is worth noting, did not pretend that Captain Ramsay's continued imprisonment was necessary in the interests of national security. He appeared to think that he should be kept in prison because he was anti-Semitic, although anti-Semitism has never been declared an offence punishable at law. What is so objectionable about our Communists is not their Communism but their "Fascism," i.e. their addiction to ruthless bureaucratic and Party tyranny. Communists, also, more than any other group, seem to be committed to the satanic doctrine that the end justifies the means—a doctrine which, when put into practice, always, in the long run, produces failure, strife and misery, for it is the negation of Christianity and true morality. Other parties, it is true, commonly act as though the end justifies the means, but they are apt to do so in a shamefaced manner, seeking to excuse themselves, for their consciences, though moribund, are not wholly dead. Communists, however, are at times quite blatant about doing evil that good may come and their consciences on this issue do seem to be *completely* dead. E. Preobrazhenski, part-author of *The A.B.C. of Communism*, one of Lenin's personal friends, in *Morality and Class Standards*, says:—

"Whereas in a society in which there are no classes lying is a disadvantage in itself because it compels the members of the society to use their energy in discovering the truth, the case is quite different in a society based on class. In the struggle of an exploited class against their enemies, lying and deceit are often very important weapons; all the subterranean work of revolutionary organisations actually depends on overreaching the power of the State. The worker's state, surrounded as it is on all sides by hostile capitalist countries, finds lying very necessary and useful in its foreign policy. Therefore, the attitude of the working class and the Communist Party to the open recognition of the right to lie is quite different from that of the Western European Socialists, those God-fearing petit bourgeois, who are systematically deceived and treated as fools by the representatives of capital . . . The lie is a consequence of the oppression of one man by another, the result of the class and group war."

From this it is evident that under existing conditions lying is openly advocated as an instrument of policy, while even in the ideal Communist state it is only discouraged because it involves a waste of time and energy and not for the really valid reason that it destroys that trust and mutual respect which are essential to a happy human fellowship ow .

Mr. Churchill's reference to the fact that a great deal of blood is going to be shed in the next few months, Liberal, Conservative and Labour blood, emphasizes, once more, the utter callousness of this peculiar old man with regard to the sufferings even of his fellow-countrymen. I must say I do not envy him the time—which in the natural course of events cannot be far distant—when at last in that Hereafter in which, presumably, he does not believe, or tries to forget, he is compelled to face up to all the misery and evil which his policy of blood and still more blood has involved.

The Times recently contained a querulous leading article quoting the appeal of the Dutch minister who anticipates grave damage to Holland as a result of destruction to dams, etc., by the German armies covering their retreat. This damage, attributed to the peculiar malignity of Germans, can, according to the *Times*, only be prevented by an allied advance in Holland as rapid as that in France. A better way of saving Holland, one would have thought, would have been by a negotiated peace which restored Dutch territory undamaged to the Dutch; German territory to the Germans; Polish territory to the Poles; and Latvian and Esthonian territory to the peoples of those countries; and which secured for all nations security against military attack by world disarmament made effective by adequate safeguards based on rights of inspection.

Guarded, semi-official, vague, yet insistent and obviously inspired suggestions that we ought not to be too ready to turn down the Bretton Woods proposals lest we give offence to America are sinister reminders of the subservience of British Chancellors of the Exchequer to those financial interests which, via Bretton Woods, are so busily and so obviously engaged in setting up a tyranny outside the control of law and national governments, which will needlessly restrict British trade and increase poverty and unemployment among the people of Britain and ultimately among those of America as well.

On the other hand the rather critical reception given even in the government and Finance-controlled British Press to the brutal and unstatesmanlike proposals of Morgenthau for the post-war treatment of Germany, gives rise to some rather interesting speculations as to what game the British Cabinet is really playing.

Morgenthau—the author of the notorious post-war trade "plan"—a typical Big Finance ramp—proposes to:

"1. Divide the Reich into two States—North Germany and South Germany.

"2. Cede the Saar and certain Rhineland areas to France.

"3. Give the eastern areas of Poland, in accordance with Russia's wishes.

"4. Strip German steel plants to a fraction of their present capacity.

"5. Move excess industrial facilities to France and other lands ravaged by the Germans as a kind of reparation.

"6. Dismember the chemical industry.

"7. Remove synthetic oil works entirely, because they are essential to war industry.

"8. Close ore-producing mines.

"9. Divide large estates into small farms.

"10. Supervise education.

Churchill's vanity and Eden's schoolboy mentality which envisage the occupation of Germany as valuable to the maintenance of future peace, cannot, it seems, forego the aim of unconditional surrender notwithstanding the cost in British lives and the ultimate danger elsewhere. I should judge, however, that they are not entirely happy about future relations with Russia. Morgenthau is on the safe side of the Atlantic, but British Press Lords, financiers and leading Conservatives are not.

It would not surprise me, therefore, if the government's intention, in the event of victory, is to set up in Germany, under the administration of British officials, not a Morgenthau régime, but one fairly humane and enlightened. This might contrast favourably in the German mind with the brutal severity of the régime which may be imposed in those parts of Germany occupied by the Soviet and thus prepare for the enlistment of German aid in the event of a future conflict with Russia. That future conflict and the preparations therefore are soon likely to be the major problem with which lovers of peace will have to deal.

It is a difficult problem, very likely far more difficult than the German problem need ever have been, for we are dealing with a people less like ourselves in character and psychology and with one to whom we have considerably less to offer in the way of practical aid as evidence of our goodwill. We are also dealing with a people many of whose leaders have neither forgotten nor forgiven our hostility and censure in the days before the common war interest compelled a somewhat uneasy alliance. However, as I have said in other of my recent writings, we must not allow ourselves to become despondent. I do not like much of Stalin's policy and many of his methods as I might tell him quite frankly to his face if I were ever to meet him. I do not agree with his atheism in which, as a Communist, he may take an intellectual pride, but which in point of fact is no more than a blindness to the greatest and most important of all realities, as well as one of the most obvious. On the other hand he has probably been reared in a hard school; he may seldom or never have seen true Christianity in action; he has certainly never encountered honest statesmanship; he may be capable of responding to genuine friendliness; or he may at least possess sufficient common sense to realize that even for dictators wars are becoming a risky and unpleasant business and that a world without war may be more comfortable, more durable and more secure if the grievances that led to war can be removed. Even if Stalin should prove unapproachable he may have a more amenable successor, and behind the Russian rulers are the Russian people, kindly and reasonable in most cases if given a square deal and convinced of the reality of our desire for friendship.

The Government's compulsory social insurance plan that was so enthusiastically boosted in some of the papers may be summed up as a scheme for robbing Peter to pay Paul and robbing Peter at one period of his life to hand him back his own money at another. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is a device for equalising the burden of poverty so dear to the heart of some Socialists that they can imagine nothing better. While not wholly without merit or justice, it is, however, a poor substitute for increasing wealth for all, and particularly for those who most need an increase. Robbing Peter at one period of his life by compulsory insurance payments in order to hand him back his own money at another period is nonsense. If the output and import of goods permits—as in peace-time it should—wage-earners ought to be allowed to spend their full incomes without deductions, and if, in the future, they need money to support them in age, sickness or unemployment, the money should be created and given them as, and when, required. Anti-inflation taxation, graduated so as to fall most heavily on the most wealthy, is all the robbing of Peter in Paul's interest that a sane system requires.

EDINBURGH MEETING.

The Duke of Bedford writes to say that our very short summary of his address at the Edinburgh No-Conscription Meeting is "not a *very* good presentation of what" he "actually did say." He adds:—

What I think I said was that, while my general attitude towards Socialism was an open-minded one, I was suspicious of bureaucracy. My approach to the problems which Socialists desire to see dealt with was from a rather different angle to the orthodox Socialist one. I considered monetary reform the essential first step. When the evils of finance had been got out of the way, it would be easier to see in their right perspective the other social evils that had to be dealt with. It would also be easier to see clearly the best way of dealing with them.

THE FINANCIERS' LITTLE GAME
or
THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME
by
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"UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" —FOR BANKERS!

By

A. CORNELL

(Editor, "Boise Valley Herald," Idaho, U.S.A.)

Reference has been made in these columns to the "Boise Valley Herald," published in Middleton, Idaho, U.S.A. The annual subscription for this excellent weekly journal is one dollar, and we invite all our comrades and readers to secure each issue as it comes out. In its issue for July 6 and July 12, 1944, our contemporary published the speech made by the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords on "Peace and Reconstruction" on June 2nd, 1942. In the July 6 issue, the editor, our comrade, A. Cornell, published the editorial reproduced below.—Ed.

We want to put all the emphasis at our command, on the importance of the implications of Instalment 1 of "Why Keep Blundering On?" as continued in this week's issue of this paper from last weeek. The focal point of the Duke of Bedford's address to the House of Lords is paragraph 10. Read it and ponder. A member of the British House of Lords is likely to know what he is talking about. From the people's standpoint the trouble is that rarely, indeed, do members of such high-up political circles have either the conscience or the ability or the courage to lay bare the roots of a war, right when it is going on in all of its madness, that the Duke does in this instance.

Unprecedented political conscience and courage in Lordly places however, mean not a thing unless it is matched by unprecedented conscience, courage, and forthright action on the part of the people. In our opinion, Duke of Bedford's paragraph 10 fails to adequately emphasise the part the Axis Powers' financial system is playing in determining the "secret" objectives of this war.

In the Paris Peace Conference, Lloyd George reminded President Wilson that truth is the first casualty of war. In this speech Bedford gives a most timely lead to the strategy of war promoters. The key to the success of secrecy as to the true causes and the actual objectives, as the Duke states, is to "exploit the generous"—the idealistic —"emotions of those" who are victimized by war. That phrase, "exploiting the generous emotions" of the victims of war, deserves to become classic. However that phase of war promoters is on its way out. People who will tamely submit to conscription do not have their generous emotions exploited except to get them to give moral support to the sordid and accursed thing. As a means to streamlining conscripted regimentation so as to get the moral support, devices such as Atlantic-Charter ballyhoo, aluminium drives, bond-buying drives, bandage-making drives, racial segregation schemes are some of the present-day devices. Any and every means of "exploiting" generous emotions help to the life-saving work for Mars and insures secrecy as to the actual causes and true objectives of war.

However, it so happens that in the present instance we have actual and factual exhibits that surpass anything that was available in World War 1, that prove that the secret cause and objective of this war is the threat to International Banker control of national finances that marked the success of Axis commercial competition. It is well known that Germany in particular was winning foreign markets away from the nations that were under International Banker domination. That the United States administration has been a secret enemy of a sensible money system is fully proven by the following passage from the Congressional Record:

ROOSEVELT AS A "BIG-BUSINESS" MAN

Speech of Hon. John C. Schaffer of Wisconsin in the House of Representatives, Friday, June 30, 1939, Cong. Record, p. 8463:

Mr. Speaker—The "Washington Post" of June 18th, in an Associated Press report, states that President Roosevelt has made the following statement:

"It would undermine the National Defence and return control of money to Wall Street and International Bankers if Congress refuses to continue my power to devalue the dollar." (This editor's emphasis.)

This, Mr. Speaker, is rather a remarkable statement in view of what I am prepared to tell you:—

I hold in my hand a photostatic copy of page 31 of the "New York Times" of September 14, 1922, in which appears an advertisement of a new issue of 600,000,000 German marks, floated by United European Investors Ltd., Franklin D. Roosevelt, President.

I have a photostatic copy of page 1480 of Poor's Register of Directors, 1929, wherein Franklin Delano Roosevelt is shown as director of The International Germanic Trust Co.

I have here a copy of the prospectus and photostats of other records of the Federal International Banking Corporation, indicating that Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote the foreword of the prospectus for this International Banking outfit, and was hooked up in it with Robert Rowland Appleby, president of the British Empire Chamber of Commerce in the United States. His International Banking Corporation, according to its prospectus, was organised for the selling of foreign securities and bonds to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, in view of Mr. Roosevelt's International Banking record, it is rather astounding for him to tell the Congress that it would "return control of money to Wall Street and International Bankers if it refused to continue his power to devalue the dollar."

Our New Deal President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, is an ex-International Banker of wide experience and a former attorney for International Bankers. Under his gold and silver policies the International Bankers, foreign owners of, and speculators in gold, waxed fat when Mr. Roosevelt forced Americans to turn in their gold for $20.67 an ounce or go to jail for 5 years, and then imported more than $10,000,000,000 worth of foreign gold at $35 an ounce.

Mr Speaker, President Roosevelt did not drive the money changers out of the temple of government. He drove them into the temple, with the help of his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau—the son of Morgenthau, the International Banker—who married the favourite niece of Lehman Brothers, who are among the most powerful International Bankers in America.

It would seem that with the widespread reading and general understanding of the social analysis revealed by the "Dr. Jeckyl-and-Mr. Hyde" study of the past half-century, that the wholesale deception on the Roosevelt scale of the best-schooled generation in history, would be impossible. However the same rules of victimising, by the betrayal of the civic virtue of a nation of people, holds good that are used in betraying the moral virtue of an individual person. The rules of the strategy of deception probably were never more concisely expressed than in what is known in literature as Bishop Hall's Works, written in 1634, when he put it this way:—

"The flatterer's art is nothing but a delightful cozenage, whose rules are guarded with perjurie; whose scope is to make men (and women) fooles. . . ."

But the thing we are trying to make clear in this matter is, that a betrayer cultivates a voice and manner that is, after the fashion of betrayers, all but musical in tone, and "seductive" in its promises. The seducer's objective is hidden. It is the very opposite of his "pretensions" and his promises. It works on a nation of heedless people exactly as it works on a heedless individual—of either sex. Voltaire, that master satirist put it this way:—

"It is a question of great importance how far the people, that is nine-tenths of the human race, ought to be treated like apes. The deceiving party has never examined this question with sufficient care; and for fear of being mistaken in their calculations, they have heaped up all the visionary notions they could in the heads of the party (this same nine-tenths of the people) deceived."

Thus it is that man averages being what they are and the past record of F. D. Roosevelt, the key-man in this war, being what it is, there are 99 chances to 1 that the secret purpose behind the demand for unconditional surrender is to return the financial systems of the Axis Powers back to the control of the International money manipulators.

THE SOLDIER'S REWARD

The following case, illustrating the fate of the ex-soldier, is sent to us by Mr. Isaac Queen, President of the Bridgeton Branch of the British Legion. It tells how an East End soldier after twenty years' service is forced to live after he was discharged from the Army on medical grounds. The ex-soldier concerned is Frances O'Lone, 20 Carfield Street, Dennistoun.

At the age of 18 O'Lone joined the Scottish Rifles in June, 1925. After serving one year and nine months at home he was drafted to China. Six months later he went to India, where he served under trying climatic conditions, for two years. He left India and went to Egypt. The following year he returned to India and remained there until his transfer to the Army Reserve came through in 1933. During his period abroad he was interested in sports and was rated a keen sportsman and footballer.

During his reserve period he was mostly employed in the building trade and never had any need to attend a doctor.

In 1937 he was called for medical examination and passed in splendid health. In September, 1939, he was recalled for service, and following another examination was passed as being in perfect health. He was transferred to the Seaforths and went to France with that unit at the beginning of 1940. He remained there until the evacuation of Dunkirk six months. For a time he was stationed in Northern Ireland and England, undergoing a course of heavy training.

In 1942 he was sent to Madagascar. Three months later he was ordered to India. He was shipped to Persia a few months later and served five months before being sent to the Middle East.

While he was in the Middle East his legs began to trouble him. He was admitted to hospital where he stayed for eight months, all the time his legs growing steadily worse until both legs became affected. The doctors reported that they could never make him fit for the line again so he was sent home.

On arrival in this country O'Lane was sent to hospital. After four months the Doctors told him that they could not cure his trouble, progressive muscular atrophy, and that he would gradually get worse. This has become a fact, as his arms are now affected.

Two days before he left hospital, O'Lane was discharged. This was on August 22, 1944.

On being sent back to civilian life, the Army Board agreed to grant him an 80 per cent. pension. Then the Ministry of Pensions sent for him. They made him an outdoor patient of the Royal Infirmary and granted him 100 per cent. pension while under treatment. A few days later he received a letter from the Ministry of Pensions stating that he could have developed his trouble whether he had been in the army or not so they rejected his case.

This disabled soldier at present receives £1 per week unemployment benefit money which is his only source of income. He is in lodgings and finds it well nigh impossible to make ends meet.

Before his discharge he was promised that he would be helped to find a light job suitable for him. He has not got one yet. Every day his condition is getting worse. Very soon he will find it impossible to discharge the duties of even a light job. What can be done?

IN A SLUM KITCHEN.

He kept preaching Socialism to me,
Thin, half-naked man, in a slum kitchen,
A room that was cold and bare.
His eyes were passionately lit
With the vision of his new world,
The Utopia of freedom.
Freedom from poverty and sloth,
Freedom from hopelessness and despair,
Freedom from slavery and oppression,
Freedom from everything that made men brutes.
His voice was like a trumpet call
From the melting rocks of Hell.
But while he spoke, my eyes
Were fixed upon a little cage
That hung above the window.
In it was a bird,
A tiny soul of feathered-gold,
Beating its frail wings against its prison bars
And calling, but upon deaf ears,
For an open door, and freedom.

JOE CORRIE.

WAR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

THE BEDFORD TRADITION

Speeches delivered in the House of Lords, by Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford, during the war with revolutionary France, respecting the need for peace and the struggle for civil liberty in time of war.

(Culled from the Official Parliamentary Reports.)

Extract from speech delivered in the debate on the Address of Thanks, December 30, 1794 :—

THE CASE FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

All that had been said about the difficulty of treating, he conceived to be nothing more than pretence. It was every way as easy to negotiate with France as with any other state. That country, notwithstanding all its recent convulsions, did not seem more incident to a change in it's rulers than it's neighbours. The ministry of none could be permanent and there was an end of all treaties, if that was to be a condition which could never happen. But what did nations chiefly regard as the mutual basis of confidence in their conditions? Not surely the precarious circumstances of vicissitude in cabinets, the intrigues of courtiers or the narrow and crooked politics of favourite statesmen; but the prevailing temper and genius of the people. And he did not expect to be now told that though Tallien and his friends were to perish to-morrow, the French would be at any loss for leaders. There was nothing in the Speech that in the smallest measure determined what the object of the war really was, or at what stage of it, any hopes were to be indulged in of peace.

Had ministers shown to his conviction that they aimed at nothing unjust or unreasonable, he would have been the last man in the House to oppose it; but when called to support a war of mutual destruction, and of which he saw no end, he had no option but to grapple for his own safety as well and as long as he could, and that, he was decidedly convinced, was only to be obtained by the means recommended in the amendment. . . .

The noble secretary had said that we ought to follow up with vigour the generous exertions of war in which the country was engaged. He was at a loss to construe this odd phraseology. It was an easy matter for ministers and statesmen to devise at their leisure the means of supporting what they were pleased to call "generous exertions," not with their own but with the riches and blood of a gallant and unsuspecting public. They knew nothing of the distresses it occasioned among those who immediately felt its pressure, of being violently torn from their families or of leaving them destitute and miserable, and of having all the hardships of a military life imposed upon them instead of the quiet domestic habits in which they were born and bred.

To these direful extremities thousands of their fellow-creatures were daily consigned by their order. They prescribed the duty, but others must set the example. All the difficulty or inconvenience that fell upon them, was to bring forward a plausible case for public inspection. But was not this being generous at the expense of others? He would venture to assure them that, for such generous exertions as these, they would not have the blessing of the widow or the fatherless, the approbation of their own hearts, or that of any thinking, sober, or good mind.

Extract from speech in the debate on the Earl of Guildford's motion for a Committee on the State of the Nation, March 30, 1795 :—

THE CONDUCT OF MINISTERS

The Duke of Bedford said that if there had not been error in the principles upon which the war was entered into, there must have been want of ability in the mode of conducting it. It was the duty of that House to discover the source of so many miscarriages, to teach ministers to act better if they had been in error, or if they were wilfully perverse and incapable to address his majesty for their removal. . . .

Even the friends of ministers ought to vote for the inquiry, as the surest and most dignified mode of wiping away the imputations upon their conduct, and giving confidence to the public in their future operations.

If there were discontents at home; if there were such seeds of disaffection as had been made the pretext for suspending one of the most essential guards of the liberty of the subject, an honest inquiry into the cause of our disasters was the most effectual means of crushing them. Let their lordships prove that they were alive to the interests and feelings of the people, and they would exert a much stronger engine for securing internal peace than axes or scaffolds. It was impossible for them, in justice, in equity or in prudence to reject the motion of his noble friend.

Extract from a speech on the Treasonable Practices Bill, November 6, 1795 :—

IN DEFENCE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The Duke of Bedford said that on the first part of the Bill there could be no difference of opinion as far as it related to the flagitious outrage committed against the sovereign; every man must reprobate such crimes and earnestly wish to see them punished in an exemplary manner; at the same time he saw nothing in the Bill that tended to secure or protect His Majesty's person more than what the existing laws provided for.

The second part of the Bill was founded upon the proclamation against certain meetings. Now, he would submit to the blame, whether it was not inconsistent with their dignity to proceed to so solemn an act as the introduction of this extraordinary Bill, without having before them proof of any sort that the proceedings of those meetings had rendered such a strong measure necessary. When the same minister had thought it proper to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, they did not dare to propose it without previously appointing a select committee who reported to the House a mass of evidence which gave their proceedings at least an appearance of deliberation; whereas in the present instance they seemed to disregard all idea of deliberation, inquiry or evidence, and merely because an abominable outrage had been committed on the first day of the session they were to be satisfied that such dangerous consequences were likely to follow, as nothing but this strongest of all measures could possibly prevent. It was not enough that the noble Lord should declare that he was satisfied on this point. Parliament ought to know the necessity of the Measure before they adopted it.

He wished the noble Lord would explain in what respect the existing law, as far as it regarded the King's life was defective, or wherein this Bill was likely to amend it. He never thought that the noble Lord would have so far forgotten what the nation owed to those who brought about the revolution, as to speak of the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II as models for example. The noble Lord ought to reflect on the events that followed those precedents. In Queen Elizabeth's time these laws were chiefly directed against bulls issued by the Pope, and when the country was in a very distracted state, both from foreign and domestic foes; and in Charles the Second's reign, these measures were adopted when he was just restored after a 20 years' absence, and when such laws might be absolutely necessary for his protection. But how could a comparison be drawn between such times and the present? Even allowing that some Bill was necessary for the greater protection of his majesty, there was nothing in this Bill that could tend to that purpose. If it was a Bill fit to be passed at all for that object, it ought to be a permanent one.

Excerpts from a speech delivered May 30, 1797 :—

THE DOMESTIC CALAMITIES RESULTING FROM WAR

No man will deny the unexampled extent of our calamities. In tracing the picture of our situation for the last four years, the period to which I intend to limit my observations, there can be little new to which to call your lordship's attention. It is a beaten track which presents little variety to the view, except some new calamity and some fresh misfortune. But we ought not to be deterred by this disagreeable prospect. It is our duty to exert ourselves to remove the causes of these calamaties which we suffer and to avert those dangers which we apprehend.

The war is the first point to which I call the attention of your lordships as the great source of our present calamities.

It has been said that this war was undertaken for the preservation of law, religion and morality,—a war in defence of our liberty, our constitution, our property.

What is the state of property now? Has it been meliorated? What are the benefits which we have derived from the war? . . .

While you embarked in a contest to defend your laws against a foreign enemy, perhaps it would have been as well to have secured them against administration at home.

Are your laws ameliorated by the war? On the contrary have not your dearest privileges been suspended? Have not the laws been made against that very liberty which you went to war to defend.

It has been said that we went to war for the preservation of religion. Did you expect to defend the altar by surrounding it with seas of blood? or to secure it from violation by piling round it the carcases of the dead?

We have been told that we were fighting in support of morality. Has the war then produced many examples favourable to morality? Has the conduct of the King of Prussia furnished examples of morality? Do you find it in the dungeons of Olmutz, or in the conduct of those petty tyrants who buzzed about you when there were any hopes of success and disappeared when your cause was desperate? . . .

I come now to consider the internal state of the country. The laws which have been passed on pretence of preserving internal tranquility will afford an additional proof of the pernicious system on which ministers have acted; laws which I hold to be disgraceful to a free government, repugnant to the Constitution, and inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution.

Lord Sidney called the Duke to order and protested that such language ought not to be applied to laws which stood upon the Statute Book.

The Duke replied that the whole system of the war administration had been incompatible with good government. He turned to the situation in Ireland and denounced the conduct of Ministers in relation to Ireland.

Extract from speech supporting the Earl of Suffolk's motion for the dismissal of Pitt, March 27, 1797 :—

MINISTERS AND WAR

The Duke of Bedford said he would support the necessity of a change of system in spite of the calumnies which he knew would incur. It was his object to chase corruption from senates and despotic principles from the council of kings.

The danger of French principles was held out. But, good God! was it the way to guard against French principles to ruin our own country?

It had often been said that ministers had no interest in continuing the war. It might as well be said that it never was the interest of individuals to commit errors. Ministers might feel an individual interest in continuing that system with which their power was connected.

The powerful speech of Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford, respecting Peace with France, made in the House of Lords, on January 27, 1795, was reproduced in these columns for July 1944. We propose to reprint the official reports of his bold and uncompromising attack on the Seditious Meetings Bill, on December 14, 1795; and his powerful speech, demanding the removal of War Ministers and the end of war, on March 21, 1798. These speeches ought to be read and circulated widely to-day.

In our September issue we referred to the manifesto signed by Francis, protesting against the war-time suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. Four other peers signed with him. They were the Earls of Albermarle, Derby, Lauderdale, and Stanhope.

All Christian Pacifists should support the

PACIFIST COUNCIL OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

founded, April 3, 1944, by Uniting The Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational), The Methodist Peace Fellowship, The Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, The Presbyterian Pacifist Group, The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Church of Scotland Peace Society, The Society of Friends' Peace Committee, "Pax" The Churches of Christ Pacifist Fellowship, The Scottish Congregational Peace Society, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organ—The Christian Pacifist.

Headquarters—38 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

Write to the Secretary and build up Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

SUPPORT OUR DEFICIT FUND

We speak often for various groups quite freely. Collections are taken for various purposes. No one seems to think that sometimes a special effort might be made for *The Word* deficit fund. We are heavily in debt. Will you help, so that our work may continue? Much depends on you. An individual response from every reader would make a big difference to the struggle

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, 5th NOVEMBER,
PARLIAMENT AND THE FUTURE.

On SUNDAY, 3rd DECEMBER,
PEACE ON EARTH, AND ——!

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**

The Duke of Bedford will visit Glasgow in December. See announcements for his big meeting. Societies who would like to contact him should write to the Strickland Press *now*.

ESPERANTO, THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Beginners' and Advanced Classes commenced in October. Enrol and enquire at CLARION ROOMS, 144 WELLLINGTON STREET, GLASGOW, C.2. Every Thursday, 7.30 p.m.

J'ACCUSE

Being a letter addressed to the President of the United States denouncing the treatment of conscientious objectors and exposing the conditions prevailing at Springfield, Missouri.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House. Washington, D.C.

New York, August 4, 1944.

Dear Sir,—I want to call your attention to a terror that is going on in the United States, which concerns conscientious objectors to conscription and war primarily, but which should be the concern of every freedom-loving individual in this country. It is about time that you became aware that it exists, and it is the purpose of this letter to enlighten you. The charges it contains are very serious, and I think, it all fairness to everyone concerned, it deserves your personal consideration and a reply.

I was a conscientious objector in World War I., and I received a twenty years' sentence for holding such convictions, which sentence was finally reduced to eighteen months, every day of which I served in prison. There were as many as 300 objectors in prison at one time, which, considering our traditional respect for conscience, was a blot and stigma against our traditions. To avoid a similar atrocity during your administration, and to prevent the imprisohnment of men for their convictions, legislation was passed seeking to exempt such men from military service. Where there were 300 men in prison in World War I., there are 3000 men in prison for the same offence to-day, or ten times as many. Which proves that our attempt to avoid this scandal has failed, and it should be the business of every man in a position of power to correct this mistake and work to have every conscientious objector freed.

Congress, in seeking to exempt conscientious objectors from military service, hardly did so with the bitterness and vindictiveness against them that some judges and prison officials have shown by their share in the imprisonment of these 3000 conscientious objectors. These 3000 men are not criminals, and when prison officials seize upon them as if they must be reformed and rehabilitated as the worst of offenders, they not only give the lie to their pretensions for the concern of their prisoners, but they show a wanton disregard for human personality that should brand them as unfit to handle any of the unfortunates in our prisons. At the present time, there is a three-cornered correspondence going on among Senator Robert F. Wagner, who indicates he is anxious to be enlightened about the present treatment of conscientious objectors in prison, and Mr. James V. Bennett, who wishes to treat them as criminals, and Mr. Alexander M. Man, of Hollis, New York, and his brother, Albon B. Man, who is serving a sentence as a conscientious objector at the Lewisburg (Pa.) Penitentiary, and other members of his family who are demanding a redress of grievances. The entire matter is one that will show the Prison Bureau as unreliable and anxious to paint honest young men with convictions as criminal and obdurate.

The immediate subject of this three-cornered correspondence is the power of the Federal Parole Board and the abuse of that power. I have before me a letter from the Parole Board addressed to a mother of a conscientious objector, which is an answer from the Board to her concern for her son Mathew Karl Amberg, now serving a three years' sentence at the Danbury (Conn.) Correctional Institution. I am attaching a copy of that letter for your edification. No autocrat could concoct a more vicious dodge to justify bureaucratic irresponsibility. How anyone can expect justice from men capable of such letters, I would like to know.

But the abuses do not end there. Among the glorious Federal prison system, you have at Springfield, Mo., a Federal Prisons Hospital and Insane Asylum to which some conscientious objectors have been sent in defiance of all the legal safeguards against such treatment that our civilisation has erected. These men are sound physically and mentally and do not belong in a madhouse. Three of these conscientious objectors—Stanley Murphy, Louis Taylor, and John J. Hewelcke—have been instrumental in proving that they were not sent to Sprinfield for their health but that their transfer to this place was purely punitive. Evidence has been coming out of Springfield, backed up by numerous affidavits, that men have been sent there to be crushed in mind and body and even to be done to death by cruel and unusual punishments. Two investigations by the officials accused in these atrocities have resulted in white-washes, because the accused acted as judges, and the victims were brow-beaten. Affidavits continue to pile up. These accusations have been sent to the Federal Public Health Service, one of the Bureaus in charge of that place, to Mr. James V. Bennett, and to Mr. Francis Biddle reminding these various people that the accusations are well-founded and deserve an impartial investigation. To no avail. The same accusations and affidavits are in the possession of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and especially the New York "World-Telegram," which gave some space and publicity to the crimes I mention here. We ignore this scandal at great peril to our liberties. A Congressional investigation would more than substantiate these charges of cruelty, and such an impartial investigation should be demanded.

Obviously, this method of terrorising our prison population is calculated to terrorise all the citizens of this country. Before the outbreak of the war in Europe, travellers on the Continent noticed that the one thing all totalitarian countries had in common was rule by terror. This terror was carried on by mass liquidations, concentration camps, and possibly by places such as Springfield, Mo. The terror this government is encouraging by maintaining this infamy at Springfield, Mo., tars us with the same brush.

You will notice that throughout this letter I have deliberately used the personal attitude towards conscientious objectors as a measure of a person's democratic and humanitarian professions. No nation is civilised or democratic that imprisons its citizens for their convictions or that maintains madhouses for dissenters.

In World War I., whatever prison abuses the conscientious objectors brought to light, they were corrected by the administration. Thus far under your administration all prison abuses have continued in spite of the publicity they have received. That is no compliment to the present administration. I have a vital interest in this matter of freedom for conscientious objectors, not only out of regard for civic decency, but my brother, Albert Eichel, is a conscientious objector and is serving a three years' sentence at the Lewisburg (Pa.) Penitentiary, and in all decency he should be free. I am also vitally concerned about all conscientious objectors in our prisons, and I keep in constant touch with many of the families and friends of the men in prison.

I want to thank you for any consideration you will give this letter.—Yours for liberty,

(Signed) JULIUS EICHEL.

COPY OF LETTER FROM PAROLE BOARD.

Members:
Arthur D. Wood, Chairman.
T. Webber Wilson.
Edward P. Reidy.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
United States Board of Parole, Washington 25.
June 9, 1944.

Mrs. Anna Amberg-Kofsky,
2830 Olinville Avenue,
Bronx 67, New York.

Dear Madam:

In re: Mathew Karl Amberg,
Register No. 2304-CT,
Danbury, Connecticut.
Crime: Failure to report for army induction.
Term: Three years.

This will acknowledge receipt of your letters of May 31, 1944, addressed to the members of the Board, in connection with the case of your son, the above-named.

In practically every denied case there are multiple reasons why persons are not considered favourable parole prospects. Even ascribing the principal reason is difficult. In any case that might be selected for study, it would be statistically untenable to ascribe one reason for denying parole because an individual and his background and potentialities are not so simply classifiable. Usually a constellation of circumstances leads to a denial of parole in each case.

Respectfully,
(Signed) ARTHUR D. WOOD,
Chairman.

AYR MEETING

The *Ayrshire Post* for October 6, beneath the heading "Fundamental Problems," reports, at length, the meeting addressed by the Duke of Bedford, in the Wallacetown South Church Hall, Ayr, on Friday evening, September 29, under the auspices of the Ayrshire Branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Rev. D. C. Mitchell, Kilmarnock, presided.

The chairman declared that the Church alone could not produce a Christian peace in the world; they had to find a broader basis for the peace treaty.

From the very full account of the Duke's speech we are able to publish a small part.

The Duke described the spread of un-Christian totalitarian philosophy which subordinated the individual to the State, and visioned the growth of State tyranny in all countries at the end of the war. He discussed Russia and the Polish question, the sanctity of international pledges, the question of appeasing Stalin, and foresaw a possible re-arming, in the future, of Germany and Japan against a mightily armed Russia.

We turn to the *Post* report:—

With the possible exception of demanding extravagant war indemnities, the Duke forecast that all the major blunders of the Treaty of Versailles would be repeated on an even larger scale. The Communist Government in Poland would demand a slice of German territory, and the Japanese would be driven back to starve in their rocky and barren islands, and there would be no satisfaction of their legitimate economic needs. The fundamental problem of the "have-not" nations and the "haves" was to be left unsolved, and the international financiers were to re-establish their tyranny of artificial poverty in the midst of plenty.

It was extremely likely that after the war, when the pro-Soviet propaganda died down the Russian Government would be guilty of acts of tyranny and aggression against smaller countries. Over here the people would become indignant against Russia, and probably the press and propaganda would incite them to this end. Imperialist elements in Britain would become fearful of Russia's strength and would want to arm against it, and then financial interests in Britain and America would clash with Russia probably over the question of oil. They would encourage armaments against Russia as formerly they encouraged armaments against the Axis powers.

TOTAL DISARMAMENT.

There was need for total world disarmament, he contended, because any intelligent person could see that if mankind did not destroy armaments, armaments would destroy mankind. Given the right leadership, the countries that had experienced all the bitterness and agonies of modern warfare, would give adequate support to make future wars impossible. Any authority that Britain would be able to achieve after the war would be authority on the moral plane, and it would mean that we would have to set our house in order in a way that we had never done before.

Many questions were forthcoming at the close.

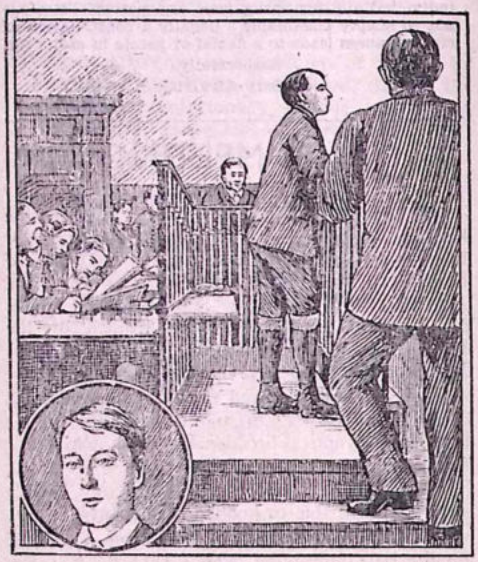
Replying to one as to whether it would be possible to negotiate with Hitler or his government, the Duke said the question of trusting an individual or a particular government was, without exaggeration, pure bunk, and especially was that so at the present moment, for if they looked at recent history they saw that no statesman was really trustworthy.

Answering a further question, enlarging on this issue, and indicting the Nazi leaders for their pogroms, murders, and cruelties,

the speaker indicated that Stalin had also committed atrocities and he was to be one of the makers of peace. The statesmen in all countries at the present time were a pretty dirty crowd, and if they had complete control would be untrustworthy. The mistake the questioner made was to under-estimate the tremendous impelling power of the war lesson that the people of Germany had had. With regard to the danger of reorganising, he should certainly make, as part of the peace terms, a plan for universal world

(Concluded page 43)

CONCERNING THE EDITOR



Reproduced from "Daily Mirror."

GUY A. ALDRED in the Dock at Bow Street Police Court, Thursday, August 26th, 1909.

The photograph of the Dock scene published in the "Daily Mirror" was published in these columns for September 1940, with full accounts of the 1909 trial.

[We have been asked to supply details of our views and struggle for publication in three American propaganda magazines. Since Europe is about to enter on another post-war epoch, and a new phase of the social struggle, it might not be out of place to publish the following record of heresy and protest in these columns. The story is unknown to many of our readers, most of whom belong to a generation not familiar with the events of the last war and the subsequent hunger-marching and free speech fight days.
The account is revised, and brought up to date, from an article published in "The Spur" for November, 1920. The original essay was not from our pen. We have preserved the third-person, as being the most useful form of record.—Ed.]

Surely nothing is more pleasant than, when some name crosses one, to go and get acquainted with the owner of that name.—Edward Fitzgerald, "Letters," April 1838.

Guy Aldred celebrates his fifty-eighth birthday on the fifth of November—Guy Fawke's Day, for ever famous as the date of the attempted destruction of the Houses of Parliament!

Aldred made his first appearance on the public platform on November 10th, 1902, when he preached a Christian sermon from the text: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." A month later he became acquainted with Charles Voysey, of the Theistic Church, and was converted to Theism. He became a Theistic Missioner and conducted enthusiastic meetings in Clerkenwell from April to September, 1904. He then turned his mission into a Freethought one and adopted the motto of Richard Carlile: "Man has no immortal soul. The mortal soul of man is the only intelligent lord of matter."

Whilst maintaining his Atheism, Aldred has retained his original view of Jesus of Nazareth, as an outstanding teacher and pioneer of truth and a new social order based on liberty and social affection. This thesis runs through all his propaganda.

From November, 1904, to November, 1906, Aldred was the colleague of W. Stewart Ross—"Saladin"—on the *Agnostic Journal*, to which he contributed several biographical studies and many polemical essays.

Whilst still a Theist, Aldred became connected with the Peel Institute, joined its adult school, and developed Radical political views. Here he entered into close association with G. M. Gillett, who afterwards became Sir George Gillett.

Gillett died on August 10, 1939, at his home, Wainstones, Letchworth, Herts., aged 69. His career was a study in the progressive value of philanthropy to the philanthropist and in its failure to benetfi those whose sufferings inspire him.

In 1900, Gillett, a Quaker, commenced his social and religious activity in Clerkenwell and founded the Peel Institute. He became a member of the Borough Council, and, in 1910, of the L.C.C. He was at one time deputy chairman of the L.C.C. His membership of the County Council lasted twenty years.

Leaving the Liberals, and joining the Labour Party, he became Labour M.P for Central Finsbury, 1923-31. A banker, he followed the Ramsay MacDonald ramp, and sat as National Labour member until 1935. From 1929 to 1931, he was secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade. That year he became Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour. In November 1936 he was appointed Commissioner for the Special Areas in England and Wales. He resigned in May 1939. In April 1937, he spent an evening with King George, discussing plans for the relief of the poor living in the worst areas.

A pretty evolution from the Peel Institute days. So far as the poor and their poverty were concerned, a worthless evolution. It mattered to Gillett and made him feel respectable and comfortable.

Because he foresaw some such useless careerist evolution Aldred opposed the political activity of the Peel Institute.

Aldred grew dissatisfied with liberal-labourism and joined the Social Democratic Federation. This was in March, 1905. He became active on the Social Democratic platform and in its press, and acted as parliamentary correspondent to *Justice*.

In May, 1906, he fell foul of the Labour Party for its inaction in Parliament, and declined to write further parliamentary gossip on the ground that Parliament has ceased to interest him. He denounced the Labour M.P.'s in the columns of *Justice* and stated that Socialist propaganda, making for class consciousness and the social revolution, was the only hope of the working class. From this time on his membership of the S.D.F. became a stormy one, and he resigned from it in October of the same year, to devote himself to free lance propaganda.

One of the points on which Guy Aldred fell foul of the S.D.F. during his membership was the question of religion. He declared that Socialism, as a personal philosophy, involved materialism and atheism — an attitude which drew forth a defence from Belfort Bax and an edtorial denunciation in *Justice* from Harry Quelch for atheistic bigotry. The Rev. E. J. B. Kirtlan, a Wesleyan Socialist, openly rejoiced at Quelch's attack, and declared, with charming naivete, that on the Socialist platform he would speak for Socialism, but off that platform he would do his duty!

Aldred maintained that a man had a perfect right to expound Socialism as a Christian, but no right to prevent an atheist from speaking in atheistic terms.

The Freethought Socialist agitation that Aldred conducted in Clerkenwell down to 1907 drew enormous crowds and gave rise to a huge correspondence in the columns of the *Islington Daily Gazette*. An attempt was made to raise a fund to prosecute him for blasphemy, but it fell through owing to the success of his meetings, and the local support that rallied to him. These "Freethought Gospel Meetings" led G. L. Mackenzie to publish in the *Islington Gazette* for August 2nd, 1906, a poem in his defence, entitled "Is there a God?"

If God there be who is the first cause absolute
Then everywhere and everything this God must be:
That is—and surely, it is far beyond dispute—
If He be all, there nothing is that is not He.
How could the "all in all" beyond himself step out,
Or shrink to less than His Great Self Infinity?
If we be made by God, we are, beyond all doubt,
But part of Him—there is no we, but only He.
Our work must all be God's, if we, ourselves, be His.
For, if we "live in Him," 'tis He who works, not we.
For work of God's own work, all God's work truly is:
First cause for last effect, responsible must be.
Our deeds must therefore be all holy, good and just.
If we and they be part of God's infinity:

But many of our deeds are bad, we therefore must,
As thinking men, conclude that God there cannot be.
If cause must have effect which is in turn a cause,
And each result had cause which was a past effect,
The mighty march ne'er had, nor will have start, nor pause;

No past nor future gulf. First cause nor last effect.

By December, 1906, Aldred took his stand against all revisionism and stood for what he termed clear-cut impossiblism, *i.e.*, a definite programme of unconditional struggle for Socialism. He endeavoured to bring about a union of revolutionary Socialists on the basis of "revolutionary parliamentarianism" that became so popular in 1920, because dictated by Moscow. The Communist Party that pretended to this programme never meant it, however. It was merely an opportunist pretence. Aldred met with no support from the learned Marxists and parliamentarians who were then enamoured with the German Social Democracy and its voting prowess! On the 28th of this month—that is nearly fourteen years before the Moscow theses captivated British latter-day Communists—Aldred published in the columns of the *Islington Daily Gazette* the election address which is reproduced in *Dogmas Discarded*, part II, chapter XV, under the caption, "Revolutionary Parliamentarianism." This is an uncompromising statement of the Socialist challenge to capitalist society.

Soon after issuing this manifesto he came to the conclusion that it was absurd for a revolutionary to want to enter the capitalist parliament and associated with the Anarchists and anti-parliamentary Communists. He became a contributor to *Freedom* and the Anarchist weekly, *The Voice of Labour*, and spoke on the anarchist platform all over London. He visited Liverpool as an anarchist missionary. This was in August 1907. Here he was the guest of Matt Kavanagh whose tireless activity made the mission a great success. Later Kavanagh moved to Southend and now lives in London. Despite his age, Kavanagh remains active in the cause and has never lost his faith.

From the beginning of his association, Aldred quarrelled with the Anarchists because of his opposition to Kropotkin. Aldred aimed to reconcile the teachings of Bakunin and Marx. He endeavoured to establish an Industrial Union of Direct Actionists, to bring about the Communist Revolution, through group organisation on the industrial field. He founded The Communist Propaganda Group, as an anti-parliamentary organisation, and defined its principles in detail two years later in his pamphlet on *Militarism and Revolution*. This pamphlet was embodied in *At Grips With War* (1929). There were twenty-one principles, the most important of which (13, 14, 15, 16, 17) are reproduced in *Communism* (1943), p. 122.

It makes interesting historical reading to recall these principles and study them in connection with pseudo-Communist Party propaganda that was spread abroad in Britain and America especially in 1920-21. It is strange that folk had to go to Moscow to develop views that could be developed quite naturally in Britain without the need for foreign travel.

How many of the persons who were so busy seeking recognition from Moscow in 1920-21, and posing as Britain's "leading" or "most revolutionary" Communists, ridiculed this program or ignored it when Aldred propounded it in 1906? How many of them were preaching parliamentary action down to as late as 1917, until the utter failure of German Social Democracy and the seeming triumph of Sovietism compelled them to change their avowed opinions in order to retain their political standing? Our file-cuttings could throw an interesting light on the suddenness and reason of these conversions. The fact remains that Aldred anticipated the formation of an International Communist Party, and defined its program. Proletarian experience proved that no

essential departure could be made from this program without harm to the cause. History recalls, also, how the Communist Party and its International not only departed from the program but rejoiced in betraying the cause. Soviet Russia has become the home of European oppression and counter-revolution.

Much was made for some years by the "Communists," during their Labour organisation wrecking days, of Lenin's repudiation of Social Democracy and his insistence on Marxism involving revolutionary social action.

Early in 1908, Aldred proclaimed this view, in the Labour press, and in his "Pamphlets for the Proletarian," when he asked the question: "Was Marx an Anarchist?" calling it "A Question for Socialists to Answer." He was not able to return to this question again until September 1911, when he began his series of Marx articles in the *Herald of Revolt*. In these essays, he reviewed the contentions of the *Communist Manifesto, Revolution and Counter Revolution, The Poverty of Philosophy, The Eighteenth Brumaire,* and *The Civil War in France,* and showed that Marx, despite his later opportunism and love of power complex, did not believe in parliamentary action, denied that Parliament controlled the Armed Forces, and opposed the capture of the ready-made State machinery. "Leading British Marxists" were taking their instructions from Berlin and repudiated these statements as slanders! Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, these same Marxists took their instructions from Moscow and endorsed these conclusions they once so vehemently denied!

In August, 1909, Guy Aldred published the *Indian Sociologist*, after its first English printer had been imprisoned, in defence of the Free Press. He was charged, in consequence, with publishing "a certain scandalous and seditious libel in the form of a printed publication." He conducted his own defence and refused to apologise. At that time, the Socialist movement was indifferent to India and opposed to the Indian movement. Hyndman objected that Aldred had not consulted him and *Justice* denounced Aldred's "vanity." Another paper considered the prosecution "a private affair" between Aldred and the Government! Since 1921, owing to the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, the Socialists have adopted a different attitude.

There were many simple-minded persons at this time who thought that such a powerful government as that of Britain would not stoop to employ spies and detectives nor resort to bribery to obtain its ends. That they were labouring under a delusion on this point was proven by the evidence tendered by the official detectives at this trial, as well as in the case of Horsley, the former printer. Nothing reveals better the deception practised by the secret agents of the British Government than the following uncontradicted statement of Horsley:

> **"I received a visit from a detective officer from the special service department at Scotland Yard. . . . I asked the detective whether there was any reason why I should not print it ("The Indian Sociologist"). He replied, 'None whatever.'"**

In spite of this official assurance he was punished with imprisonment.

It fell to the lot of Aldred to question with indignation one of the detectives cited as witnesses against him:

> **"If it be a publication of a seditious character and you could not obtain a copy other than by the means you employed don't you think you were inciting me to do that which was against the law of the land?"**

Aldred's speech from the dock at the Old Bailey on Friday, September 10th, 1909, was published in *The Word* for September 1940, as was the official legal report of the trial. One passage is worth requoting as being a declaration of faith:

> **"I have no apology to make either for my attitude towards Krishnavarma, or for what I have written with reference to the Indian Question. I claim the absolute freedom of the Press, the absolute right to publish what I like, when I like, where I like. The only condition on which I can secure that right as a proletarian thinker is that I shall secure it for the Indian Nationalist Patriot, Krishnavarma. I can only do that by maintaining, at the price of my own liberty, the freedom of the Indian Nationalist Press, even where I may not agree with its principles."**

On being found guilty, Aldred stated that he wanted no mitigation of sentence. The judge told him he was "young, vain, and foolish," and sentenced him to twelve months' imprisonment in the first division.

During Aldred's imprisonment, the late Sir Walter Strickland, Bt., B.A., wrote to him, and congratulated him on his stand in defence of the freedom of the press and justice for the Indian people. This commenced the propaganda association and intimacy that was ended only by Strickland's death in 1938. This association is detailed in Strickland's *This March of Homicide* (1942). It led to the Bakunin Press (founded in 1906) becoming the Strickland Press (1939).

Aldred was released from Brixton Prison, where he served his sentence, on July 2, 1910. Five months later he founded the *Herald of Revolt* as "An Organ of the Coming Social Revolution." This paper continued to appear down to May 1914, when it was closed down in favour of *The Spur,* which commenced publication the following month. This paper closed down in April 1921, following the raid on the Bakunin Press in London and Glasgow, and the Glasgow trial for sedition of Aldred, Jane H. Patrick, M'Leish, and Fleming. Aldred was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, and kept in prison four months without trial, making 16 months' imprisonment in all. Jenny Patrick and the other comrades received three months' imprisonment each. This trial is recorded fully in *The Word* for November 1941-March 1942.

A strange consequence of the Indian Sedition trial was the attempt of the Crown to link Aldred with the libel on King George V.

On February 1, 1911, the sensational charge of publishing a libel affecting the honour of His Majesty, King George V, came before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury in the Kings Bench Division of the High Court. The case appeared in the official list as *The King* v *E. F. Mylius.* The libel forming the basis of this complaint appeared in *The Liberator,* published by Edward Holton James, and described as "an International Journal devoted to the Extension of the Republic." The trial was interesting as showing how lawyers connived, quite unnecessarily, at the corruption of legal procedure designed to protect the right of the citizen.

The legal doctrine advanced by Sir Rufus Isaacs for the Crown and accepted by the Chief Justice in the Mylius case was more infamous than the libel that formed the basis of the prosecution. Publication cured the libel. There was no cure for the legal doctrine, falsely and mischievously asserted in open court by the conspiracy of bar and bench. Since then, under cover of moral honour, innovations ending in the final outrage of 18B have continued to be arranged by lawyers, judges, crown and the executive.

From the report that appeared in the London *Star,* the following paragraphs are appropriate to this sketch.

> Sir Rufus Isaacs . . . made the interesting point that the present case was one of ordinary, not of seditious libel, and consequently the defendant had the right to plead justification, and to attempt to prove the truth of the statements complained of—a privilege not available when the charge is that of seditious libel.
>
> Sir Rufus further mentioned that the law officers of the Crown had decided that a constitutional disability attached to a monarch, preventing him from giving evidence in his courts; so that King George could not be called as a witness.

The libel was indefensible but not more so than this statement of law by Sir Rufus Isaacs, later to become Lord Reading.

The Crown authorities and the Court knew that Mylius could not plead justification. And the very constitutional disability, if it existed, that prevented the Monarch from giving evidence in his own courts, clearly made it impossible for him to file information in those same courts as an ordinary aggrieved person living under the Crown. Prosecution for ordinary libel was correct only if the King was able to appear and to give evidence. And it would have been sound legal doctrine for the King *as a person* to have appeared, as distinct from the Crown, which is impersonal and not always identical with the person of the Monarch. The constitutional legal distinction is nice but sound and can be completely operative. There is no sound reason in law why the King cannot be a fellow-citizen with the humblest citizen, on points of domestic justice, as a private individual, living under the Crown. If there is, he has no right to be represented as a private citizen suffering private wrong, to please the interested legal whim of lawyers in a Court Record. Where the King cannot appear in person he cannot be represented as a person. Yet this is how Sir Rufus Isaacs represented him: *as an individual and not as the Crown.* It was a traversy of procedure and therefor of justice, no matter how great the factual guilt of the accused may have been.

(To be continued.)

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2nd Session: A SOCIALIST POLICY FOR THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT—W. Arnold Foster.

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(Concluded from Page 41

AYR MEETING.

disarmament, with adequate rights of inspection, and a well-known military expert had stated that there could be adequate rights of inspection to make sure that Germany or any other country did not arm secretly.

DUKE OF BEDFORD AND THE INDIAN DEADLOCK

The Oriental Post, edited by Mohammed Ally Khan, published in London, in its issue for April 1944, published, beneath the above sub-heading, the following letter from the Duke of Bedford :—

"Dear Sir,

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your interesting paper. I am afraid that my knowledge of Indian affairs is too slight for me to be able to send you an article which would be worth publishing. I must confess that originally I held the view that the contribution of the Indian civil servants, etc., to the welfare of the country had been very great indeed and that there were probably not enough Indians possessed of sufficient administrative ability and freedom from corruption and nepotism to govern the country as well as the British governed it. Of recent years, however, I have had such bitter experience of the appalling incompetence and self-seeking of the members of our own Legislature and administration and of the stranglehold which the tyranny of Finance exercises wherever it has been able to extend its influence, that I have come to feel that probably those British and Indian writers and speakers are unhappily not far from the truth when they say that, taking one thing with another, we have delayed the progress of India far more than we have assisted it. Anyhow, if the majority of the Indian people desire their freedom, it appears hypocritical to deny it to them in view of some of our professed war aims—not that I think that these latter ever seriously troubled the consciences of our most prominent statesmen! I should be interested, some time, to hear the terms of what you would consider a suitable partnership between Britain and India which might provide a way out of the present deadlock. The enclosed may perhaps interest you.

Yours truly,

BEDFORD.

In an introduction to this letter, the editor of our contemporary says :—

Of the many letters we have received, one is from the Duke of Bedford. We consider it very important and to the point. It is a simple, direct, sincere desire to find a solution.

In an editorial comment, Mr. Khan asks the Duke to work for a peace partnership in India in co-operation with Indian leaders, this being the only way conceivable out of the deadlock, or else to suggest an alternative policy.

The editorial poses the challenge :—

Will the noble Duke come forward and make history. (History is always made in the critical hour). Time alone will tell. We simply hope His Grace will, and he will find us to meet him more than half way. . . .

Stating that " his fair, unbiassed and cool judgments have earned him the respect and admiration " of " the thinking people of the world," our contemporary explains :—

His Grace the Duke of Bedford is an outstanding figure in the British public life to-day. A confirmed pacifist, the noble Duke has shown the great courage of his convictions against the ridicule of the Left and the Right political forces of the country, forming a united front against him. He has been unjustly labelled as pro-fascist.

Speaking of *The Better Way*, which it reprints, the *Post* says :—

. . . . we have no hesitation in saying that there could be no better, clearer a case made out for pacifism. Its logic is absolute. . . . Unhappily there is nothing in it to enlighten us on the lessons learned from the Indian struggle under pacifism, for, it will be admitted, that India has presented to the world for many years a practical demonstration of pacifism on the mass scale and has paid dearly for it. It would have been certainly a very interesting reading.

The Duke of Bedford has been attacked and misrepresented so much in the ordinary Press, that we feel it to be a duty to reproduce a tribute to him from the columns of an avowed Christian paper.

The Signpost, published in Leeds, in its issue for October, 1944, contains a tribute written by Pastor George Truswell, of the Leeds Christian Evangelical Mission. Mr. Truswell writes :—

A CHRISTIAN DUKE

An Impression.

One of the greatest tragedies in the realm of Government in both Church and State to-day is the lack of men with definite and uncompromising Christian convictions. How different the state of affairs when men went to the seat of Government for principle and the love of humanity.

Ever since the present Duke of Bedford renounced his patronage of the Church of England because of its un-Christian attitude to war he has been before the public eye. No man has been so misrepresented and abused. Almost every newspaper in the land has scorned and ridiculed him. The result is that the man in the street, who gets all his facts from a one-sided Press has a wrong idea altogether of one of the few men in the Legislature who during these years of war has done anything at all to call the world back to sanity.

The Duke is ridiculed and abused because of his pacifist principles. He feels war to be wrong and says so. Only a lunatic would think war to be right, and yet every time the Duke is brought before the public eye it is with the impression that he is unpatriotic, when all the time he is standing for Christian principle. He is indefatigable in the efforts he makes in the House of Lords and throughout the country from the public platform, but the things he does and says are not reported in the Press. If they were the opinion of the people would be changed entirely. Where most of our leaders have gone under in matters of principle he has ever taken a consistent stand.

The Duke of Bedford is a prolific writer, scores of booklets are constantly coming from his pen. On the matters with which he deals the Duke is a specialist. He sees through the clap-trap and the dope of modern propaganda and he gives the lie to much that is passing as popular opinion. Taken at random he has written on such subjects as " Why Have This War? " " Diplomacy and War Guilt," " What a Game," " Don't be a Gull," a pamphlet written for those who WANT LOTS MORE WAR and for those who don't; " Why Blunder On," etc., etc., all of which are written from the standpoint of Christian common sense. The Duke is particularly helpful in the matter of Finance. This is a matter on which the majority of people are entirely ignorant, and this ignorance is to their great loss, for it leaves them at the mercy of a vicious system. In this department alone he is an expert, and if men and women only used the sense they were born with they would listen to what he has to say on this most important matter.

Most of all the Duke is to be admired for the noble stand that he has taken in the House of Lords in the interests of the genuine Conscientious Objector. When others have failed in their duty he has courageously fought for liberty and conscience. He has also made repeated protest against the many restrictions which the war has imposed on the liberty of individuals which are not always to a nation's credit.

It is passing strange that in a land that loves liberty, a man like the Duke should be so cold-shouldered, but the last six years of observation of his activities has convinced us of the rightness of his cause. If there is one man in the realm of influence for which we should thank God, and which the Church should support and pray for, it is THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held in

CENTRAL HALLS, Bath Street, Glasgow

On SUNDAY, 10th DECEMBER

Speaker

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Chairman— **GUY A. ALDRED.**

Chair taken at 7 p.m. All Welcome.

Questions. Discussion.

(*Concluded from Column 3*)

pacifism, and individuals who are under a great stigma for the time being, and for your championship of a brave new world free from political domination and exploitation. We must hope for a saner world.

Our group sends you our greetings and good wishes.

Cordially,

JULIUS EICHEL.

Brooklyn, New York, August 18, 1944.

United States readers who wish copies of " The Word " and Strickland Press literature, or wish to link up with the United Socialist Movement, should get into communication with:—DAVID BERKINGOFF, 315 EAST 209 STREET, BRONX, 67, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Freethinker, New York, for September 1944, reproduces, with acknowledgments, the article on Charles Bradlaugh, by our comrade, the Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewight, M.A., that appeared in these columns for January 1944. It makes Micklewight's study its front-page feature. Our contemporary is published at 370 West 35th Street, New York I., N.Y.

UNITED STATES LETTERBOX

U.S. TRUTH SEEKER APPEAL.

38 Park Row, New York, N. Y.,
August 26, 1944.

Dear Friend and Fellow-Editor,—The war has made more difficult the publishing of a Freethought paper through censorship. The suit filed last year against the Collector of Customs for holding imported books is still pending in the United Circuit Court of Appeals. When, after the filing of the suit, the Government delivered the seized shipments, we sent substantial orders to England for Freethought books. These later shipments, though forwarded six months or more ago, have been held by the Customs, thus making a joke of the courts and causing us, through inability to fill orders, more expense, and much extra work. The Government is giving us the run-around.

On August 10, 1944, we filed a second suit in the Federal District Court against Collector of Customs Harry M. Durning to obtain delivery of the recently seized shipments. The defendant has 60 days within which to reply. The lying daily advertising sheets known as newspapers did not regard the filing of the suit as news, except that " The New York Times " reported it as " a suit for a judicial ruling whether the freedom of speech, the press and religion exist in a greater degree in Great Britain than in the United States."

We ask your aid and co-operation in the struggle to maintain " The Truth Seeker " as the best memorial to George Macdonald.

Notwithstanding their gain in political power and wealth, the churches are, in our opinion, slowly losing their hold on the people. We shall continue to maintain a centre for the dissemination of Freethought, without compromise. We see no reason why the case for Atheism should not be discussed and considered as frankly and as fully as the case for Theism. That is democracy. As we are not running for office, we can afford to do this with no softening of the truth or pandering to the hesitations of the sentimentalists.

Yours for equal liberty for Americans and Britishers,

CHARLES SMITH (Editor).

Dear Guy A. Aldred,

It was with some gratification that I noticed that you gave generous space in the August issue of "The Word" concerning the treatment of American Conchies by the present administration. The people in Britain should know the truth about a government that claims to be the champion of oppressed people everywhere.

I read your publication with great interest and admiration—your topics are so vital, and you discuss them fearlessly. We have nothing approaching the spirit of your paper in the United States. An attempt in that direction would be popular. For the most part, the very heart of our objections to conscription, regimentation, and war is destroyed by the supine acceptance of the principle of conscription by almost all the pacifist organisations. Our American Civil Liberties Union has gone on record that it will not oppose military conscription, because that form of slavery was put over on our people a few times in the past and they adjude it constitutional; and further that in its judgment a labour conscription is also constitutional, and that devotion to the Bill of Rights must be replaced by a devotion to the war effort. Thus it prepares the basis for washing its hands of any attempt to challenge these violations of the Bill of Rights. That is an attempt to let our liberties go by default. It has made one concession to conscience, and that is it will attempt to help the individual Conchie, but in doing so will try to avoid the challenge to conscription. So far it has been more obstructionist than a help in defending conscience.

"It Might Have Happened to You" is a splendid attempt to come to the defence of the unpopular victims of war hysteria. We have the same prejudices and abuses operating here, with no one to defend these victims as ably as you have. Unfortunately, many of the men and women who have witnessed the demoralising effects of condemning an entire race for the sins of a few, are the very first to insist upon this intolerance that is helping to ruin our civilisation. Labour leaders are doing much to increase this intolerance, and civil liberties organisations show no ardour for defending unpopular individuals at this moment.

For that reason we take new courage every time we see your outspoken and vigorous defence of

(*Continued foot Column 2*)

EDWARD SHAW'S APPEAL

The following report is culled from *The Glasgow Herald* for Friday, October 6, 1944 :—

ORDER FOR MEDICAL EXAMINATION.
Glasgow Conviction Quashed.

The Justiciary Appeal Court (the Lord Justice-Clerk and Lords Mackay and Stevenson) yesterday quashed a conviction obtained in Glasgow Sheriff Court against Edward Shaw, 173 Dalmarnock Road, Bridgeton, Glasgow, on a charge under the National Service Act, 1939, of having failed to comply with an order to submit himself for medical examination.

The facts found proved showed that the appellant had been served with a notice requiring him to submit himself for medical examination at 917 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow, at 2-30 p.m on June 21, 1944. The appellant, who on the date in question was in custody, was taken to 917 Dumbarton Road in a police van, arriving there about 2 20 p.m.

He was asked by the clerk in charge of the waiting-room if he would submit to medical examination, but he refused. He was thereafter taken to the medical officer in attendance, and he again refused when asked if he would submit himself for examination.

The appellant was then taken to the Marine Police Office, arriving there between 2-25 and 2-30 p.m.

"A QUIBBLE."

Before Sheriff-substitute A. H. Denholm Gillies, before whom the appellant was charged, he maintained that as he was in custody at the Marine Police Office on June 21, 1944, at 2-30 p.m, he could not be in attendance at 9-17 Dumbarton Road as ordered by the notice served on him.

The Sheriff-substitute considered that argument was a quibble, and that 5 or 10 minutes one way or the other was not a sufficient ground for vitiating the proceedings. He passed sentence of 12 months' imprisonment.

In moving that the appeal be sustained, the Lord Justice-Clerk said it had been said with truth that the appellant's argument was of the most technical kind, but, on the other hand, he did not see how their Lordships could refrain from giving effect to it, because the obligation on the appellant to submit himself to examination was defined with precision in the statute and echoed in the Order, and it was an obligation which only became operative at 2-30 p.m.

A statutory offence of that kind could not be committed, in his Lordship's view, in anticipation, nor could a prosecution be brought because a person said in advance that he intended to commit a statutory offence.

The other Judges concurred. Appellant, who pleaded his own case, was allowed 10 guineas expenses.

The *Scottish Daily Express*, same day, recorded the facts in a somewhat humorous strain. We reproduce the headings and the opening and closing paragraphs :—

EDWARD SHAW SAVED MONTHS ON MINUTES
Refused "medical," sentenced, freed.

At 2-30 p.m on June 21, 1944, Edward Shaw was to present himself for medical examination which would help decide what form of national service he would do.

The time—2-30 p.m.—is very important because Edward Shaw is a stickler for time. . . .

So Edward Shaw, who pleaded his own case and won it on a matter of minutes, left court to spend in a different way 12 months which might have been passed in jail. And his expenses were fixed at £10 10s.

Despite the reporter's humour, the decision of the High Court is sound. The Sheriff-Substitute ought not to have denounced the argument as a "quibble." It was a correct constitutional argument and it is in such considerations that the liberty and rights of the citizen rest.

This is Shaw's fourth appeal to the High Court of Justiciary by way of Stated Case, since he was convicted first in the Glasgow Sheriff Court, on July 1, 1942, by Sheriff-Substitute MacDonald. He was ordered to be detained seven days for medical examination.

Shaw's appeal was heard on September 22, 1942. The conviction was upheld and the case remitted back to the Sheriff-Substitute.

Shaw surrendered himself to the Glasgow Court, on October 6, 1942. Notices were served on him for medical examination, which Shaw refused to obey. The case came before Sheriff-Substitute Haldane, on October 20, when Shaw raised certain preliminary objections. These were repelled, and on October 29 Shaw was found guilty, and fined £5 and allowed fourteen days within which to pay the fine. He appealed, and his appeal was dismisesd on March 17, 1943.

The Ministry of Labour did not proceed against him again until December 21, 1943. He then appeared before Sheriff Haldane. He raised objections, which were repelled. The case was tried on January 17, 1944, and on January 25, the Sheriff found the accused guilty and ordered him to be detained for a period not exceeding seven days for the purpose of medical examination. Shaw appealed this case and his appeal was dismissed in June 1944.

In each of these cases, the High Court of Justiciary granted no expenses to the Crown against the appellant.

On June 22, Shaw again appeared in the Glasgow Sheriff Court, before Sheriff-Substitute A. H. Denholm Gillies. The hearing was adjourned to June 27, when he was convicted and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. His fourth appeal—against this conviction—was successful, and he received expenses against the Crown.

Naturally, the objections taken in each Stated Case were distinct : one cannot challenge a proposition that has been decided by the High Court. On each occasion there was an irregularity in procedure which formed the basis of appeal. No expenses were given against Shaw in the three cases in which his appeals were repelled because the Court felt each time that there had been irregularity but not sufficient to constitute a sound plea of objection in law. In the fourth appeal the Court felt that his objection was unanswerable. The appeals were not merely delaying actions.

Since his first summons was served, and throughout the subsequent proceedings, Shaw has approached us for advice. We felt that it was our duty to advise him ; to discuss the points of his various appeals with him ; to advise him as to precedents and definitions ; and to draw up his legal objections. All this has been done without cost to him or to the movement, and without fuss. His victory is in exactly the same legal category, and as complete as that of the four Trotskyists, whose case the I.L.P. and the Anarchists supported at various meetings, at which hundreds of pounds were raised to throw away on solicitors and King's counsel. The Trotskyist cases were utterly unworthy of all the fuss, and it is a disgrace that money that ought to be used for propaganda should be dissipated on lawyers in the absurd fashion that was done in these cases.

Two C.O. cases that went to Edinburgh, concerning girl comrades, emphasise the moral of the Shaw case.

In one case the accused was persuaded to go to a lawyer who professed to have Labour and C.O. sympathies. He advised her to plead guilty. She refused and consulted us. We suggested that she conduct her own case and raise certain preliminary objections. Her lawyer refused to accept these objections and said he was unable to argue them. He insisted on substituting quite different objections : one of these was clearly fallacious and negatived by the *Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act*, 1908. It was apparent that he could not read *legally* the Act.

At the trial, he put his client into the witness-box without warning, and after informing her that he would not do so. Naturally, she fumbled and stumbled. He urged no plea in mitigation. She was fined £15. She raised the money for the Stated Case and consigned the required sum in Court, giving it to her lawyer. He then withdrew from the case and she was left to plead her case in person and to speak to law points she had not raised as distinct from and opposed to the objections she wished to raise. Her conviction and fine were upheld but no expenses were given against her. When she went back to the Sheriff Court she found that her lawyer had lifted her caution money for himself to cover his costs.

Had we been in her place we would have taken action against both the lawyer and the Sheriff Clerk. Despite the statements in his letters, the Sheriff Clerk had no right, under the terms of the *Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act*, 1908 —and its very clear and very exact terms—to permit that money to be lifted by the lawyer *privately, when the accused was conducting her appeal in person.* The lawyer had no right to collect the money under such circumstances. His claim for expenses was a different matter and had no relation to the money consigned in Court. The Sheriff Clerk of Lanarkshire was gravely in error and the lawyer was guilty of unprofessional conduct. Both should have been censured. The girl was menaced with imprisonment for not paying money actually consigned in Court.

In the other case, exactly similar, the accused acted under our advice throughout. She was fined £2 only. Her conviction was upheld without expenses. She has received since unconditional exemption.

The Sheriff Court at Glasgow has shown great courtesy to the accused in all these cases. The defence has suffered no harm from conducting the case in person. This is as it should be.

In the Sheriff Court at Hamilton, where we conducted the defence—and won—in two Anarchist fire-watching cases, every courtesy was shown both by the Sheriff and the Procurator-Fiscal. A somewhat different atmosphere prevailed at the Dumbarton Sheriff Court on the one occasion that we appeared there, for a girl who did not want to be deported to England. Finally she was successful and the Court showed some consideration. But the Sheriff evinced a touching bias for solicitors and strong objection both to the person who really pleads in person, unless pleading guilty,and to a layman pleading on such a person's behalf. Actually, the Courts should be made people's courts : and Statutes should be altered at least to make it possible for unpaid public defenders to plea, whether officially lawyers or not, so long as the decorum of public pleading is preserved. Under certain circumstances, the layman may be a greater and abler jurist than the professional lawyer. The present division of the Bar in Britain into solicitors and barristers or advocates is absurd. There ought to be only counsellors-at-law and not two departments to the profession. This division is merely a professional extension of the anti-layman attitude.

It will be foolish if bombastic comments are made on the Shaw case at open-air meetings. The decision was a sound and strictly legal decision. The conduct of the Court, in recording the decision, reflects great credit on the Lord Justice Clerk, and Lords Mackay and Stevenson, who heard the appeal. It is a triumph for reason and for democratic justice. But it does mean that persons must have been sentenced previously in the Sheriff Court who ought not to have been sentenced : for clearly the right to irregularity of procedure has been assumed to have been justifiable by Ministry of Labour officials. Shaw's case cannot have been the first case of irregular timing.

The time decision now given is binding in other cases still pending. It is most important. The decision will retain its importance after conscription has been swept from the Statute Book and the horrors of the present war are but vague memories of an inglorious episode in human struggle. The very importance of this decision, and the unwillingness of lawyers to defend adequately in conchie cases, and their reluctance to do so in poverty cases, since their "overhead" charges must be met and dabbling in misery is their profession, directs attention to the concluding plea of the "Prisoners at the Bar" essay, in our pamphlet, *A Call to Manhood*.

We plead for a layman to be recognised in every city and village as an unpaid public defender. The need for such a person to protect the poor, and to defend the civil rights of the citizen, so long as our present social system exists, is shown to be imperative by the Shaw case. Until this is done, we are prepared—as far as time and energy permits, always remembering that we are but one person—freely to help those who are in trouble, and are too poor to engage lawyers. We cannot appear for them in Courts, except by special permission of the Sheriff or the Magistrate, as the case may be, and we are unwilling to seek such permission—which might be granted in some cases and refused in others. We can advise and guide, which may mean a great deal.

Reverting to Edward Shaw, we suggest to the Ministry of Labour that these prosecutions should cease. We have known Shaw for several years. He holds very definite anti-militarist views and has no intention of becoming a soldier. He was born on January 10, 1906, and so is now over thirty-eight years of age. Not a very good age for military experiment under a sorry economic system. Why not accept the fact that he is a conscientious objector or war-resister?

Continuous Court appearances have all the appearance of a persecution. In Shaw's case, they have lost their dignity and must be considered either ridiculous or vindictive. A very poor advertisement for authority. Why not accept facts and leave Shaw alone? Allow that his conduct has established his objection and his uselessness to the military cause.

"CONCHIE" FELLOWSHIP

BY DOUGLAS ROGERS

Between October 21 and 28, conscientious objectors throughout Britain were meeting together in fellowship week.

Nearly 100 meetings had been arranged throughout Britain, and in one town, Derby, meetings were arranged for each night of the week.

What is in C.O.'s minds these days? Obviously, very much to the front is the fact that the War is approaching its end and the "peace" that will follow it is an immense, vacant, questioning void. C.O.s, like everybody else, will be wondering where they will stand in the social turmoil that must follow the ending of hostilities.

This fellowship of conscientious objectors is an odd business really. Here are several thousands of men and women driven together into a single grouping from a variety of reasons but with one thing in common that on a single, particular, immediate issue their varying convictions compelled them to take the same stand. It is a unity of circumstance rather than of desire. And it is based in its essentials upon something negative. How far can this unity, based upon the determination *not* to do something, be sustained and turned into a positive unity to *do* something that can continue into the peace? Certainly this is something very much in my own mind and I expect it will be in the minds of my comrade war resisters.

How far is there a sense of fellowship among conscientious objectors? It is not a stable quantity. It is strongest in the face of persecution; it is weakest when there is no sense of being driven together in self-defence. It is strong in prison. I remember my own emotions when, after the first three desolate days without any real human contact, I looked across the prison workshop and saw a chap nodding his head towards me questioningly and shaping his fingers to the letters "C.O.". It was immensely sustaining and such was our fellowship in gaol.

And only this afternoon, in different circumstances, I had demonstrated to me the sense of being driven into a position of unity with people on a single issue. It was at a Press reception given by the officers of the National Peace Council in connection with a "National Petition for a Constructive Peace". I had gone there with a good deal of scepticism and prejudice. The petition aggravated me. It was so manifestly right in its motives. And it was so manifestly futile.

Here was a recital in broad, generalised terms of the primary, essential conditions of a peace that can flourish, expand and endure. But how to get them? Good-hearted folk were expected to express their agreement by signing the petition which, after listing these conditions, prayed *His Majesty's Government* to formulate such a programme of constructive peace-making, to put it into action at home as fully and as speedily as possible, and to commend it vigorously in the international field as the necesary basis for an enduring peace. And here were Professor Norman Bentwich, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Dame Sybil Thorndike, the Rev. Henry Carter and Mr. Gerald Bailey to use their charm and persuasion in convincing the representatives of the Press that they should support such a programme. What nonsense As far as I could gather, the daily Press was represented alone by the generous soul of Hannen Swaffer. One can guess what the hard-bitten news-editors of the capitalist dailies thought about it!

I was thinking that the basis of prayer is faith and I had no faith in the Government to whom we were supposed to pray.

The good and eminent folk at the head of the table said their pieces and the Press were invited to ask questions. Then it was that a sarcastic hard-faced man said: "Are Polish refugees who have had their women and children murdered by the Germans going to be asked to sign this petition?" The strict answer was that only British nationals could petition Parliament but, since implicit in a constructive peace is a denial of Vansittartism and an insistence that the German people must help make the peace, our Hun-hating Press-man asked about six more questions with accelerating bitterness, all suggesting that humanity's most urgent and compelling task was to punish the Germans and to continue to punish them, generation after generation, until Doomsday, even the unborn Germans apparently being bad.

Here was the voice of hate and bitterness and blind, unreasoning emotion that is now shaping the peace. Here was the voice of authority that will commit us to blunder through another generation of fear and suspicion, mistakes and national antagonisms, into another chaos of world slaughter.

Only one thing was then urgent. That was to resist the wave of unthinking hate which, if we are not guarded, will drown every hope of moving towards a decent world. Obviously, only fundamental social changes can, banish war and poverty, but inasmuch as we can defend reason against blind emotion we shall increase our opportunities of making these social changes. And here at once was the need for vigorous defence.

It did not change my mind about the petition. I still think that, well-meaning as it is, it is in itself utterly futile. But in that moment I knew that the well-meaning men and women who sponsored it were the allies of all who want the good new world of truth, co-operation and peace, and want to be rid for ever of the bad old world of lies, rivalry and war. And I would not then have said one word of criticism of them or their petition. You do not say these things in the presence of those who would hate the goodwill contained in it. Therein is the drawing together of people in defence.

What I want to say to other C.O.s is this. In this war we have, in self-defence, found fellowship. In the peace which will soon be upon us our struggle will broaden in the quest for a world of peace. As the struggle broadens we shall find new allies as the dangers and urgencies crowd upon us and, although we must at all costs remember that our differences are as nothing compared with our agreement. Because there is a gulf between the people of goodwill who look eagerly towards a better world and the people of bad-will who, sunk beyond survival in the cynicism of the old-world, can never escape from it.

Swaffer said one thing, simple but profound, which is the rejection of all who can remember nothing but their hates: "It is the new world which matters and not the old war!"

During five years of war, of ostracism and misunderstandings, C.O.s will many of them have been given a sense of segregation from society so that they are in danger of feeling detached and fundamentally different from those with whom for five years they have been in such disagreement. Yet in fundamental respects our ideals are not much removed from thousands who, with equal sincerity, felt compelled to support the war.

As we move forward out of the negative struggle against war into the positive struggle for peace, let us look firstly for men and women with whom we may join hands in common cause, and if we do that, somewhere and somewhen we shall find a common, effective action.

NEW ZEALAND LETTERS

The following letters were in the mail when the September issue was passing through the press. Readers will be interested to note the references to our comrade, Dr. Sidney Townend.

Addressed to the Duke of Bedford:—

My Dear Duke,—You put the monetary reform position very clearly and simply. It is explanations of this type that are required. Nearly all social credit publications strees in colourful language the machinations of the international financiers or gangsters, as they are sometimes called. While maybe the reflection is well merited I wonder if it has occurred to social credit publicists that by enhancing in this manner the unsavoury reputations of the bankers they create in the mind of the reader the idea; "These chaps who control the monetary system are devilish clever. I'm afraid it's beyond my poor intellect. I give up"? That is the effect it has on me.

Many of my friends are monetary reformers. Last week when I was released from prison, I left behind me an English enthusiast, Dr. Sidney Townend, a textile expert specially brought to this country. He has heard you speak in England and is very lavish in his praise of you. He is refusing to co-operate in the defaulters' detention camps.

Did I tell you about the attack made upon you by F. A. Hornibrook, the Freethinker? My wife took up the cudgels on your behalf, but with the attacker in England and the defender in New Zealand it was impossible to pursue the discussion.

You must be amused at some of the charges made against you. I remember at the time the statue was painted you were described in cable news as the "82-year-old Duke of Bedford"! How useful is "Who's Who" to the newspaper man!

Just before leaving Paparua prison a warder and I were holding a political discussion—he was a radical—and he mentioned reactionaries "like the Duke of Bedford"! I asked why you were a reactionary and was informed that you were pro-German and had gone to Dublin to negotiate with the German Minister. He added that you were seen leading the Bedfordshire Hunt, at full gallop, across a military airdrome!

Very gently, I pointed out that you had been confused possibly with your father; that when you went to Dublin you were not Duke of Bedford; that hunting was abnoxious to you and that you sat on the socialist benches in the House of Lords. But just imagine your 82-year-old father leading the hunt!

The Press has done its job of misrepresentation quite well.

In two days' time I shall appear in the civil court charged with refusing to obey a military order and expect to be duly sentenced to defaulter's detention for the duration.

The detention camps, I feel, are a dangerous precedent to establish and for that and many other reasons, I decline to co-operate, I expect to remain in prison for the duration. After 2½ years of the dreary monotony of prison life I am not thrilled at the prospect of returning, but there is nothing else for it. We must struggle on.

Fraternally yours,

MICHAEL YOUNG.

Burnham Detention Barracks,
Canterbury, New Zealand, 12/5/44.

Addressed to the editor:—

Dear Guy Aldred,— You may be interested to learn the latest news of my husband.

He was sentenced to Defaulter's Detention at Strathmore for the duration, after being held at Burnham Military Camp near Christchurch. As he does not believe in making conscription work, he refused to obey orders, and was sentenced to three months in Mt. Eden Gaol, Auckland. This has become the practice of Magistrates in dealing with non-co-operators. Formerly, the non-co-operator was brought before a J.P. (in his private room and not in open court) and sentenced, or "transferred," to prison for the duration.

At the expiry of his three months' sentence, my husband will be taken to one of the "concentration camps," as they are termed in both military and police circles here. The procedure will be repeated.

Recently, two C.O.s who were serving a three months' sentence at one prison for non-co-operation in detention camp were transferred to another, and were actually shackled together en route. One of these men was Dr. Sidney Townend, a textile expert from Leeds, who was imported by the N.Z. government to give assistance to the industry here. Rather a curious form of hospitality, isn't it?

It is so true that if we take the sword to overthrow Nazidom instead of genuinely seeking to remove its cause, we are forced to adopt its methods. It amazes me that people are still deluded by the idea of a "war for liberty".

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs) WINIFRED M. YOUNG.

DUNDEE PROPAGANDA

Our recent visit to Dundee under the auspices of the Dundee Fabian Society recalls our previous visits to the Jute City.

We delivered our first lecture in Dundee on Sunday afternoon, July 13, 1913, at Shore Terrace, the subject being "Socialism and God." There was a large audience and a good discussion. At night, we spoke at Albert Square, the subject being "When Trade Unions Fail."

These meetings were organised by the well-known Dundee Anarchist and poet, Lowden Macartney, who used the pen-name, "Alvan Marlaw." Macartney had a small but famous bookshop in the Overgate, known as "The Poet's Box." He had this shop up to a year ago and vacated it only because of his great age and growing frailty.

Reporting the meetings in *The Herald of Revolt* for August, 1913, Macartney stated that the subject of the second lecture was one of "such vital importance." He added :—

It was not the old-fashioned—the Orthodox—Trade Unionism, Aldred was up against. He did not spare the Industrialists and Syndicalists, but demonstrated that they cannot accomplish what they had set out to do—overthrow Capitalism and establish Socialism—all that they or anyone can do is, enlighten the Proletariat, spread the ideas of Revolution and Economic Emancipation, so that when the time is ripe, and the social conditions force the workers into a general revolt, they will know what they are out for, and take it. The questions came fast and furious. They were all fully and adequately answered. The strongest criticism came from comrade Esterman of the local S.L.P.

Esterman has become a doctor and long since left Dundee and the Movement. The S.L.P. has passed away. Our propaganda carries on, not because it is hopeless, but because the task requires patience and social error is entrenched firmly owing to the economics of the daily struggle and the deadly fear of truth and life that paralyses the energy and thought of those who exist from day to day.

The Monday evening meeting was a continuation, almost, of the Sunday evening discussion. In dealing with Industrial Unionism, we mentioned the parables of Jesus, and stirred up religious discussion. Some local orthodox Christians rushed into the fray and, wrote Macartney, were

much astonished to hear the "infidels" expound their own doctrines in a way their parsons dare not do.

We addressed three more large meetings before completing this visit.

Our second visit to Dundee was in October. The feature of this visit was the sermon we delivered under the auspices of the Unitarian congregation, known as the Free Religious Movement. Macartney reported this address in *The Herald of Revolt* for December 1913, as follows :—

On Sunday evening, October 26, Guy Aldred spoke in the Forresters' Hall, before the congregation of "The Free Religious Movement," a body which is undoubtedly the most broad-minded of any calling itself a church.

It was owing to the goodwill of an influential member that Aldred was invited to occupy the platform. When he submitted several subject titles to be chosen from, he was told to select his own subject and "deliver his message," in his own way. Accordingly he lectured on "Satan's Synagogue," taking for his text, Rev. 2, 9; "I know the blasphemy of those who say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan."

He explained the teachings and acts of Jesus of Nazareth from a purely materialistic standpoint; blasphemy, for instance, being a sin against the "Holy Spirit," i.e., the spirit of truth—not a supernatural being.

Then there was his (Christ's) advice to the Woman of Samaria to worship God in spirit and in truth, not in the mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem—that is, not by kneeling and praying, and other devotional acts, but by the right conduct. In this manner he secularised the whole of Christ's teaching, and maintained that he was simply a popular leader, whose language, adapted to the understanding of those among whom he lived, has been distorted from its original meaning by theologians of the church.

The lecturer made a very favourable impression. The younger members of the audience, especially, gave signs of the liveliest appreciation. It was all so new to them, so different from the kind of discourse they are accustomed to. The most disappointing part of the affair was the weakness of the opposition.

We had the literature set out on a broad window ledge in the vestibule, and it was eagerly bought up at the close of the meeting. Altogether, we had reason to be pleased with the result.

One chief source of satisfaction is the fact that the audience was largely composed of persons who would not have been attracted to an ordinary meeting. They were roused and interested; possibly a few of them were shocked, for they heard what, when properly understood, was rank atheism, preached by a young stranger, who both piqued and gratified their curiosity.

Aldred's appearance on this platform has given offence to a number of those of our "movement" to whom the very name of church is tabooed. They did not go to hear him, but were content to remain outside and criticise. Had they heard him, they might have had less fault to find.

Our third visit was in December 1913. But there seems to be no reports of the meetings addressed on this occasion.

Before making our fourth visit we had suffered four courts-martial, been released from prison twice under the Cat and Mouse Act, and discharged in disgrace from the Army we had refused to join!

It was appropriate that this campaign in Dundee should be under the auspices of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen. We were advertised, without our consent or knowledge, in handbills and in the columns of the Dundee *Telegraph* as "*Guy Aldred of Glasgow and London*" and the "*famous Guy Aldred.*" At one of the meetings we spoke in company with Captain White, advertised as being "Son of Sir George White, Defender of Ladysmith." The chairman at this and many of the other meetings during this visit was W. P. Henderson, the one-time famous Dundee footballer. Comrade Henderson now lives in Glasgow and is no longer active in the movement. At this time he did tremendous work on behalf of the ex-Servicemen living in Dundee.

The ex-Servicemen of Dundee, who had fought through the war and had returned to poverty and slums, many of them injured for life, had no feelings of resentment against the Socialist conscientious objector. On the contrary, they regarded him as a comrade in the great struggle and, in every way, demonstrated the greatest fraternity and solidarity.

Our recent visit was under the auspices of the Dundee Fabian Society. The active organiser of this meeting was our comrade, J. M. Wallace, who produces a weekly Socialist commentary on the struggle in Dundee, called *The Spotlight*. This is obtainable from him at his address, 23 Hillside Road, Dundee. The chairman was J. M. Scott, secretary of the local branch of the National Council of Labour Colleges.

There is some talk of our returning to Dundee for a debate on Socialism.

MERSEYSIDE PACIFIST JOINT COMMITTEE.

We see our common job of peace-making from different angles. It seems so vast and involved from any angle that we lose sight of the whole.

The activity indicated below is an attempt to help pacifists to see the whole.

At HOPE STREET CHURCH, LIVERPOOL,
SUNDAYS at 3-30 p.m.

Peace Services have been and will be conducted by Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A.

At FRIENDS INSTITUTE, ISLINGTON, LIVERPOOL, at 7-30 p.m.

MONDAYS, TUESDAYS and SATURDAYS.

During October, many meetings have been held addressed by various speakers. Enquire about future meetings.

Monday, Nov. 6—Local Speakers on Local Affairs.

COMMUNISM
THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED

Twenty-nine chapters, exposing Moscow Adventurism and Reaction, and giving the full story of the Communist Party in Great Britain, The United States, Russia, Germany, Holland and China. An unanswerable factual review. Price: 1/6; post free, 1/9.

"COMMUNISTS" AND THE WAR MOSCOW TO-DAY

"Communism"! *Sic* forsooth, ahem, and spare the mark! Likewise discard the mask.

The *News Review*, London, an Odham's Press publication that is *not* opposed to the Stalinist regime, in its issue for September 21, published the following report from its Moscow corespondent :—

For anyone with the time and money, life has improved in Moscow as rapidly as the Red Army has advanced on the front. But not everyone by any means has the necessary roubles.

The new unrationed Soviet Commercial Department stores, food shops and restaurants contain everything to wear, eat and drink. But prices are very high and queues are long.

Reportedly, the remainder of the ration system (in low-priced State stores) will be abolished before the end of the war. But for the average Russian rationing remains a reality. Prices of unrationed goods prevent him from buying more than a smattering of luxuries.

Commercial food stores were instituted in Moscow last March with prices about as high as on the free markets, where peasants can sell their surplus produce without State control. Some sample prices on the free market (in roubles for 1 kilogramme. The rouble equals approximately a shilling): White bread, 275. Sweet butter, 800. Eggs, 15 roubles each. Beef, 320. Sugar, 650.

The average war-time wage-earner receives about 600 roubles monthly. A month's work will buy about 2 lb. of sugar in a commercial store.

A man's woollen suit in a commercial store costs 4500 roubles, men's shoes 1000 to 3700, women's rayon stockings 280, toilet soap 85 to 150. A worker can spend his average monthly wage on a pair of children's shoes alone.

But the salaries of factory directors and other important executives run as high as 10,000 roubles monthly with overtime pay and bonuses. Within their reach are such items as a piano at 20,000 roubles, a woman's caracul coat at 17,000.

Rents, compared with store prices, are low. A three-room flat costs an average of 480 roubles monthly, but the average worker considers himself lucky to have a single room for a family of three or four at a much smaller rent.

Queues are as much an obstacle to purchase as prices. Lines five blocks long coil around and away from "Mostorg," Moscow's main department store. Inside there are more queues. A day's work is often involved in making a single purchase.

This is "Communism" according to the contemptible "Communist" stooges, Gallacher, Pritt, Pollitt & Co. Pioneers of Socialism were murdered, bogus trials arranged, Trotsky was assassinated, Anarchists killed in prisons as counter-revolutionaries, that this state of affairs might come to be in the name of the proletarian revolution. When are the workers going to politically repudiate and destroy utterly these insufferable knaves and hypocrites.

The Editor has been invited to address the Glasgow University Union Dialectic Society on Thursday, November 24. His subject will be: "Education and The Individual."

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY
Bradford Branch.

WINTER PROGRAMME
SCIENCE ROOM, MECHANICS' INSTITUTE
EVERY SUNDAY, 6.30 p.m.

Nov. 5—Rev. Dudley Richards
"The origin of morality—was it religious?"
,, 12—Mr. R. H. Rosetti
"Do we live when we die?"
(Meeting in Lecture Hall)
,, 19—Councillor Craig Walker (Leeds)
,, 26—Mr. J. G. Dodgson
"Social Credit"
Dec. 3—Brains Trust. Bring your questions.
,, 10—Mr. A. G. Dutton
,, 17—Mr. Clifford Allen
"Is Russia Socialist?"
,, 31—Open Discussion.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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CONSCRIPTION AFTER THE WAR.

Rhys Davies and Guy Aldred in Great Protest Demonstration.

SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR THESE COLUMNS BY J. R. HENDERSON.

[We were unable to publish the following report by our Comrade "Gowrie" in our November issue.—Ed.]

The meeting held on October 8th in Glasgow under the auspices of the No Conscription League proved to be one of the most successful and inspiring demonstrations against war and conscription that has yet been held in the country. The Cosmo Cinema was filled, and there were no signs of opposition. Glasgow showed its appreciation of the work and the magnificent records of the two speakers, Rhys Davies and Guy Aldred, in wholehearted fashion, and Mr. Rhys Davies confided to comrades before leaving the city that this was his finest meeting of the war so far.

In opening, BAILIE ALEX. PORTER, chairman, said that at the end of five years we still find people willing to support the continuation of the war. Even the churches are holding days of prayer thanking God for the success of the Allied Forces on the battlefield. Millions of men have either lost their lives or been maimed. Hundreds of thousands of people have been and are being rendered homeless. There is as yet no organised effort to give effect to the feeling which is general that the war should now end.

The speakers were both well-known men, with long records of consistent opposition to war and militarism. They would probably disagree about nine out of ten subjects, but they were united on the question of war. The No Conscription League considers that there is more need for its existence to-day than there was at the outbreak of hostilities. We now find that many members of Parliament are anxious that conscription should continue during the peace. As long as conscription remains on the Statute Book in this country, we will fight it in every shape and form. We will encourage young men and women to take their stand against it. At the moment it is the most important subject facing the people of this country. (Applause.)

WAR AND THE WORKERS.

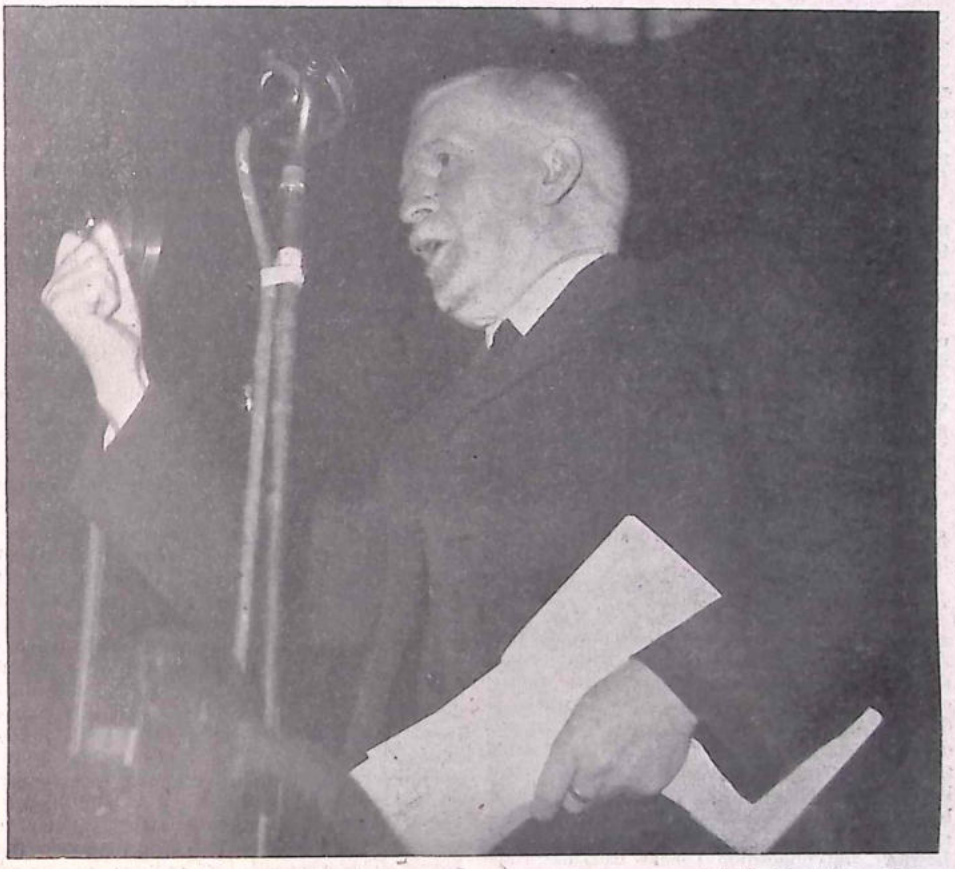
GUY ALDRED, who was warmly received, said in the course of his speech:

"Post-war conscription will not begin the day after peace is concluded. It is being developed now, both in a practical way and by an insidious propaganda which is being carried on at the present time. It is very necessary from time to time to assert one's opposition to the Government and to the powers that be. Rhys Davies has maintained a consistent anti-militarist stand in the House of Commons, and is one of the most prominent of the men who are going about the country rousing the people against military and industrial conscription.

"The very nature of capitalism implies war. It implies the struggle for markets. It implies the dominance of the financier over the people. Labour itself is naturally anti-war. After all, the worker is a productive person, and the worker of one country has no enmity against the worker of another country. It is not from the workers that war comes; but it is from those who seek power and dominion over people, and therefore the struggle against conscription should be a struggle of the whole working-class movement.

"The state of the world to-day, with almost the whole of humanity involved in a bloody catastrophe, with science being used for the destruction of mankind and the destruction of the degree of civilisation to which we have attained, is a very strong comment on our activity religiously, scientifically, educationally, and politically. In its early days the working-class movement recorded its unwavering opposition to war and preparation for war. Only shortly before the last war the entire Labour movement attacked Lord Roberts for his advocacy of compulsory military service. To-day the Labour Party is in unison with the National Government, and prominent Labour men are administering the conscription laws of the country.

"We must stand for a living vital individualism within our Socialism. We have got to look upon ourselves as having common social interests and requirements, each one of us an individual personality and an individual integrity, which can be taken away by no state and no church.



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RHYS DAVIES, M.P., IN ACTION.

Speaking at the Labour Party Conference, 1944, in defence of Socialism and Peace against Vansittartism.

THE PASSPORT SYSTEM.

"The present Government is quite willing to introduce what has never been known in this country before—the perpetuation of the Identity Card system, which is purely and simply an internal passport. Not so very long ago we spoke with a superior scorn about this system as practised by continental countries such as Russia and Germany. That could never happen in Free Britain. But to-day we accept it as a war-time measure. War-time measures unfortunately have a tendency to continue long after war-time into peace-time. The internal passport must go. We must get the virus of nationalism out of our veins, in so far as it represents a jealousy of antagonism and imperialism. We have got to get rid of empire building and exploitation. Loyalty to any country does not mean the murder of the people of other countries. That is the lowest and the most contemptible concept of loyalty that one can imagine. The highest courage is moral courage. They would have us believe in mere animal courage and not in the real courage of mankind.

"What are we going to do about the working-class movement at the present time? We can divide ourselves up into small sectarian groups. That is all very well as discussion circles. We can keep our divisions and develop our divisions, but we must not overlook the need for unity in great issues which affect the whole of the workers.

Variety within unity, the ideal of art, should also be the ideal of the Socialist movement. In so far as the House of Commons can be made a sounding board, the outstanding person in the House in the opposition to war is our comrade Rhys Davies. (Cheers.) When Rhys Davies fires question after question to the Ministers responsible in the House of Commons, then I hold that it is my business to support that work. Since the ordinary press will not give him a sounding board, I'll give him a sounding board, because I approve of the work he does. (Applause.)

UNITE AGAINST WAR.

"The power of massive physical organisation at the disposal of the ruling class is tremendous. So we should try to come together, a solid movement of anti-conscription and anti-militarism with which to face them. When they conscript a man they don't bother what his religious ideas, or lack of them, may be. They would say to me, for instance, 'So you're an atheist? Right. You'll make magnificent cannon fodder. Get into the front line!' (Laughter.)

"But even some sections of the Labour Movement cannot associate with an atheist. What is to hinder us from uniting, in order to make the world a place worth while living in? We live a poverty-stricken life of misery in capitalist society. On the one side the army of ignorance, of war and destruction. On our side the living army of Socialism. As the war ends, so the Socialist movement should be re-born. The false values that are imposed upon us to-day we must get rid of. Mere resistance to war is not enough. We have to see to it that the children of to-day do not grow up only to be destroyed on the threshold of manhood. Human nature must reach its full height, and it must do so in kindness and understanding. It must do so in liberty." (Loud applause.)

SOCIALISTS AND CONSCRIPTION.

RHYS DAVIES, M.P., said: "The first thing I have to do is to thank Emrys Hughes and Guy Aldred for the *Forward* and *The Word* respectively. You have not the remotest idea what it means to us to find two well-known papers in Glasgow supporting us in our work. There is a difference in the public mind in this war from that of the war of 1914-1918. Wherever I went in those days, speaking against the war, the audiences were hostile. This time I have not had the slightest hostility from the public. What hostility and opposition I have had, has come from officialdom and the high-ups. We must remember that from the dawn of history mankind has always punished those who lived below its standard and has crucified those few who tried to live above that standard.

"We find many people to-day concerned as to whether conscription will be continued here after the end of the war. There was no conscription in this country until the last war. Up to that time Britain always said, 'One volunteer is worth three pressed men.' To-day they have conscripted mankind and they have *controlled some* wealth. They have conscripted none. Once you touch their wealth and the sources of their wealth you will find what powers there are arrayed against the common people. We have had a taste in this war of the meaning of industrial conscription. We have directed, we have prosecuted, we have persecuted and oppressed the people as a consequence of that Act. Up to August 31st 29,677 male workers, 8179 female workers, and 173 employers were prosecuted for offences against the Industrial Board. 4137 male workers and 371 female workers were sentenced to imprisonment. No employers were so sentenced.

"I protest against Socialists, men who come from ordinary humble homes, turning out more repressive and tyrannical measures than those from the traditional ruling classes. They are not capitalists, you know. They are not bankers or financiers or big landowners. Were it not for the fact that the Labour Party joined the Government, no Tory or Liberal would ever have dared to do this to the people of these islands. (Loud applause.) A pair of handcuffs are no easier to bear merely because the links were forged by a Labour man. Labour men have been used before as errand boys for the capitalist class, and when they had finished with them they threw them on the rubbish heap. If the Labour Movement can be used for that purpose, tell me the reason for its existence at all.

DANGER SIGNAL FOR TRADE UNIONS.

"Bevin has told us that conscription will go on after the war in Europe has ended. You don't require to pass a Bill to continue conscription. What you have got to do is to abolish the Act that now exists in order to stop the conscription of our people. The people of these islands will have to agitate and organise against the militarists, or conscription will remain for many years after the war. What do they want it for? We can't have the largest army. Our population doesn't allow of that. If you accept the policy of occupying Germany and Japan, well, conscription follows automatically. There is a general strike among parents in these islands against providing cannon fodder for the future.

"This Coalition Government has abolished the right of free contract between employer and employed. You can't work where you like. You've got to go where Bevin's men tell you. This Coalition Government has abolished the right to strike. But there are strikes, in spite of the abolition. The one thing that marks a workman out as between a slave and a free man is his right to lay down his tools when he wants to. (Applause.) I don't like the tendency within the Trade Union movement that their duty is to discipline their membership as between the state and the employers. If that attitude grows in the Trade Union leadership it will be good-bye to Trade Unionism after this war. That is exactly what happened in Italy and in Germany.

"There was recently a strike of gas-workers in Manchester, and the significant thing about that strike was that the men struck not against their employer, but against their union. If that idea of the executive and the officials bossing the membership, instead of the membership bossing the officials and the executive, grows, you will get strikes, not against the employers, but against the Trade Unions themselves. All this comes from a Coalition Government. The United States of America are at war, but there is no coalition there, nor in Australia, nor South Africa, and they are all at war. I think the present Coalition Government in this country is beginning to crumble at last. And the sooner the better. The existence of a Coalition Government fouls public life in this country. Men do things under a coalition that they wouldn't dream of doing if there was no coalition at all.

CONSCRIPTION MUST GO.

"We hear the contention that we shall need to retain conscription to occupy Germany. We also hear wonderful ideas of re-educating the German people after the war. We, who will not have anything like the teachers or the schools necessary to put into operation the provisions of the new English Education Act, have the arrogance, the conceit and the self-righteousness to talk about educating a nation of 70 million people. You can't keep a nation down. The German people were suffering injustices long before Hitler ever arrived on the scene. The crushing of Nazism and Fascism is not the real war aim of Britain and the United States. It is much nearer the truth to say that the destruction of Germany's industrial capacity, which was becoming too great a menace to them, is the objective of British and American capitalism.

"I am opposed to every war alike. Wars create more problems than they set out to solve. And never forget that wars, in capitalist countries invariably make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The struggle against conscription in these islands will not be an easy one. The militarists and the people behind them will do all they can to retain the power it gives them over the workers, but you may be sure that the employers will want to get rid of all the orders that are objectionable to them. And the workers should do the same." (Loud applause.)

SUPPORT OUR DEFICIT FUND

RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

IN PARLIAMENT.

On October 11, 1944, in the course of the debate on Unemployment Insurance (Increase of Benefit) Bill, our Comrade, Rhys Davies, came to grips with the question of unemployment when peace is restored.

We select a striking passage, indicting the present Anti-Socialist war coalition:—

Rhys Davies . . . . My hon. Friend the Member for Leigh (Mr. Tinker) asked the Government what they were going to do about unemployment when peace is restored. What does he expect to get at the end of a disastrous war like this? What can the nation expect when it has spent its substance on war for five years, with £20,000,000,000 of debt hanging over its head?

Mr. Tinker: I expect that the resources in the country will be used for these purposes as they have been used for war purposes.

Rhys Davies: My hon. Friend is surely too intelligent to assume that the present Government will use the nation's resources as he suggests. He may remember a statement made by an eminent statesman that political parties join coalitions in ignorance and separate in disgrace. This coalition is in disgrace before the parties begin to think of separating.

On October 17 he raised the question of a new regime in Germany:—

Rhys Davies asked the Prime Minister whether he has noted the Motion on the Order Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Westhoughton urging His Majesty's Government and its Allies to make a declaration relative to a new and democratically-minded regime in Germany; and if he will arrange for a debate on that Motion.

["That this House would welcome a declaration by His Majesty's Government, in conjunction with its allies, which would encourage the emergence within Germany of a new regime composed of democratically-minded persons in whom the United Nations could have confidence, so that a settlement of the problems which caused the present conflict in Europe might be reached on the basis of the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter."]

The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee): The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the last part, I can hold out no hope of special facilities being given in the present Session for the discussion of the Motion standing in the name of my hon. Friend.

Rhys Davies: Is my right hon. Friend aware that a few months ago, when I tabled a Motion supported by 70 of my hon. Friends on the Atlantic Charter, the Prime Minister said then that if we were determined to challenge the Government and press it to a Division he would give us a full day's Debate? Will my right hon. Friend therefore reconsider the position when I tell him that we intend on this occasion to challenge the Government's war policy; will he, knowing that, consider giving us a day's Debate?

Mr. Attlee: My right hon. Friend's previous reply was given some time ago. We are now getting towards the end of the Session.

Mr. Petherick: Is it not the case that we tried a democratically-managed regime in Germany before, and they were just the same as the others.

Which, of course, is an argument against parliamentarism. If parliamentarism failed in Germany, as it did, it was because parliamentarism failed also in Britain and France. But Mr. Petherick has not the intellectual capacity to understand that truth.

On October 20, speaking on the Vote of Credit, Comrade Davies came to grips with the war issue and the future:—

Rhys Davies: I desire to say only a very few words to the Committee. I have listened to several Debates on Votes of Credits for many years, and I think this is almost the first occasion since the outbreak of war when I have heard anyone suggesting that the time has arrived when we ought to be critical of how much money we are spending on the conflict. That is a healthy sign indeed. The hon. Member for Wallasey (Mr. Reakes) talked about waste of expenditure; I regard all money spent on war as sheer waste; and if I had any company here to-day I would vote against this Vote of Credit in the Division Lobby. I am happy to believe that there is a growing number of people in this country who agree with the point of view I have just mentioned. The time has come at last when our people ought to be told what the total debt and the interest on that National Debt will be when the war ends.

Lieut.-Commander Braithwaite: How can anyone tell that?

Rhys Davies: We can surely get estimates. The hon. and gallant Member himself gave a figure of £700,000,000 as the annual interest. Does he mean to imply that he is more intelligent than Treasury Officials?

Lieut.-Commander Braithwaite: I am within the recollection of the Committee in that I said that if we had another winter campaign, by next April the

interest on the Sinking Fund, as I had calculated it, would be £700,000. I did not predict the date when the war would end; I leave that to the astrologers of Fleet Street.

Rhys Davies: The Prime Minister said that the war would probably go into 1945, so that on the hon. and gallant Member's own showing he is not far from correct. I could not, however, understand his point about the Civil Service and the way they reply, or do not attend to his letters. He has been in this House long enough to know that if he cannot stir up a Government Department by letter he has only to put a question on the Order Paper to move it to action.

Lieut.-Commander Braithwaite: It would never be reached.

Rhys Davies: As I have said our people must face up to the economic consequences of the war, and the state of our finances when it ends. The expenditure that we are passing to-day is of course simply mortgaging the future labour power of the people of the country. It cannot be otherwise.

Sir Irving Albery (Gravesend): The hon. Member's party do not agree with that view.

Rhys Davies: That is my own view. The House of Commons is a place designed for people to speak their own minds. If we all said the same thing we would not need a Parliament at all. The House of Commons is always tolerant on this issue. What annoys me is the easy way Members of Parliament grant these huge sums of money to the Government. The last war destroyed one-half of our coal industry, never to recover, and it destroyed also one-half of the Lancashire textile industry, never to recover. This war, I am told, has sent 50 per cent. of our merchant shipping to the bottom of the sea. Then we are told we cannot secure the same standard of life after the war as we enjoyed in 1938 unless we export 50 per cent. more than we did in 1938. I think therefore that those who make glowing promises about a higher standard of life after the war are deceiving themselves and the people, and are living in a fool's paradise.

Incidentally, the question has often been put to me: How comes it that the Prime Minister goes twice to America and twice to Russia, when Great Britain is half-way between the two countries? That question is asked by many people. Why do not Stalin and Roosevelt come here for a change? Let me say what I think will happen at the end of the war. The assumption is that we shall march into Berlin, occupy Germany and keep all the Germans in submission for a decade at least. For what it is worth my view is that what Great Britain and America are doing from now onwards is to make Europe safe for Communism. It does not matter how much money we spend unless we change our attitude of mind towards the war. We ought to give some hope to the people of Germany who are opposed to Hitler and tell them to rise above the din of battle and help to make peace between the nations of Europe. The mere spending of money on war in itself is not enough; we ought to use our reason.

It is a disgraceful fact that the so-called parliamentary Socialist press should ignore the splendid and consistent struggle our Comrade, Rhys Davies, is making to use the House of Commons as a sounding-board. His voice is that of humanity, commonsense and Socialism. Since the parliamentarians do not assist his stand, the anti-parliamentary press ought to rally to his support. Comrade Davies ought to command the united backing of the entire Socialist movement at this time of crisis and grave peril to working-class struggle and the future of civilisation.

GLASGOW SECULAR SOCIETY.

Our Comrade, F. J. Corina, defender and champion of modern youth, who vigorously opposes the charges of "moral decadence" so frequently laid against young people to-day, will speak at the Cosmo Cinema, Glasgow, on Sunday, February 4th, at 2-30 p.m., under the auspices of the Glasgow Secular Society. His subject will be "The Moral Landslide."

Comrade Corina is the author of a booklet called "The Moral Landslide," in which he defends youth from the charges made against them by the churches, and he has also written a book, "We Are Sixteen," in which he not only explains to young people the reasons for the decadent sex outlook of many older people, but deals specially with sex questions for the benefit of those young people—and they are many—who need enlightenment and information.

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SEDITIOUS MEETINGS BILL

SPEECH DELIVERED By FRANCIS, DUKE OF BEDFORD

(Culled from the Official Parliamentary Reports.)

HOUSE OF LORDS, DECEMBER 14, 1795.

The Duke of Bedford said:

The Bill, my Lords, now stands before you exactly as it is to pass into law. In the course of the discussion which it has undergone; it has been divested of several obnoxious clauses. The exceptionable principle, however, still remains. No one denies that it imposes some restrictions on the right of petitioning. The Bill gives a power which is liable to abuse, it is in vain to tell me that it will not be abused. I never will confide such a power while I am ignorant for what purposes it may be applied. The ground urged for adopting this Bill has been the outrage against his Majesty's person. It has been boldly asserted that, previous to that event, the propagation of sedition was notorious and that it may be immediately traced to doctrines which were openly preached. I, as boldly, contradict the assertion. Upon that point, therefore, we are at issue. How, then, is it to be established? By proof; by investigation. These have been refused; and ministers did well to refuse them: for they were aware that their measures were not calculated to stand such a test. Had they been in possession of those proofs which we required, would they have refused them? If the circumstances of the times imposed upon them the necessity of bringing forward new acts of restriction, and of making fresh additions to the penal code of the country, would they not, if possible, have endeavoured to secure our concurrence? The present measure is liable to be grossly abused, and, I am afraid, with impunity.

I do not wish to enter into any invectives against the characters of magistrates; it is not, however, to be concealed that many of those to whom so large a power is to be given by the present Bill are known to be corrupt and interested men. And to persons of this description you give the power to arrest an Englishman while he is speaking. And in case of any resistance or obstruction, what is the power you give to the magistrate? And to disperse the meeting, to enforce military execution; and remark how many kinds of obstruction may take place in a large assembly short of actual violence; for it is not to be expected that Englishmen will, on the first mandate of a corrupt and worthless magistrate disperse like a troop of slaves. Yet in every such instance you put it in the power of a magistrate of this description to enforce the most severe penalties wherever the British spirit shall either undauntedly step forward in the arduous task of asserting it's outraged rights, or tempering it's energies with prudence, shall calmly remain on the defensive, and assume the inflexible, but unoffending attitude of opposition to caprice or tyranny.

With such a power I would not trust the man whom I most loved. To such a man I might trust my own life, liberty and property; but not those of my countrymen. I feel that, though I am not delegated from them, I am delegated for them.

With respect to the outrage upon his majesty, what did the evidence brought forward go to prove? That the persons any way implicated in that outrage were very few in number. It seemed to be the wish of ministers to prove that the outrage was entirely the act of a band of ruffians.

Supposing that to be the fact was it fitting to enslave the whole people of England for the offence of a few desperate individuals? Was their guilt a justification of those new and cruel punishments which were enacted by this Bill?

The Bill is defended as a measure of prevention. This argument for increasing the penal code, in order to prevent crimes, is founded on a most despotic principle, and is an innovation of the most dangerous nature. It is contrary to that spirit which guided the legislative proceedings of our ancestors, contrary to the whole tenour of our laws.

It is to be recollected that laws, in order to be just, ought to fall equally upon all ranks of the community. The present Bill is chiefly calculated to restrain the lower orders; and it will become the House to recollect the relative situation in which they stand to that class of society. We may be well said to fatten by the sweat of their brows. To them we are indebted, not immediately, indeed, for the situation we hold here, but for all those appendages which render that situation desirable; riches, honours and power. They can do without us; we cannot do without them.

Wherever an apology has been wanted for the bill, it has been said: "Look to the example of France."

The case of the French and of the English is materially different. The French have for centuries been doomed to bend beneath the yoke of oppression; they have been accustomed to witness the profligacy and extravagance of their court, and to consider depravity of morals as a necessary qualification for honours and preferment. Englishmen, on the contrary, have at different periods struggled boldly and gallantly for liberty, and if occasionally they have been forced to submit, they have again burst their chains, and loaded them upon their oppressors. Such has been, such, I trust, ever will be the independence of the English spirit, and the energy of the English character.

What has the example of France held out, but a solemn warning of the fatal consequences that a revolution brought on by tyranny and oppression, was certain to produce. The French, under their revolution have committed every species of horror and excess. What does this prove? Only that, in proportion as the people are the enslaved and oppressed, the less will they be qualified to enjoy, and the more strongly will they be tempted to abuse, the advantages of newly-recovered freedom.

What, on the other hand, has been the treatment of the people of this country? They have submitted to a calamitous war with patience and resignation.

How were they induced to submit in patience and bear its evils without repining? They were told that it was a war carried on for the sake of liberty, for the preservation of their free constitution. That one thing most dear to them, for which they had made so many sacrifices, you are now about to assassinate.

The present measure I most decidedly regard as a violation of the rights of the constitution, established at the Revolution.

There is one other topic on which I wish to say a few words, namely, the right to resistance. No one now stands up to defend the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. It is universally admitted that there is a certain degree of oppression which men may justifiably resist, and when to submit is no longer a question of moral duty. If it had fallen to my share to have debated this Bill at the commencement, and as it was originally brought forward, I should not have hesitated to have declared, as was done by some valued friends of mine, that if the Bill should be carried into a law and executed to its extent, resistance would then be declined from motives of prudence and not of duty.

I oppose this Bill from principle, I oppose it from the precedent which it affords for future innovation; from the example which it establishes, that Parliament have a right to violate those laws which were settled at the Revolution, and on which the Parliament then declared that they did demand and insist. In support of those principles, my ancestors shed their blood, and rather than desert or betray them, I will submit to perish.

THE "ANARCHIST" "THIRD FRONT."

Last month we published the letter of the editor of the New York Yiddish "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," addressed to our comrade Berkingoff. Editor Frank disapproves of our attacks on Rocker and Kropotkin. So he refers to us as "the friend of Lords and Dukes." This is very poor abuse. It does not answer the indictment. If we must go into personalities, we wonder how editor Frank's record for imprisonment, as an Anti-Militarist in war-time, and a political offender in peace-time, compares with our record. We know that Rocker's record does not compare at all. Even Kropotkin's falls short. Perhaps our "Anarchist" apologist should develop a wide originality in his mode of defence. Abuse must be efficient to be even abuse. The unpardonable offence, when one becomes abusive, is to be ineffectual.

Our friend is driven, in defence of Rocker and Kropotkin, to oppose Socialism to Pacifism. We have never identified the two philosophies, although we believe that they tend to merge. In "At Grips With War," first edition published in 1929, we stated at some length, the revolutionary Socialist case against mere Pacifism. Our critic is not original.

Having urged this distinction, he blandly informs us that Anarchists believe in "the third front," which is most interesting. But what is the "Anarchist Third Front?"

Anarchists are opposed to Fascism. Very good. They are opposed to Allied Imperialism. Again, very good: although Rocker's recent writings do not suggest such opposition. On the contrary, he defends and applauds British Imperialism. Let it be accepted, however, that "the Anarchist Third Front" is opposed to Allied Imperialism. How does it function?

Do the "Anarchist Third Fronters" enlist in the conscript armies of capitalist democracy?

Do the "Anarchist Third Fronters" take their stand against conscription as conscientious objectors?

These are fair questions. They require direct answers. How do the "Anarchist Third Fronters" function?

If the editor of our contemporary wishes us to believe that Kropotkin was an "Anarchist Third Fronter," then it is very easy to decide what the Third Front means. "The Anarchist Third Front" means Vansittartism.

When the war of 1914-18 broke out Kropotkin rallied to the Czar's cause. Rocker denounced him for so doing. When the war liquidated itself in the Russian Revolution, Kropotkin returned to Moscow to denounce the Bolsheviks for their Anti-Militarism and to identify the Revolution with Anti-German Militarism. His "Anarchist Third Front" was a continued capitalist war.

So we ask, in all sincerity, in simple, direct words: What is meant by this "Anarchist Third Front?" We request a simple, direct, non-abusive answer. If we do not receive such an answer, we shall not be disappointed. We request but we do not expect to receive.

To assist understanding, let us define Kropotkin's position. It will do his reputation no harm with the militarists. It will enhance it in militarist and ruling class circles. Let it not be said that we are slandering him.

In our October issue (page 29, column 2) we referred at length to "The Birth of Russian Democracy," by A. J. Sack, published in New York, in 1918.

Chapter VII of this excellent work reproduces the speech made by Professor Miliukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the First Provisional Government, in the Duma, on May 17, 1917, immediately after his resignation.

Miliukov denounced the peace proposals and anti-war propaganda then being advanced by the Bolsheviks, who appealed to the common people as an anti-war faction. Miliukov (sometimes spelt Milyoukov) insisted on the continuation of the war against Germany.

Thus, there was no diplomacy of the Tsar, but a diplomacy of the Allies, and we are bound with our Allies, whether for sorrow or for joy, and we are mostly obliged to stay with them to the end. . . .

For a considerable length of time I thought that my foreign policy was completely approved by my fellow-members of the Provisional Government.

But after some time it became evident that another theory had been brought in from the outside, a theory based on the opinion of foreign Socialists, who, before the outbreak of war, had decided to prevent it, and after the war began, had sought to stop it. According to these people, the war was started by Capitalists, its aims were imperialistic, the tasks of the proletariat were, therefore, to force their respective governments to stop the war. This programme was rather difficult, because it was adopted abroad by only a small minority of Social-Democrats. The majority of the Socialists in all the Allied countries proved materialistic and not international, that is, they adhered to the idea of the country's defense and of war against the German militarism which alone prevented a lasting peace. The bourgeois parties adhered to this nationalistic point of view even more. And it seemed that nothing would happen in Russia to change this general situation.

But the ideas of Zimmerwald and Kinthal shared abroad by a very small group have developed into a powerful surrent in our country, where they are responsible for the made-in-Germany formula brought to us through the Swiss Socialists and our own exiles, who, upon their return to Russia, began an energetic agitation in favour of the Zimmerwald ideas.

In a footnote to his speech, Sack says:—

Zimmerwald and Kinthal are the places in Switzerland where two conferences of the Socialist-Internationalists were held during this war. These "Internationalists" do not entirely share the point of view of the Bolsheviki, but have very much in common with them.

Actually, of course, Lenin stood for the Zimmerwald ideas and adopted a bold Socialist Anti-Militarist policy and programme of "Peace and Bread." It cannot be said that he stood for freedom.

On June 22, 1917, a verbal duel took place between Lenin and Kerensky before the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates. Then came the great crisis and the resignation of Prince Lvov as Prime Minister of the Second Revolutionary Government. Kerensky became Prime Minister of the Third Provisional Government.

On July 25, the Bolsheviks were accused of being in the pay of Germany, in a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers, and Peasants' Delegates, by the overwhelming majority of 300 to 11. The resolution demanded that Lenin and Zinoviev, who had escaped arrest and were in hiding, appear for public trial.

We quote the first recommendation of this resolution:—

The whole Revolutionary Democracy desires that the group of Bolsheviki accused of having organised disorders or incited revolt or of having received money from German sources be tried publicly. In consequence, the Executive Committee considers it absolutely inadmissible that Lenin and Zinoviev should escape justice, and demands that the Bolshevik faction immediately express its censure of the conduct of its leaders.

The present pro-war Communist Party should recall this censure of Lenin.

The disintegration of the Army continued. Consequently the Provisional Government convoked an extraordinary National Conference, which met in Moscow on August 26, 1917. This Conference consisted of 2,416 Delegates, representing the 4 Dumas, the Peasants, the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the Municipalities, the Union of Zemstvos and Towns, Industries and Banks, the Co-operative organisations, and the Trade Unions. The purpose of the Conference was to give expression to the various voices in Russia's political life and so to evolve a concrete political programme of action.

The Conference was opened in the Moscow Grand Theatre by Premier A. F. Kerensky. To boisterous applause, he attacked the decomposing influences at work in the Army, and denounced Bolshevism. He promised to deal with the "lawlessness with an iron hand."

Speeches followed by Avksentiev, Prokopovich, Nekrasov, representatives of the First, Second, and Third Duma; General Kornilov, then Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies; General Kaledine, who spoke on behalf of the Cossacks; N. S. Tschiedze, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; Martiushin, Krondratiev, and Ponomarev, who spoke in the name of Peasants' Delegates and the Peasants' Union; and A. I. Guchov, the former Secretary of State for War.

The next day, August 27, I. G. Tseretelli debated with V. A. Maklakov. Tsertelli was replied to also by A. A. Boublikov(former Commissaire of the Drama.

The third day Kropotkin spoke.

Says Sack (page 4, 65):—

At the session of August 28, most outstanding were the speeches of the veterans of the Russian Revolution, E. C. Breshko-Breshkovskaya, Peter Kropotkin, and George Plekhanov. The audience stood up as one man when A. F. Kerensky mentioned their names.

Breshko-Breshkovskaya spoke first. Her speech was strongly militarist and patriotic, in the war-sense.

She was followed by Kropotkin.

Kropotkin's speech is reported by Sack, on pages 466: we reproduce the report:—

PETER KROPOTKIN'S SPEECH

"Allow me also to add my voice to those voices which have called the whole Russian people to break once and forever with Zimmerwaldism and to rise together, closely united, in defense of the Fatherland and the Revolution (Applause). In my opinion, the Fatherland and the Revolution are indivisible. The Fatherland made the Revolution and it must carry the latter to the end. Citizens, we are in a protracted war, the most terrible months of which are the last months. Why, during these last months, has not the question been decided as to who shall conquer and who shall be defeated? If the Germans should be victorious, the consequences would be so dreadful for us that it is simply painful to speak of or prophesy such things."

Kropotkin spoke of the territorial loss and indemnity in the event of German victory and continued:

"But there is something even worse than that. There is the psychology of a vanquished country. (Voices: "Right! Correct!"). The psychology of a defeated ocuntry I learned by living in France. I am not a Frenchman, but I became intimate with them and my heart pained when I saw how France humiliated herself before Alexander and Nicholas, the French Republic degraded itself before a General Boulanger, because she felt herself so badly defeated that she resorted to any means to liberate herself from this defeat. Is it possible that we also shall have to live through this? Never! (Applause of the whole assembly).

Comrades, Soldiers, look how the Italians, at this dangerous moment, fighting in a terrain so dreadful, with mountains on which every gun must be dragged up an inclined plane of 45 degrees, fighting under these conditions, are gaining victories. And why are they so anxious to be victorious at the present moment? In order to relieve us in Roumania, in Odessa, on which the Austrian army is advancing. Follow their example, comrades! (Applause from the Right. Voices: "Long live the Italians!" Noise).

Comrades, citizens, the war is one thing and the work in the rear another thing—however, an important thing. Repressive measures, in this case, will get us nowhere. Something else is needed; it is necessary that the great mass of the Russian people should understand and see that a new era is approaching, an era that will give the whole people the opportunity to obtain education, to live not in that terrible, horrifying poverty and squalor in which the Russian people have lived up till now and lived at all times,—even at the time when it is earning millions, as it is said, in Petrograd. It is necessary that the Russian people should understand that we are doing everything to improve the conditions of their life and open for them the gates to light, freedom and education. (Applause from the Right):

Allow me, citizens and comrades, to call you to this creative work. Some one spoke here of how inexperienced our Democracy is. True, we are all inexperienced.

Gentlemen, you have—I am not speaking of your capital—you have something that is more important than capital,—the knowledge of life. You know life, you know commerce, you know the manufacturing industry; give us, then, your knowledge; add to the

energy of the committees and councils, combine the former with the latter and apply them to the upbuilding of the new life. The new life we must have. (Shouts: "Bravo!" Boisterous applause.) In Petrograd we have lines in which the wives of workmen have to stand two, three, four and five hours in order to obtain bread and a little milk for their hungry children. Is that organization? Where then are you, city heads and organizers of the municipal economy, that you can't regulate it? Isn't that your duty, your sacred duty?

I must not take up much of your time, but I will speak of one thing more. It seems to me that it would be proper for us here, at this assembly of the Russian land, to state our firm desire that Russia be openly declared a republic. (Shouts: "Right!" All rise; boisterous applause culminating in an ovation.) And, citizens, the republic must be a federated one, in the sense in which we see it in the United States, where every state has its own legislative bodies, these legislative bodies deciding all the interior problems, while the Republic in all its decisions needs the consent of several States or of all the States.

And you know how they stood up together when it became necessary to play the forces of the Democracies against the base Austro-German monarchy. (Noise and boisterous applause.) I think that it is not without reason that all the Democracies of the whole world have united against Germany, and even the Democracy of China has joined and will help us worthily. And so I think we shall not be encroaching upon the rights of the Constituent Assembly. I fully recognize that the sovereign decision of such a question should be left to the Constituent Assembly. But it seems to me that if this assembly were to approve our desire that Russia be declared a republic, we would thus have facilitated the work of the Constituent Assembly, and all the peoples of all Europe and America would be thankful to us ("Right!" Thundering applause.)

Comrades, let us promise each other that we will not stand divided into the Right and the Left. (Boisterous applause). We have but one Fatherland, and for the whole of it we must all be ready to die, the conservative and the radical." (Thundering applause, culminating in an ovation).

Why do the Anarchists, in their references to Kropotkin, make no reference to this speech?

On the speech itself we make no lengthy comment. It could have been delivered by Lord Vansittart to his militarist admirers in the House of Lords. It certainly is not Anarchism. But Editor Frank, of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," declares that we have no right to say that the author of this speech is not an Anarchist. He defends the man and his speech by referring to the "Anarchist Third Front," the unity of the conservative and the radical in war, dying for the one Fatherland—**and killing for it as well?** If so, why sneer at us for being united with "Lords and Dukes"? After all, that, at the very worst, can be only the unity of the conservative and the radical. Is it not as right to have "one Fatherland" or Motherland for Peace as for war? Or must we unite only to murder? Is the glory of death the ideal of "the Anarchist Third Front"?

Summarising Kropotkin's attitude, on pages 199-200, Sack writes (page 199):—

After the Revolution of March, 1917, Kropotkin returned to Russia. He was met with great honours, as one of the foremost fighters for liberty and democracy. As a sincere democrat, he has taken the only stand possible in this great war: with the Allied democracies—against the autocracy of Germany. Although a philosophical anarchist, in theory repudiating every State organization, he makes a definite distinction between a democratic State and an autocratic State, and in the present conflict, naturally, wishes success to the union of democratic nations.

"An Anarchist in theory" but a militarist in crisis and in practice!

We accuse Kropotkin, this "Anarchist in theory," of being an enemy of Socialism and Anarchism. We condemn him on his own words and his war-exciting record. We accuse him of supporting the measures for the arrest of Lenin and Zinoviev on the charge of Zimmerwaldism, that is, urging Socialist Revolutionary Peace as opposed to war.

Just as we hold that Stalin and Stalinism, and present-day war "Communism" and State balance of power politics are wrong, so we hold that Lenin's "Socialism and Peace" campaign was right. Kropotkin ranks with Stalin in this matter. We stand by Lenin. And we avow that the "Anarchist Third Front" is merely a glib phrase defining the position of those persons who have not the courage to resist militarism in time of war, but like to pose as anti-militarists in time of peace. They are not Anarchists. They are charlatans.

THE SNARE OF PEDIGREE.

By Rev. J. H. DALE.

The following is a summary of an address given on the National Day of Prayer, September 3rd, 1944.

No people has been prouder of its ancestry than have the Jews. The fact that it believed in its selection by God to fulfil a special role was its constant glory and boast. Yet, as so often happens when the spirit of nationalism becomes suddenly pronounced, it was this very habit of excessive pride, and the attitude of superiority to which it gave rise, that ultimately led to the nation's downfall.

The effect which this extreme concern for national pedigree had produced in the minds and upon the life of the people is clearly seen in the words of stern denunciation John the Baptist poured out upon them. So vainglorious had they become that they were pinning the whole of their faith to the fact of their national history and descent from Abraham, without any reference whatever to such matters as personal righteousness and moral and spiritual responsibility. Pride in a long record of privilege made them indifferent to higher obligations.

It was necessary, therefore, that they should be reminded of the stern truth that their descent from the patriarchs, however attractive such lineage might appear to be, was but a small thing in comparison with the duty they owed to God and their fellows.

But, however susceptible the Jews were to this glorification of their historical record, they were by no means alone. They have had many imitators. Ever and again through the centuries there have arisen peoples possessed of this exaggerated idea regarding the importance of the place they filled in the historical development of the race. The tremendous harm it has done is written plainly upon the story of the past, if only we had eyes to see. The false valuation a nation can put upon its place and function can constitute a very formidable hindrance to the real advance of mankind towards truer levels of life—especially if that nation occupies a position of outstanding influence and power.

The sooner we dispossess our minds of the mischievous and unchristian idea that God has favourites the better. No individual and no nation can claim to fill a position of exclusive privilege in relationship to God. There may be, and certainly are, both individuals and peoples who occupy favoured positions by reason of the natural, cultural and spiritual advantages they enjoy. But such are not the consequence of exclusive favour. They are the result of the development and interplay of many and various forces through a long period of time. These advantages, instead of being a cause for boasting, should rather be thought of as calling for deep humility and much searching of heart.

It was against the powerful and privileged nations that the prophets of old spoke their terrific words of divine condemnation. And foremost among them was Israel itself. Listen to the words of Amos! "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities." Little favouritism there, despite Israel's favoured position.

What is largely at the root of the present world upheaval, the chief cause of repeated war? Is it not this excessive concern for national and imperial sovereignty and prestige, a fixed determination to retain the power bequeathed by the past? Perhaps we are too much inclined to ignore the fact that there is just as much sin of aggression in maintaining possession of territory and rights gained by wrongful means as there is in seeking to acquire them by such methods. To assert that things have changed in recent years, and a new international code is in force, is nothing but sheer hypocrisy, and lays those guilty of it open to the condemnation which Nathan pronounced on David.

The great need to-day is not for pride but for penitence and confession. The reason why I find it impossible to join with others in praying for victory is not only because I am strongly convinced that war is absolutely contrary to the mind and spirit of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, but also because I am equally certain that victory to either side will never bring either the peace or the happiness many fondly hope.

Only one thing can do this. Until there is renunciation of national pride and power, no way of permanent peace and lasting good for mankind will open. Nothing is more certain than that God is waiting to give the nations of the earth deliverance from their fear and tyranny and aggression. But it must be on His own terms. With both individuals and nations the conditions are the same. Pardon and release from the bondage in which men are held will come when they are prepared to acknowledge their failure, disobedience, sin.

To-day is a day of prayer and thanksgiving. That there will be much rejoicing over recent military success, I have no doubt. I wonder how much confession of our own sin and complicity in bringing about the present state of affairs there will be. Unfortunately the majority of folk suffer from very short memories. They would be very surprised were they reminded of certain facts.

As a nation pride has long been one of our most harmful traits. Class privilege has been one of the most detrimental and destructive forces in preventing real social progress. Glorying in our achievements of world conquest and control, we have sadly failed to "bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." The only victory which will do that is the victory of God's Spirit over our carnal, proud and selfish natures.

How fully has our Lord's warning to the people of His day been exemplified through the years. One after another have empires and nations been broken in pride by reason of their failure to give priority of place to the eternal principles of the divine law and order.

There were some present at that season which told Him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with the sacrifices. And He answered and said unto them, Think ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they have suffered these things? I tell you that; but, except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish. Or those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, and killed them: think ye that they were offenders above all men that dwell in Jerusalem? I tell you, that; but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

To us as a people is being given the supreme opportunity of all time. We can change the whole course of history. Shall we rise to our God-given opportunity??

Even now is the axe also laid to the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

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CONCERNING THE EDITOR

(*Continued from page* 43.)

The Star report continued :—

There was naturally a crowded court this morning (writes a "Star" representative) when the Lord Chief Justice commenced the trial of Edward Fred Mylius on the charge of publishing libels on the King on 29 Nov. and 19 Dec., 1910.

The proceding by information is so rare in modern times that the members of the junior Bar were much in evidence as students of our Constitutional law and its more recondite processes. . . .

Just before the Lord Chief Justice took his seat, the Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs) and the Solicitor-General (Sir John Simon) came in through the dense crowd of jurymen and spectators who filled the passages of the court. With them came Mr. Churchill—at home one day in the battle with the Anarchists at Sidney-st., and on the next in the prosecution of assailants of the Royal House in the Law Courts.

The Public Prosecutor (Sir Charles Matthews) was there, and Mr. Superintendent Quinn, of the C.I.D., who knows all the languages of the revolt, from Lithuania to Connemara, and is the one really "Constant Reader" on whom some revolutionary journals can always depend.

The defendant, the centre of all this picture, sat at the solicitors' table on the opposite side of the central gangway to the Attorney-General, and between him and the jury. . . .

He was not represented by counsel or solicitors . . .

Before the jury were sworn the judge promptly brushed aside two applications by the defendant—one for the attendance of the King as prosecutor. . . . The defendant . . . had the opportunity subsequently of hearing . . . read by Sir Rufus Isaacs in his address to the jury . . . letters from Mr. Edward Holton James, a wealthy American residing in Paris, who issues "The Liberator," to Mr. Mylius, to whom he was introduced by the famous Indian, Mr. Krishnavarma. . . . Mr. James, by the way, stated that the defendant was an intimate friend of Mr. Guy Aldred.

This intimacy with Aldred was stressed by Isaacs in his address to the Court, and became a feature of the case. It became an insinuation against Aldred and pictured him as libeller rather than a propagandist. All this without adducing a single suggestion of fact in support.

The King incident was reported as follows :—

The Defendant: I wish to ask whether the King is present, and I demand his presence here.

Defendant gave his reasons: "Firstly, because every accused person has the right to be confronted by his accuser; secondly, that in an action for libel the prosecutor must be in court, that the defendant might see him; and, thirdly, that there is no proof that the prosecutor is at present alive."

The Lord Chief Justice: This has already been the subject of an application before me, and you are perfectly aware that the King cannot be summoned here. (To the Usher): Now, then, have you the names of the jury?

Mylius was right in this demand. Judge and prosecutors were wrong. Denial of this justice, although it in no way exonerated Mylius, rendered the proceedings against him invalid and a farce in law.

After his release from prison, Mylius found it impossible to secure employment and decided to emigrate to the United States. Scotland Yard cabled the U.S. Department of Justice and urged that Mylius should not be admitted to the United States on the ground that, as a libeller of the King, he was a person of moral turpitude. In writing, the Department was warned of his association with Aldred. Actually, there was no political association with Aldred. The statement was fiction on the part of the Special Branch of Scotland Yard.

United States Socialists, Anarchists, Radicals and Liberals made a great fight for the admission of Mylius to U.S.A. The Supreme Court ruled in his favour against the Department of Justice and the Immigration Board. Mylius was admitted and made his first speech in the United States to a large and enthusiastic gathering at the Headquarters of Branch 5 of the Socialist Party, in New York, on March 2, 1913. Subsequently, he published an interesting pamphlet, entitled *The Socialization of Money*, which merits wide circulation. It exposed very thoroughly and very ably the Money Trust and explained commercial depression and the failure of the gold standard to function.

Mylius drifted into the I.W.W., and from that,

Picture sketched in the Court of King's Bench, by W. Hartley, the famous "Star" artist.

into obscurity. He quarrelled his way out of the movement and became filled with disgust.

In August 1912, the Glasgow Clarion Scouts invited Aldred to conduct an Anarchist-Socialist campaign under their auspices. The Scouts gave him a free platform and loyal and enthusiastic support. As a result of this activity the Glasgow Communist Group was formed. Aldred conducted Communist and Anarchist propaganda throughout Lanarkshire, Fifeshire, and reached into Dundee and Aberdeen. Groups were built and headquarters established. This work was destroyed after the Bolshevik Revolution through the organisation of the worthless Communist Party. Aldred, with his Glasgow comrades, conceived the idea of establishing the Bakunin Press in Glasgow as well as in London. This publishing organisation he had founded in 1906, and it took him six years to spread its literature to Scotland. After various adventures, the Press was established at the former College Liberal and Radical Rooms at 13 Burnbank Gardens in 1917. In May 1920 this centre was renamed Bakunin House. Owing mostly to poverty, this centre was vacated in May 1933. For 16 years it had been a centre of thought and struggle.

The history of Bakunin House and the Glasgow Anti-Parliamentary movement is detailed in *Socialism and Parliament*, Pt. I., Appendix VI., p. 75.

Throughout the peace interlude between World War I. (1914-18) and World War II. (1939—), whilst the Communist Party was intriguing to dominate the working-class movement, forming bogus anti-war movements, organising false hunger marchings, etc., Aldred stood in opposition to the Third International intrigue on the program that he defined for himself early in 1907, of uncompromising revolutionary Communism. He held that he did not need to receive certificates of credit from Moscow to give him the right or the power to propagate his opinions. His conclusions are based on reason not authority, and the conviction that, finally, expediency must yield to principle, and compromise surrender to the stern logic of fact. The motto that he adopted from Channing in 1904 remains his watchword :

"Wait not to be backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from the crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of truth, the more distinct and clear must be your own."

Aldred's resistance to the Military Service Acts was complicated by his Anarchist attitude towards marriage. He set up housekeeping at 103 Thorpebank Road, Shepherd's Bush, on January 7, 1908, with his comrade Rose Witcop. Prior to that she had been an active member of the Yiddish Anarchist Club, in Jubilee Street, Mile End, and had joined the Communist Propaganda Groups Aldred organised in 1907. Although there was no legal bar to a registered marriage, both parties were opposed to registration. Also, as strong believers in the social, legal, and political equality of sexes, they objected to the woman losing her identity in mating and taking the man's name. In 1912, when Rose Witcop visited Glasgow in company with Aldred, he declared that his mating was an irregular marriage according to Scots Law and that he recognised it as such. Whilst maintaining this in 1916, at the time of his resistance to militarism, he insisted on the union being regarded as an unregistered and free mating, an irregular marriage. He was quite prepared to rank as a single man for the purpose of military conscription and resistance, but insisted on the union being recognised, since he was afraid of his companion being deported to Russia. She was born at Kiev on April 9, 1890, and had been brought to England when she was five years of age. Technically, she was a Russian subject. How justified was this fear later events proved. The matter caused much discussion in the English press at the time and was dealt with thoroughly in *The Spur* during 1916 to 1917.

Sylvia Pankhurst stated the position very clearly in the *Woman's Dreadnought*, for April 22, 1916, when she wrote :—

Whether Mr. Aldred is, or is not, legally married according to the law of this country does not appear to us to be material. The position is that he has a wife of eight years' standing and the Government, by agreeing to make separation allowance to unmarried wives and their children on the same basis as though a legal marriage had been contracted has recognised the fact that it is the relationship that should govern this question, not the legal formalities.

On July 29, 1916, Milly Witcop—Rose Witcop's eldest sister—was arrested at her home in Dunstan Houses, Stepney Green, while in the act of cooking her dinner. Her companion or husband, Rudolf Rocker, was interned as an enemy alien on the outbreak of war, despite Labour, Socialist, and Trade Union protest on his behalf, and the fact that he was a refugee from Germany and opposed to Kaiserism. Rocker told the story of his internment and Milly Witcop's treatment in a book that he published in Berlin in 1925, entitled *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter* (*Behind Barbed Wire and Prison Bars*).

Milly Witcop was detained at Vine Street Police Station for six days without being informed why she was arrested. She was removed to Holloway Prison and treated as a dangerous criminal. She was not allowed to see her friends. On Monday, August 28, she was brought before the Internment Committee at Westminster Hall. The proceedings were strictly private. She was allowed no opportunity of knowing the charges that would be made against her. She was accused of associating with Anarchists and Pacifist Socialists. One of the Committee named Guy Aldred and asked her to explain this association. They stressed the "fact," to them, that Aldred was "a dangerous person" and no one associating with him ought to be at large. It should have been obvious to any decent-minded person that some family or domestic association must exist, and that such relationship implied no political association in itself. Milly Witcop was in no way responsible for the relationship. There was no political association and no intimacy of the kind implied by the Committee. The internment was pure victimisation. Aldred's name ought not to have been used in the matter.

At the time of her arrest Milly Witcop had resided in London for over 20 years, as a Russian refugee. She was arrested at the time that Russian refugees were being arrested throughout the country at the request of the Czar's Government. After being before the Advisory Com-

mittee she was removed from Holloway to Aylesbury Prison.

On September 20, 1917, after an internment of fourteen months, Milly Witcop was called before a second Advisory Committee. Reference was made again to Aldred and she was told that in view of that association she could not be released. But she would be allowed to go to Russia. She refused to go without Rocker and their son. No one seems to have commented, at this stage, on the absolute injustice of deporting, without reason, a person who had lived in London continuously for twenty years, and whose interests were entirely English, despite her international outlook.

On October 17, 1917, both Rudolf Rocker and Milly Witcop were called before the Committee and informed that it would be recommended to the Government that they should both go to Russia.

Another three months passed. The new Russian Government was prepared to accept both Rocker and Milly Witcop. The British Government refused to allow Rocker to go to Russia. Milly Witcop was informed that she must go to Russia unaccompanied by Rocker. As events have shown, it was as well that the British Government was opposed to the Russian deportation. The well-being of the victims was not the intention of the British Government. That was an unforeseen and unknowable accident.

Rocker was arrested for internment immediately after he repudiated Kropotkin's pro-war Anarchism, in a powerful article that he published in the Yiddish *Workers' Friend*. For some time he was interned on a boat, anchored at Southend. Subsequently he was removed to Aleaxndra Palace in North London. He became leader of his battalion, but refused to accept any privileges.

Despairing of release, despite the Labour agitation on his behalf, he asked, early in 1918, to be deported to Holland. The Government agreed but actually put his name on the list for Germany. He was deported duly, despite his protests and his long residence in London, and the fact that he had lost his German citizenship. He was forced to continue the journey to Germany but jumped from the moving train two hours after leaving Rotterdam, and when near the German border. Dutch Guards arrested him and handed him over to a German officer. He was questioned and answered frankly. His frankness impressed the German officer, who reported his case to Berlin. He was kept in prison three weeks awaiting the official decision. The German authorities declared that he had lost his German nationality 17 years before and that he was a man without a country. He was put across the Dutch frontier and the Dutch Government decided to grant him political asylum. The full story was recorded in *The Spur* in July 1918.

On Wednesday, October 2, 1918, Milly Witcop was released without warning. She was informed that she could not be allowed to remain free in England but that the Dutch Government had opened its doors to her. She was brought to London under police escort to meet her young son, Firmin, the next day, and embarked at Gravesend for Holland, to join her companion, Rudolf Rocker. The joy of being free was sobered by the pain of having to part at once from her friends and comrades.

Which only shows how unwise it was to be associated with Guy Aldred in those stirring days.

Musing on this treatment of Rudolf Rocker and Milly Witcop, and the authorities' argument based on an abuse of Milly Witcop's relationship to him, caused Aldred to oppose the 18B internments in 1940. The internment of real or alleged Fascists in 1940, without charge or trial, indefinitely, was in the same category, in his eyes, as these Anarchist-Pacifist internments in 1914-18. His consistent position has been one of horror at all dictatorship, whatever its name, and whether from or of so-called "Left" or "Right." Let the victim be Anarchist, Communist, Socialist, or Fascist, he saw the internment policy wrong in 1914 and 1916, and he saw it equally wrong in 1940. Which is why he published *It Might Have Happened to You*, in December 1943, as a factual challenge of the 1940 internments.

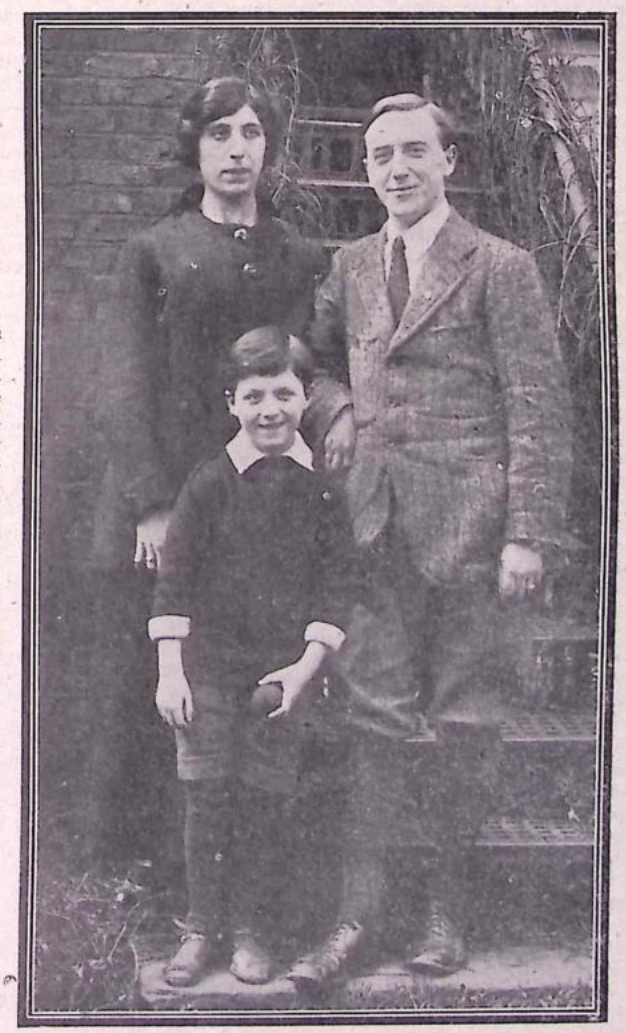
(To be concluded.)

RUDOLF ROCKER IN INTERNMENT, 1914-1917.

Inner Executive of Battalion "B," Interned German Civilians in Alexandra Palace:
TOP ROW (standing)—From left to right: Razier, Scneider, Weiss, Wileek, Arnstadt, Kiesewetter, Lihno, Armbrecht.
MIDDLE ROW—From left to right: Fischer, Lutz, Menel (Kartchen), Rocker, Westphal, Tenschert.
LOWER ROW—From left to right: Bader, Schachenhuber, Schutten, Kuhne.

A SOCIALIST AND HIS MARRIAGE CLAIM.

[Picture, "Topical Press" Copyright.



This photograph was taken in the garden of 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherds Bush. Here Aldred came to live after his release from Brixton Prison in 1910. It was a tenement dwelling. This address was the home of much political activity and the scene of several raids. Mylius was arrested on its doorstep. In 1921, an attempt was made to eject Aldred but the County Court Judge upheld Aldred's right of tenancy and defended his right to be an Anarchist and a war-resister. The Judge declared that Aldred was a "perfectly good citizen" who held radical and unusual views which he had a right to express freely in a free country. Aldred vacated this address in 1924.

Reproduced, same size, from "The Sunday Pictorial," London, April 23, 1916.

Guy Aldred, stated to be editor of a Socialist paper called the *Spur*, has been remanded at West London charged with failing to surrender himself under the Military Service Act. He is here seen with his wife and their son Annesley Aldred. He says he was married according to Scottish law. The tribunal has to decide whether Aldred is married or not.—(Exclusive.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The rosy hopes of an end to the war in Europe by October, or at least by Christmas, have been dispelled. The Prime Minister now tells us that fighting may continue until the summer, so the carrot retains its accustomed distance before the Allied donkey's nose. This comparison is an apt one, save that it is unfair to the ass, an animal well able to judge whether an enterprise be not to his advantage and possessed of sufficient determination to make his objections felt by those who would drive him onwards. Surely only nations composed of human donkeys would, at this stage of the war in particular, support their governments in their determination to crush utterly or enslave the enemy, thereby rendering a third war almost certain and involving them in a further period of wholly unnecessary suffering?

The strict orders against fraternization with enemy civilians issued to British and American troops, tell their own ugly story. How dreadful it would be if our men returning from the Front on leave were to blow the gaff on the foul lies of war propaganda by revealing the fact that Germans, after all, are just ordinary people like ourselves, and sometimes very decent people! Those who had first-hand experience of Germany before the war and who tell soldiers with no experience of the country that they often found Germans kindly and normal, are sometimes assured that they were deceived by the cunning of a malignant race. This seems to point to a special brand of dope served out for the benefit of the troops, but I have an idea that, dope and orders notwithstanding, personal human contacts will open the soldiers' eyes to the truth, though it may be too late to do much good.

Considerable publicity has been given in some of the American papers, and even, for a short time, in our own, to the case of Tyler Kent, the clerk in the American Embassy who has received a long sentence of penal servitude for revealing the contents of certain telegrams exchanged, during Mr. Chamberlain's Premiership, between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. According to the American account, these telegrams dealt with the question of bringing America into the war, lease-lend provisions, etc. Kent, shocked by what he felt to be President Roosevelt's unconstitutional action in making such plans behind the back of Congress, and by Mr. Churchill's unconstitutional action in discussing them behind the back of his Chief, felt that it was in the public interest that they should be disclosed and communicated his discovery to Captain Ramsay. After Kent's imprisonment, according to an American paper, his mother arranged for an American citizen to visit him. The latter, after his return to the United States, spoke very critically about the whole business and soon afterwards died suddenly and mysteriously.

In this country it has been suggested that Kent intended to communicate his discovery to the Russian Government. To me this story smells of propaganda, and even if it does describe Kent's intention accurately, it seems most strange that Mr. Churchill should resent any of his private affairs being revealed to his trusty comrade, the "old war-horse" Stalin!.

In the House of Commons on October 12th our near-Communists, Mr. Driberg and Mr. Pritt, again gave a display of their propensity for Fascist political tyranny and persecution by demanding a list of the members of the Right Club with which Captain Ramsay was associated. Mr. Morrison, in refusing this request, showed, in his reply, both spirit and good feeling. Readers of *The Word* will not need to be assured that I am no ardent admirer of the Home Secretary. His lust for power and office have caused him to sink low, very low indeed, when one remembers the views he once expressed. It is therefore only fair to note that there are depths of petty tyranny to which he still refuses to descend, even though Mr. Driberg and Mr Pritt may be more than ready to plumb them.

The sudden death of the Archbishop of Canterbury gives rise to rather sad reflections—reflections which are evoked when the promise of a man's early days is not fulfilled in later life. There was a time, soon after the last war, in the days of C.O.P.E.C. (Conference on Christian politics, economics, and citizenship), when some of us hoped that William Temple would go far as a leader in Christian social reform. A fatal tendency to compromise, of which I gather from a conversation I once had with a mutual friend, Temple himself was not wholly unaware, robbed him of the true honour he might have had, though it may be that it gave him the see of Canterbury. At any rate, although his attitude towards war can only be deplored, in his latter years he showed more enlightenment than most Church leaders on the question of financial reform, and at times he incurred the censure of the Financiers' Press by his bold criticism of the existing order.

If Dr. Temple did not fulfil the promise of his early days, the same is even more true of the surviving Archbishop. When I first knew him many years ago in Portsmouth, I should have found it difficult to recognise in Canon Garbett of St. Mary's, Portsea, the rabid warmonger who is now Archbishop of York. High office in a State Church seems to be as bad for a man's soul as it is destructive to his intelligence.

The Financiers' little game continues to be played merrily. Closer study of the Government's Social Insurance plan reveals, as in the case of the Beveridge plan, a host of bureaucratic tyrannies and inquisitions behind the "benefits" displayed in the shop window.

An acquaintance, active in the field of monetary reform, recently told me that he was discovering that a high percentage of circulars sent out to local government bodies and recommending measures which would greatly reduce the burden of the rates, while improving the living conditions of the people, never reached their destination, and evidence was forthcoming that the Treasury and certain members of the Cabinet were active in opposing the policy advocated. He also told me that other monetary reformers reported the sabotage of about four-fifths of the literature they send out. (Socialists should note that this hanky-panky was considered necessary in the defence of *Finance*. No attack was being made on ordinary capitalism.)

A retiring banker recently wrote to a monetary reformer saying that he had long agreed with all his views and would like to meet him. He intended to write a book exposing the Finance racket but hitherto had been prevented from doing so as he had a family dependent on him. Soon afterwards the monetary reformer wrote to arrange details of the time and place for an interview and was surprised to receive a curiously-worded letter in reply in which the banker disclaimed all knowledge of the suggested meeting. On the letter were two words in printed handwriting, crossed out, the second of which was "advised." The monetary reformers' secretary then wrote to the banker to make sure that there was no mistake. An opened letter was received in reply on the back of which the banker had written "Please note that I have, at no time, written to—(the name of the monetary reformer)—and have no reason to trouble him with an interview. Kindly, therefore, consider this matter closed." Clearly the original letter had been opened by our Gestapo and the unfortunate banker had received such a threat as effectively to deter him from his contemplated exposure of the goings-on of our real masters! I have myself seen the actual correspondence.

Stalin's speech, if correctly reported, in which he expressed the desire to march to Berlin, and advocated the maintenance of peace in the post-war world by powerful Allied armed forces is hardly encouraging. Where there is no vision the people will continue to perish. We must work and pray that in all countries vision may appear to save us from the third war which is inevitable as long as British, American and Russian leaders understand human nature and the lessons of history so little and are so disinclined to take risks for a new and better way in international relationships.

A striking example of the mental and moral degeneration characteristic of the present time is provided by the attitude displayed by numbers of people when one points out to them that although we entered the war to preserve the integrity of Poland, it seems likely that the circumstances of victory will force us to acquiesce in the violation of that integrity by Russia. "What a pity, but it can't be helped!" is all they say. So corrupted are they by war emotion and propaganda that the loss of the moral objectives for which we are supposed to be fighting hardly disturbs them at all. The defeat of Germany has become the only thing that matters. Whether the results of unconditional surrender be good or bad is immaterial to them. They fight now like senseless animals which, without even the practical gain of food or mates in view, struggle with their opponents merely for the sake of beating them and bullying them after the victory has been gained.

It is interesting, though sad, to note how speedily "liberated" countries become the prey of intolerant political groups claiming to be patriots but often in reality Communists, who at once begin to persecute their political rivals, using methods which in this country are associated with "Fascism."

How often have I pointed out that political cruelty and tyranny are not vices peculiar to Axis countries but are latent in nearly every nation and make their appearance directly the necessary conditions of stress are provided? "Scratch a Russian and a Tartar appears" was an old saying. Scratch any nation until it is sore and raw and Fascism appears. What is the lesson that this should teach us? Plainly that it is folly to go on thinking of the Axis peoples as a pariah class deserving special treatment and special punishment. Fundamentally all nations share the same sins and the same weaknesses. That they have appeared more in some than in others has often been due, not to greater depravity, but to greater provocation. All now need a common repentance. None are competent to take the mote out of their brother's eye until they have removed the beam from their own. All require freedom and fair treatment if they are to follow a better way. All should bind themselves by a common pledge to do so.

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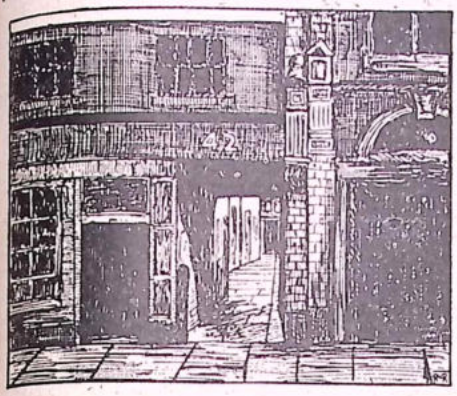
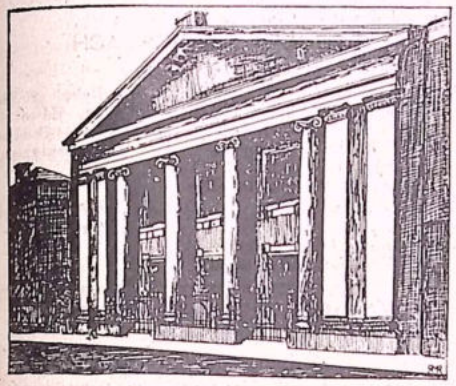


PARLIAMENT COURT CHAPEL, BISHOPSGATE, February 14, 1793 to the establishment of



SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY, February 1, 1824—March 31, 1927.

LONDON INSTITUTION, FINSBURY CIRCUS, used until

CONWAY HALL was occupied on September 1, 1929.

Parliament Court Chapel was the oldest of all Universalist Churches in London. It was built in the 16th Century and restored in the 18th Century as a Church for the use of Elhanan Winchester, whose story has been told in this record.

South Place Universalist Church, afterwards South Place Ethical Society, was built by the Universalists of Parliament Court Chapel, and opened in 1824, with W. J. Fox as Pastor.

SOUTH PLACE

A STORY OF HERESY, PROGRESS AND CULTURE.

(*Concluded from page* 33.)

Fox lost the Presbyterian wing of his Society. In 1835, he delivered seven lectures on "Morality as Modified by the Various Classes into which Society is Divided." Here he passes from theology to sociology, approaches an economic interpretation of ethics and events. Between 1841 and 1842, he discarded gradually the old Aspland Hymn-book and replaced it with his own hymns and anthems. He was less scriptural, less book-bound, more secular, imaginative, and resolute. And so came the beginnings of the South Place Society.

In 1836, Fox had to economise his strength. The *Monthly Repository* passed into the editorship of Richard Henry Horne and later Leigh Hunt. The Sunday evening meetings were addressed by others. On February 27, 1840, the Rev. Philip Harwood was invited to become Fox's coadjutor.

Harwood was, at one time, Unitarian minister at Bridport. He rationalised Paul's conversion in a sermon he preached in St. Mark's Unitarian Church, Edinburgh. This caused his exclusion from the pulpit and the formation, in 1839, of a short-lived Clyde Street Society. In 1823, Fox had dedicated the Young Street Society, which built St. Mark's. Naturally, Fox was interested in Harwood's exclusion and invited him to South Place. Harwood opened his ministry with startling lectures on Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, not then translated. Fox defended Harwood's heresy in his morning discourses.

Harwood resigned from the Society on September 23, 1841, and became lecturer to the Philosophical Institution in Beaumont Square. He was removed for his heresy and entered journalism. Subsequently, Harwood became editor of the *Saturday Review*, and held that position till his death in 1877. The heresiarch of 1840 became an able editor.

Harwood's six revolutionary lectures on Christian mythology caused Miss Brabant to start translating Strauss' *Life of Jesus*. She resigned the task to Marian Evans (George Eliot) in 1843.

On Easter Sunday, 1842, was celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Fox's settlement with the Society. Replying to an address from the members, Fox dealt on its reiterated affirmation of the one confession of faith which he made when he became minister of the Society: "I believe in the duty of free inquiry, and in the right of religious liberty."

He explained: "The Society has continued to act in the spirit of the language thus employed. . . . And what is the Christian religion, as professed by this congregation, but the religion which has for its great and vital principle the duty of free inquiry, and the right of religious liberty That is our Christianity. If Christianity be not that; if Christianity be at war with that; why the sooner we renounce it the better. But if this be Christianity, the longer and the more steadfastly we cling to it the better." He traced the history of the Society and recalled the fidelity of Winchester and Vidler. He concluded: "A right of inquiry which is bounded, is not a right worthy of a rational creature."

In 1847, Fox, who was now M.P. for Oldham, endeavoured to resign. Fox did such good work for humanity in various ways that John Bright once remarked to the Unitarian, Lyon, classing Fox as an outstanding Unitarian, "You Unitarians are very useful for this world's work." The congregation thought of unting Fox's ministerial and political work by selling South Place and establishing a National Hall in the West End of London. Fox's work culminated in his famous discourses on "Religious Ideas," delivered in 1849. These anticipated the famous Hibbert Lectures by about half a century.

In February 1849, the Rev. Newenham Travers gave three lectures at South Place on his reasons for leaving the Established Church. He became assistant minister and took half the Sundays. He retired at the close of 1850.

In a sermon on inspiration, Travers said:—"Look for inspiration in thine own heart, and thou wilt find it there at last. The circle of thy vision, so small whilst thou wast bondman to tradition and the preacher of a narrow faith, will enlarge itself ever, till it embrace in its range the interests of humanity; and thou wilt delight in no meaner labour than that which toils for the good of all, in faith of the great destinies of all, in recognition of the brotherhood of all, and of their equal filial relation to the God and Father of all."

In January 1851, the Rev. Henry Ierson became assistant minister, nominally, but actually minister. He resigned on April 24, 1857. Mr. Ierson claimed the right to act on the Government Committee of the Society, but the congregation decided that the minister had no right to be a member of the Government Committee.

In 1848 Mr. Fox lectured twenty-six times: in 1849, twenty-six times; in 1850, "three courses"; in 1851, eight lectures; in 1852, six lectures.

In January 1858, the Rev. Henry Barnett, of Bristol, became minister. In 1862, he endeavoured to introduce a hymn-book with chanting, and established a publication called "The South Place Pulpit." He resigned in June 1863, because he objected to the Society being intent "on a career of iconoclastic adventures and exploits."

This was an attack on Fox.

The Committee replied. There was some talk of closing the chapel. But able speakers came forward—William Binns, Joseph Barker, Coupland, John Page Hopps, William Maccall, Hurst Smith, Simpson, Whitehead, Washington Wilks, J. C. Street, and Francis Newman. Then came Moncure Conway to listen.

Conway came from the U.S.A. in April 1863, on an anti-slavery mission, it being supposed that a Virginian abolitionist might influence opinion against the Southern Confederacy. He was the guest of the Taylors, who were members of the Society. His family was in the U.S.A., and he intended to return. Circumstances induced him to stay. His family joined him in Britain in September 1863.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Conway had resigned his pulpit in Cincinnati, in order to concentrate against slavery. With the war nearing its end, his longing for a pulpit revived. So he received a temporary call to South Place. During the autumn and winter of 1863, he several times occupied its pulpit. On January 31, 1864, he was invited to occupy the pulpit for six months. The request was repeated in June; and at the annual meeting in 1865, the request was made permanent. He was just thirty-one years of age. His salary was £150 a year, and it remained this for eight years. It had seemed a long pilgrimage from his Methodist itinerancy in Maryland to the South Place pulpit. En route, he had sat at the feet of Emerson and Theodore Parker.

Conway reached England in time to know Fox. Fox was still M.P., but retired soon afterwards. He died at his residence, 3 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, on June 3, 1864. Nine days later Conway delivered the memorial discourse and linked his name with that of the Society.

In 1869, women appeared in the South Place pulpit. Mrs. Bruce, wife of a Universalist minister in Yorkshire, was the pioneer. Afterwards came Ernestine Rose, a co-worker of Robert Owen; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the veteran advocate of Woman's Rights in New York; Mary Livermore, the famous Universalist minister who did such splendid work among the negro freedmen in the U.S.A. during the Civil War; Julia Ward Howe; Helen Taylor; Annie Besant; Mrs Ormiston Chant, and Frederika Macdonald.

In 1875, Conway returned to the United States. He was offered Theodore Parker's pulpit, but returned to South Place on March 27, 1876,

instead, at the request of the Society.

In July 1885, he retired, but returned in October 1892. He retired finally five years later. Conway's story can be told separately.

This story commenced in "The Word" for August, 1943. In the May, 1943, issue, we published a very complete chronological sketch of South Place and its ministers. At an early opportunity this record will be revised, chaptered, and published in pamphlet form. It belongs to the history of Humanist propaganda.

MANCHESTER P.P.U.

The Manchester Peace Pledge Union must have been agreeably surprised, highly satisfied, and very, very encouraged when the first Lunch-Hour meeting of a series which they have arranged was held in the Friends' Meeting House, in the heart of their City, on Friday, November 3rd. The place was overcrowded before the time of opening and there was no doubt that at long last an increasing number of the common folk are coming to the conclusion that they have been fairly fooled about the present War and the aims of the Allied Nations.

Our Comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., was the speaker, and he made no secret of his detestation of the whole ugly business of war. His subject was, "The Treatment of Germany," and he was loudly applauded when he made the point that there was no possible hope of Peace even for the next ten years in Europe if the war-mongers have it all their own way once again.

It was fairly obvious that those in power had at last been convinced that it was against their own capitalist interests to impose the payment of reparations in kind on this occasion as in 1919. They were, therefore, prating about punishing the War criminals and urging the break-up of Germany, with the suggestion that ten million Germans now residing in East Prussia, the Sudeten, Silesia, the Corridor and Danzic are to be deported into the Reich and a sanitary cordon put right round them as if they were lepers. The foulest suggestion of all, supported by a section of the Labour Movement, was that the Allies should demand slave labour gangs of Germans to be utilised all over the devastated territories to rebuild them again.

Rhys Davies ventured the view that those who made such suggestions, especially Labour men and women, would be thoroughly ashamed of themselves when the War was over in Europe, for having ever uttered such criminal futilities.

Questions were put and answered. The suggestion was made repeatedly from the crowd that the time had arrived when all those who loved Peace should get together and arrange monster demonstrations in order to bring pressure to bear on the Government to wind up the whole ridiculous carnage now proceeding.

Thus Rhys Davies, in the country as in the House of Commons, fearlessly and tirelessly continued his magnificent work for Socialism and Peace. He is the outstanding champion of justice, common-sense, and the common people's struggle in the Labour movement to-day. We ask that the strongest possible support be given by all comrades to his work. He commands our full solidarity.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

My Dear Guy,—The last issue of "The Word" was excellent. The speech on page 1, "But Was It Luck," is a real stunner, and gives a very clear idea of what power politics means these days. Persuaded many people to read it by lending copies. "The Call to Manhood" also good.

Reflected to-day it will be forty years at the beginning of next year, 1945, since we first met. Our dreams seem to be not so very much nearer, but still we must carry on, for nothing else in the world is worth thinking about.

With all good wishes.

Yours in the struggle.

GEORGE ROSE.

London, S.W.1, October 19.

Dear Sir,—Many thanks for copies of "The Word," accompanying numerous pamphlets issued by the Strickland Press.

I am old enough to remember reading how the daily press abused you, also E. D. Morel and others in days gone by. Such is the fate of pioneers. "Pioneers, O Pioneers," exclaimed Whitman.

Anyway, I notice that you have not lost your punch in dealing with hypocrisy, humbug and the like.

Good luck and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

S. GORDON HOGG.

Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Looking through these back copies of "The Word" is like re-reading the history book and learning afresh some of these things, a reminder of which is very necessary. Your conviction in Glasgow in 1921 is still fresh in my memory but I was glad to be reminded of the trials of these days. Then a youth of 19 years I was deeply interested in men and affairs and I have you largely to thank that I threw Roman Catholicism overboard, despite a rigid upbringing in that Faith.

In those back years, yours was a name which one often saw in print and your staunch stand against militarism in the last war invoked my then faithful admiration. Too often in those days I was called "Pro-German" by nineteen-year-old school friends. I am happy that, like yourself, my abhorrence to war has remained.

I note with pleasure the wide range of opinion in "The Word," not only in the written matter, but also in the announcements.

Your many references to Richard Carlile are tribute indeed to this great Fighter. Alas! he has been forgotten of late and much credit is due to you for the reminder of all that this great man was and did.

As for "His Grace" of Bedford, he is the most misunderstood man of our generation; a voice crying in the wilderness.

During my stay at Woburn, opinion varied about the Duke, but the significant fact that I gathered was that he was a man with a sympathetic understanding of the people's problems. Some (the Church of England adherents) called him an Atheist Criminal and Pro-Nazi; others said he was a crank, but all were agreed that he was a "just landlord" (whatever that is!).

Yours fraternally,

E. WILLIAMS.

Tufnell Park, London, N. 7.

Dear Friend,—I find much in "The Word" to interest me; there is also much that puzzles me, and I should be glad if you have time to enlighten me.

You say you are an Anti-Parliamentarian. Emma Goldman described you as an Anarchist; her judgment is likely to be correct. Yet a large proportion of your periodical is devoted to reports of speeches and articles, by or about various I.L.P. M.P.'s, and especially the Duke of Bedford, who is certainly a parliamentarian, for you publish (without comment) appeals by him that we should all write to our M.P.'s.

It is gratifying to read, in another connection, "No adulation of personalities, and to this end a constant watch upon the tendencies to hero-worship." (July, 1944, p. 137).

While I admire these people, and feel that they are doing great services for minority opinion by publicising facts, surely no anarchist should support them, however much he agrees with their aims, without stating, clearly and repeatedly, that he does not believe in their methods.

People whose views differ in this way can unite for defence, but when it comes to constructive action, they have little in common. What aim have you in collecting such heterogeneous views in one paper? Your own anti-parliamentarism is none too clearly emphasised.

And what is the United Socialist Movement?

I find your paper interesting, and want to take it for a while to get a clearer idea of its nature and purpose.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR FRENCH.

Stonehouse, Glos.

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SEVENTY YEARS OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

BY C. H. NORMAN

There has recently been published an interesting and important book for all students of international affairs, entitled "Studies in Diplomacy and Statecraft," by Professor G. P. Gooch (Longman's, 12/6 net). The width of the subject matter covered is best shown by naming the main chapters: "Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914;" "The Diplomatic Background of the First World War," "British Policy before the War of 1914 in the light of the Archives," "British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939," "Political Autobiography," which is a critical discussion of the confessions of makers of history, beginning with Babur, the founder of the Mogul Empire, and ending with Herr Hitler's "Mein Kampf;" "Politics and Morals," which is a discussion of how far Machiavelli was correct in asserting in "The Prince" that the policy of all States was without morality or "beyond good and evil," adapting Nietzsche's phrase used in another connection. The essay on "The French Revolution as a World Force," can be coupled with the final essay on the forerunner of the Absolute State, "Hobbes and the Absolute State," Hobbes sharing with Locke the reputation of being the most original thinker in England on politics and statecraft of that period. The remaining essays in the book consist of a review of the characters of Prince Bulow and Herr Kiderlen-Wachter, the man responsible largely for the active element in German foreign policy prior to 1914.

The book should be read in conjunction with another remarkable study of European politics in the period of Louis XIII, "Grey Eminence," by Aldous Huxley, for Mr. Huxley, quite rightly, is of opinion that the catastrophe which has overtaken the European world, extending gradually across the globe, can be traced back to the politics of men of power and authority such as Cardinal Richelieu, the Red Cardinal, and Father Joseph, his secretary, who is described by Mr. Huxley as "Grey Eminence," though his death occurred before the intended Cardinal's hat was conferred upon him.

Both these books are a credit to English erudition and scholarship. They are so good that it is a duty to draw attention in some detail to their argument, as the events they analyse have obtruded themselves into the lives and homes of most citizens of the world in some way. Mr. Huxley's book will only be used for object of reference in this article, the main purpose of which will be to discuss the problems and matters debated by Prof. Gooch, which cover directly the conduct of many leading men, whose policies have affected the lives of two or three generations of European citizens, in the sense of bringing disaster upon almost everyone concerned.

The first essay on "Franco-German Relations" opens with a singularly-phrased sentence: "The war of 1870, though contrived by Bismarck, was begun by Napoleon III, and defeated France had to pay his debts." Lower down Prof. Gooch remarks, "Outside France, the annexation of Alsace and a portion of Lorraine was generally regarded as the natural punishment of the Power which had declared war and had been beaten. Where is the nation which with bitter memories like those of the invasions of Louis XIV and Napoleon, would have returned empty-handed from a sanguinary struggle and would have left in the possession of its defeated enemy rich territories which had formed part of its own vanished Empire? If France had won, she doubtless would have annexed part of the Rhineland. Amputation is the common practice of conquerors. The peacemakers of 1919 had no title to cast stones at the peace-makers of 1871: both alike built for the day, not for the morrow."

This passage is a complete destruction of the historical and moral attitude of Lord Vansittart, who is so busy defaming Germans in the hope that he may preserve in that way his own somewhat shattered reputation as a diplomat, whose value to his country can best be judged by the plight in which that country, which paid him well for his service, is standing.

The criticism that can still be made on Prof. Gooch's summary is that the partitions of 1919 were infinitely more harmful to Europe than those of 1870, while the social and economic reasons for which the French ruling class exploited the ill-feeling between Germany and France between 1871 and 1914 are largely ignored by Prof. Gooch. The conduct of Great Britain during the Moroccan crises must be criticised from the point of view that the Foreign Office took the side of the disturbers of the peace and exasperated the high feeling instead of pacifying it.

At the conclusion of the essay Prof. Gooch has a very valuable summary of the real state of international feeling in Europe which had reached its culmination in about 1912, though, oddly enough, the Professor forgets his own summary in the rest of the book: "The Continent was racked by three separate but simultaneous antagonisms. The oldest was the quarrel between France and Germany over Alsace and Lorraine. Second in order of time was the competition of Russia and Austria for hegemony in the Far East. The most recent was the rivalry between England and Germany for the command of the seas. Moreover, the network of alliances ensured that a serious quarrel between any two of the Great Powers would develop into a general scrimmage."

He ends the chapter with a little rhetoric which is a playful way that Professor Gooch has of slipping away from the logical result of his own previous calm analysis.

The two essays dealing with British Foreign Policy up to the war of 1914 are a skilful attempt to justify and whitewash the record of Sir Edward Grey. Naturally, there are some extraordinary omissions, but some of the weaker excuses put forward by Lord Grey's apologists find no place in Prof. Gooch's defence.

It is well at this point to recall some of the catch phrases which were used in the war of 1914-1918, and compare them with the similar phrases of the war now proceeding. In 1914, the leading phrases were "the sanctity of treaties," as pointed by the Belgian Treaty; "The Crushing of Prussian militarism," which is now represented by "The overthrow of Nazi tyranny." and "The war to end all war," which has its counterpart to-day in the phrase that "aggression between nations shall cease and that the aggressor nations shall be rendered incapable of aggression for all time."

Consider for one moment the honesty of the argument about Belgian neutrality as put in the words of the memorandum of Sir Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, which is quoted by Prof. Gooch: "Supposing that France violated the neutrality of Belgium in a war against Germany it is, under present circumstances, doubtful whether England or Russia would move a finger to maintain Belgian neutrality, while if the neutrality of Belgium were violated by Germany it is probable that the converse would be the case." The position is there accurately stated: It was a one-way guarantee only and had nothing to do with the welfare of Belgium as a State.

Prof. Gooch, naturally, has something to say about the Balance of Power doctrine, which he sums up in this language: "The only check on a powerful and aggressive State is the existence of an equally formidable rival or league of defence. The equilibrium established on such a grouping of forces is technically known as the Balance of Power, and it has become almost a historical truism to identify England's policy with the maintenance of this balance by thowing her weight now in this scale and now in that, but ever on the side balance by throwing her weight now in this single State or group at a given time. If this view of British policy is correct, our opposition to any country aspiring to such a dictatorship assumes almost the form of a law of nature."

Stripped of verbiage and put in simple terms, this argument (which apparently is favoured and sponsored by Prof. Gooch) is a declaration that Britain is to be the dictator of policy in Europe on international matters and that no rival will be tolerated. This may be sound and prudential, but wherein lies the justice of the moral criticism of other States which should attempt to challenge the dictatorship of Britain, which has caused certainly four of the most disastrous wars which have afflicted the Continent of Europe, namely, the Napoleonic war, which established reaction in France for a century; the Crimean war, which to-day is recognised as a criminal adventure by all historians; the war of 1914-1918, and the war which began in 1339 and will end goodness knows when or how.

It was a calamity for England that the leading advisers at the Foreign Office were actuated by an anti-German bias, namely Sir Eyre Crowe, Sir William Tyrrell and Sir Robert Vansittart. On the other side there was the permanent official Holstein, who was certainly not enamoured of British policy or methods on the Continent of Europe.

Prof. Gooch, in his record of his conversation with Lord Grey on February 14, 1929, said, "I am impressed by Eyre Crowe's intense hostility to Germany", to which Grey merely replied, "Crowe was anti-German. But I don't think the minutes of officials ought to be published, or they will be afraid to write them".

It never occurred to Lord Grey that perhaps he and Crowe owed some duty to the persons who were employing them, the British taxpayers who had to pay so terribly in blood and treasure for their blunders. Moreover, the anti-German hostility of Crowe was domestic. The dangers of permanent officials at the Foreign Office having foreign-born wives was never more markedly shown than in his case.

On the general principle, while officials at the Foreign Office should have a scrupulous care for the true interests of the country which is employing and paying them, and should abstain from undertaking financial interest in foreign countries (which, unfortunately, was not the case), they are doing a grave disservice to this country to permit their minds to be influenced by bias against any foreign state or form of government, for that prevents them in engaging in any impartial survey of events.

Prof. Gooch's defence of the policy of England is partly based on the reiterated statement that "we were a satisfied power and well content with that we had in 1914."

There is no foundation for this statement. All through this period there were all kinds of mysterious intrigues about the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese African Colonies. In 1919, the British Empire received enormous additions at the expense of Germany: while, as late as March, 1938, Britain was occupying territories in the Pacific, as for instance Canton Island. Between 1919 and 1939, Britain never surrendered a square yard of territory to anyone, except some hundreds of square miles of African desert (which were ceded to Italy in a belated attempt to placate her for her treatment by France and Britain in 1919) and the return of Wei-hai-Wei to China.

(To be concluded.)

THE BEACON

This is the title of the excellent organ of the Guildford Trades Council. This lively journal is issued now in printed form. Its published price is 2d., post-free, 3d. We congratulate our comrade, the editor, E. P. Beaumont, upon his powerful editorial, "FREEDOM ON THE MARCH." Orders should be addressed to: A. J. OWEN, 17 PORTSMOUTH ROAD, GUILDFORD, SURREY. Order now. Annual Subscription is 3s. 0d., post free.

THE CHILD AND THE STATE

BY ARTHUR FRENCH

When a child is born its parents have to pay the State for the (compulsory) registration of its birth. You might think that the payment of this fee, making them legally the parents of the child, would leave them free to devote the rest of their available time and income to the child's material needs. But the State interferes straight away and says the child must be vaccinated. This, it does free; but vaccination is not esteemed too highly nowadays, even in orthodox medical circles. If the parents wish the child to be left alone, they must swear on oath before a J.P. or a Commissioner for Oaths. If they can find a J.P. who will do it (not all of them will, though they have no real right to refuse), it will cost nothing. Otherwise, it will cost 2/- or so. All this trouble, and possibly money, is spent to prevent the State vaccinating the child (of course, vaccination creates employment, and is thus a vested interest).

Let us not show too much bias against the authorities. They do provide cheap milk, orange juice, etc., for all babies; they provide Child Welfare Clinics. And, when the child is five, they offer a free schooling.

But why all this interest in the child? Is it completely disinterested? Is it merely to make happy, healthy, helpful members of the community? Sometimes one would think so, but listen to Professor G. M. Trevelyan (*English Social History*; Longmans)—"If we win this war, it will be won in the primary and secondary schools." Ah! so perhaps it would pay the anti-militarist to go into this a little further!

Firstly, notice that "education," i.e., attendance at an approved school (or private tuition, if one can afford it), is compulsory. If a man has an income well above the average, and not too many children, he can choose between the State school, the conventional private (sometimes "public") school, or a "progressive" school. Most people have no choice. Their children go to to the State school; they have to send them there, under penalty of fine or gaol, however much they may object to anything that is taught there, or any methods used.

Actually, the State *secondary* school is often a more liberal (and even libertarian) place than the private school, which has a far more direct financial interest in turning out men who will "fit in" to existing society, make good in business or the professions, and send their own sons to the school. The staff of the State school often represents a wide range of views and may even have a "left" political bias. It is in the elementary school that the system is found at its worst; its staff go straight there from (a State) school without any university course—which has some broadening effect, however remote from reality its teaching may be; the classes are large, resulting inevitably in strict discipline and inadequate individual attention; many such schools are intimately connected with some religious denomination. The result may not be an educated man or woman, but the State gets what it wants: a subservient worker or soldier.

"The men and women who went through the State schools showed no lack of desire or willingness to defend their land in the first world war," said Lord Latham in the House of Lords, "They have not shown any less willingness in this war." They will fall for the same stories next time, too, if the State still controls their minds from the age of five.

A century ago it was widely believed that to teach workers to read and write would turn them all into revolutionaries; but, with the growth of bureaucracy, a way was soon found to bring up literate workers without encouraging anything more terrifying than Trade-Unionism, and in 1870 the State entered the educational field. It is such a nuisance to the bureaucrat if his victims cannot read forms and fill them up. Illiteracy in the Army is objected to merely because of its nuisance value. Recruits cannot read notices on the Notice-board, and their "mark" has to be witnessed each time a signature is required. A sidelight on the purpose of education is given by the standard of literacy in the Army. Illiterates, after a six-weeks' course, can read a newspaper—the medium of government propaganda. Fifty years ago, the standard would have been the Bible, but the idea is the same!

Now, we are told, mere literacy is not enough. "We" (people who happen to live in Britain) must become a Nation of Technicians, if the country is to remain a First-Class Power (i.e., a State which can impose its policy on others by economic or military force), so education is prolonged to 16, and continuation classes are planned. All this for a definite economic reason, unrelated to the development of personality, of sensibility—in fact, it may definitely prevent full development. The primary aim is the interest of the State, not the people; the Bureaucracy, not the workers!

I have quoted two authoritative statements that the State schools produce supporters of war (defence of one's land is an obvious euphemism when it refers to fighting in France and Burma—what was it?—Poland's territorial integrity? Let us see how orthodox teaching gets these results.

Looked at very superficially, education might appear to be little more than fact—collecting and memory training, efficiency in certain logical operations, and a little attention to physical development. But it is easy to see, especially after the publicity given to German and Italian methods, that the manner of teaching some subjects—History and Geography most obviously—is influenced by political ends. But many conscientious opponents of Capitalism do not appear to see further than this.

The National Council of Labour Colleges for instance, while realising that "*one of the main purposes of orthodox education is to train people to accept the present social order,*" believes that "the Capitalist State can be trusted to teach Arithmetic" and other technical subjects (*The War of Ideas*, by J. P. M. Millar, N.C.L.C.)

This is a demonstrably false view. It is convenient that the N.C.L.C. should raise the question of mathematical teaching, as I happen to have specialised in Mathematics at State expense, and know a little about orthodox teaching.

Let us consider the teacher of a School Cert. form. (This will be a stage reached by an increasing number of pupils when the leaving age is raised). He is teaching pupils (1) leaving at the end of the year, (2) going on to specialise in literary subjects, (3) going on to scientific subjects, (4) taking mathematics as a main subject, or (5) going to a technical or commercial course. He must decide what stress must be laid on aesthetic pleasure, everyday use, mental discipline, and the various needs of the different specialists. Is it not obvious that the way each aspect is approached, and the stress laid on each, has a profound social importance? In particular, the ordinary man't attitude to statistics, finance, taxes, is a political consideration of the first order, and is largely dependant on the teaching of maths.

Another valuable observation on curriculum is made by C. S. Lewis in his essay on education, *The Abolition of Man* (O.U.P.). He points out that, in the present form of society, scientific knowledge does not mean power of man over Nature, but "power exercised by some men over other men with Nature as its instrument."

The university syllabus in maths. and science is largely abstract, and unrelated to social problems, or even to possibilities of getting a job after graduation. Many students remain as schoolmasters or dons, in this educational system which has largely unfitted them for anything else. Similarly, univerity courses in English and other "non-technical" subjects do not as a rule produce innovators or aesthetes, but the Ideal Bureaucrat. The educational system is overwhelmingly successful from the State's point of view; it destroys the personality of all but a few of its victims. The exceptions become rebels, not only against the educational system but against society as a whole.

The relation between discipline, both in school and in youth organisations, and subservience in later life, is probably more obvious. Schools have sprung up which base their organisation on quite different relations between staff and pupils. Their aim is the maximum possible freedom. This view, however, often leads to paradox because it is usually reached by a negative road—the realisation of the evil characteristics of conventional methods, with the resulting wish to experiment with opposite ways. The paradox is reached because different spheres of activity are inter-related, and a change in one may not be sufficint to change the others, but, may easily cause conflict instead, both personally and socially. The child leaves schol and finds that the business and administrative world despises his high principles, and he goes to the wall. This is often produced as an indictment of progressive schools (see *Progressive Schools*, L. B. Pekin). The root of the seeming difficulty is that libertarian education is revolutionary (though not always consciously so). The product of such a school must be either a revolutionary or a nonentity. He cannot hope to be a "success" in existing society unless he is prepared to forgo his principles of freedom and equity.

For the anti-militarist, the main conclusions from this study are: that the State attempts systematically to adapt the child to its own ends; that it is, on the whole, successful; and that to oppose it is to be consciously or unconsciously, revolutionary. I believe that the State must be opposed in this field; and that to suggest sheltering the child from the issue till it is of an age to "think for itself" is fatal—the State has a finger in the pie from the beginning of the child's schooling, and surrounds him with books, papers, and radio, taking existing institutions for granted. To oppose it in the political field alone is futile. If fighting militarism means fighting the State and the economic system, why give your enemy ten years' start? Above all, if you hope that a child will become an anti-militarist, he must be prepared to meet an unprincipled, hostile society, and face it as a visionary and a revolutionary without hope of fame or fortune. Otherwise, more likely than not, he will leave school to take life for granted, and, when the Government declares the next war for him, he may even welcome it as an escape from the dullness and uncertainty of "Peace." The State will have had its way.

MOTHERWELL U.S.M.

The Motherwell U.S.M. Social and Dance will be held in the Y.M.C.A. Buildings, Motherwell, on Friday, December 22, at 7.30 p.m. All comrades welcome. We trust that there will be a good attendance, and comrades from Hamilton, Burnbank, and Blantyre will attend, in addition to Motherwell comrades. Make this social a night of all-in Socialist comradeship.

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THE WORD

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[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

MILITARISM UNMASKS

WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA

WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA, by M. L. Berneri. 1s 0d. Post free, 1s 3d. It can be obtained from the "Word" Office, as well as from the office of its publishers, FREEDOM PRESS, 27 BELSIZE ROAD, LONDON, N.W. 6.

"Workers in Stalin's Russia" is the challenging title of a valuable factual work recently issued by the Freedom Press, London. It is written and compiled by M. L. Berneri. The work merits a wide circulation and should be considered and discussed wherever Socialists meet their fellow-workers. No apology is needed for the present exhaustive summary of this useful and simply written brochure.

The introductory chaper explains how difficult it has been to learn the truth about the conditions of life that have prevailed in Russia since the Bolshevik Revolution, and that exist to-day.

At every phase of the development of the revolution, as it advanced further and further into counter-revolution, the subsidised "Communist" press denied facts, and lied blatantly, in order to eulogise the "first Socialist State in the world." But the Capitalist press was prepared equally to distort facts in order to denounce that same alleged "Socialist State." After Hitler invaded Russia, the war-interests of Communists and Capitalist Conservatives, so-called Labour leaders and avowed reactionaries, came to coincide:—

All the parties supporting the present Imperialist war realised that Russia could be an important factor in crushing Germany and, with a few exceptions, they set about boosting the regime and its leaders.

Journalists who, till yesterday, had only referred to Stalin as the Red Butcher, Tory politicians who had thundered against the rape of Finland, trade-union officials who had denounced State dictatorship, military experts who revealed that Russian soldiers went barefooted, bishops who had lamented the immorality of Russian life and the murdering of priests, have now all joined hands to praise Russia as the greatest, mightiest, holiest of our Allies. Speeches are made, articles are written, pamphlets and books are published by the million to "sell" Russia to the British and American public. Such an advertising campaign does not take place to magnify the greatness of our American ally for example, but in the case of Russia our rulers and politicians have realised that it possesses still a great attraction amongst the masses as the "workers' country." By praising it they hope to get a more enthusiastic support for the war effort and increased production at cheap cost.

The author comments on the interesting fact that the boosting of Russia "remains purposely vague," and that while the happiness and grand conditions of living and education of the Russian workers are stressed in general terms, nothing is said specifically about the actual living conditions of the Russian people. The false and interested nature of this propaganda is driven home by unanswerable factual revelations:—

The boosting of Russia remains purposely vague. We are told of the happiness of the Russian workers, of their high standard of living, of the superiority of their system of education but few details and fewer facts are attached to these assertions. Press and politicians have achieved the incomparable feat

of talking almost incessantly about Russia while saying nothing about the regime or the conditions of life of the inhabitants.

When the Russian-German pact was concluded the "Boersenblatt," the daily news bulletin of the German book trade, published a list of anti-bolshevist publications withdrawn from sale on the orders of the Nazi authorities. Books on "Forced Labour in the Soviet Union," "How the Russian Worker Lives," "Revelations about Moscow," etc., could no longer be sold or bought.

The "democracies" were no less tactful towards the Soviet Union when it joined the Allies. The "Bookseller" reported that most books critical to the Russian regime had been called back from circulation. The "Nation" 14/2/42 announced that: "Harper Brothers, which recently withdrew a biography of Stalin, has decided not to publish G. E. R. Gedye's book on his experiences as "New York Times" correspondent; and Doubleday, Doran will not issue the reminiscences of Alexander Barmine, former Soviet representative to Greece, who fled to this country after the Moscow trials. Both Barmine's and Gedye's books were completed, but the publishers felt that the times are unpropitious for books critical of Russia."

Within the Soviet Union, terrorist organisation prevents the truth leaking out, and the truth-tellers' family or friends are threatened with reprisals:—

If information does see the light its authors are taught such lessons as to discourage most would-be denouncers of Stalin's regime. Krivitsky, author of "I was Stalin's Agent," committed suicide; Carlo Tresca who denounced Communist machinations was murdered. A campaign was instituted against Jan Valtin, author of "Out of the Night," a book which created a tremendous sensation, asking that he should be expelled from the U.S.A. . . . In Mexico . . . Recently the Communists asked that Miguel Yoldi, ex-organiser of the Durruti column, Victor Serge who published several books attacking Stalin's regime, Julian Gorkin, an ex-Spanish communist, Marceau Pivert, a well-known French socialist, should be prosecuted by the Government as being fascist agents. These are but a few of the methods used by Communist Parties all over the world to silence any independent opinion on Russia and its regime.

Censorship on foreign journalists makes it impossible for the outside world to know anything beyond what the Government thinks fit to release. The policy of the Bolsheviks was responsible for the famine of 1932-33. States our author:

Three to seven million people starved to death in Russia during the 1932-33 famine without a word being published in the world press about it. And America had ten correspondents there!

Eugene Lyons, in "Assignment in Utopia," describes how the facts of the famine were concealed by the foreign journalists in Moscow:—

"'There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition.'

"This amazing sophistry, culled from a 'New York Times' Moscow dispatch on March 30, 1933, has become among foreign reporters the classic example of journalistic understatement. It characterises sufficiently the whole shabby episode of our failure to report honestly the gruesome famine of 1932-33 . . .

"The episode, indeed, reflects little glory on world journalism as a whole. Not a single American newspaper or press agency protested publicly against the astonishing and almost unprecedented confinement of its correspondents in the Soviet capital or troubled to probe for the causes of this extraordinary measure. . . .

"These philological sophistries, to which we were all driven, served Moscow's purpose of smearing the facts out of recognition and beclouding a situation which, had we reported it simply and clearly, might have worked up enough public opinion abroad to force remedial measures. And every correspondent, each in his own measure, was guilty of collaborating in this monstrous hoax on the world."

Concludes the author on this phase of the subject:—

The destruction of a mirage is an unpopular task. The man in a desert who is trying to convince his exhausted companion that the coveted oasis he sees in the distance is only a dream is likely to be answered with curses. The working-class is in an arid desert to-day. Betrayed, abandoned, weak, helpless, it looks towards Russia as a promised land, . . .

Transferred Russian patriotism is just as stupefying as patriotism for Britain, America or Germany. It is illogical, degrading; it has no end outside itself. . . .

It is important to destroy the myth of a happy and prosperous Russia if workers in this country are going to refuse to fight for lies and are not going to repeat the mistakes made by the Russian proletariat after the revolution.

In her next chapter, the author discusses the "Soviet" system. She rightly points out that she uses the expressions "Soviet Russia" and "Soviet Government" merely to conform to custom. Actually, she means "Bolshevik Russia" and "Bolshevik Government." Soviet organisations, administration, and ideals do not exist in Russia. The "dictatorship of the proletariat," a meaningless phrase as even the Webbs admitted, means, in reality, the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

The Bolsheviks interpreted the slogan: "All Power to the Soviets" as signifying: "All Power to the Party which controls the Soviets" and they went all out to conquer that power. . . .

During the revolution two organs of power were in existence: the factory and peasant Soviets on one side and the Communist Party on the other. The first represented the will of the masses of peasants and soldiers, the second a minority of professional militants and Party Members, anxious to get the masses under their control.

The struggle between those two organs ended in the victory of the Communist Party.

This is sound factual criticism. The author is not so happy in explaining how this came about. She stated that "the conquest of the Soviets by the Communist Party" was no accident. This phrase does not explain why or how the conquest came about. It is, indeed, a very weak comment for what is needed to be known is "how" the Communist Party became an organ of power, at first equal with the Soviets, and later above the Soviets. Before discussing this "how" that the author misses, we will note her comment on the fact of the struggle between the Soviets and the Communist Party.

The author details the industrial practical franchise of Sovietism and proceeds to show how Sovietism and "Communism" exclude one another.

The 1936 Constitution reduced the Soviets to mere administrative local organs of the centralised State Power or "Communist" dictatorship. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has nothing in common with the early Soviet concept or organisation. Article 141 of the Constitution makes free political representation impossible apart from its complete annihilation of the right of industrial representation. It is an organised counter-revolution.

Empty declarations of Freedom of Speech, Press, Assembly, and Demonstration, are part of this Constitution. But none of these enactments are implemented. Legally, the Communist Party plays a minor role, but Stalin's declarations on the importance of the Party flagrantly contradict the Constitution.

In his book on "Leninism," Stalin boasts that "no important political or organisational problem is ever decided by our Soviets and other mass organisations without directives from our Party." He concludes "that the dictatorship of the proletariat is substantially the dictatorship of the Party."

The Webbs, in "Soviet Communism," quote Stalin's declaration to the German author, Emil Ludwig, in which the Russian dictator claims that the Central Committee of the Communist Party, consisting of 70 members, guides and controls all Soviet organisation: Co-ops.; distribution; Soviet farms; collective farms; individual peasant agriculture; military forces; nationalities; national policy.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, although it has no power under the Constitution to do so, has issued decrees regarding marriage, divorce, and abortion.

The Webbs tried to explain Stalin's "Soviet Communism" by saying that it was necessary to produce a leader for the Russian people to revere after Lenin's death. This does not explain Stalin's ruthless struggle for power against his old comrades and possible rivals, the mock trials, murders by execution or less legalised assassination, until none of the junta that conspired to make Stalin existed. Every leader of the Russian Revolution has died a violent death except Stalin. Let the Socialist read the first Congresses of the Communist International and judge for himself.

Even the Webbs complain about the consistent boosting of Stalin, the fulsome references to him as "Comrade Stalin," the great leader of the people, etc. Also, they refer to the Communist Party as frankly accepting "the designation 'keeper of the conscience of the proletariat.'"

All this is powerful indictment. The author is to be congratulated upon stating the case so clearly. But why does she fail to explain how it came about? What caused the Left Social Revolutionaries, the Anarchists, and the other factions to fail, and to fall victims to the conspiracy of the Bolsheviks, which finally destroyed even the Bolshevik leaders, and left Stalin alone in power, supported by a post-war junta and conspiracy? Why did the Anarchists, for example, fail?

These questions are not posed and are not answered. Why? They are of vital importance to the common people. They should be discussed and answered. We suggest that our author is timid. She refuses to face this issue because the discussion would condemn the Bolsheviks but it would condemn equally the Anarchists. Her failure mars a valuable work. On the vital issue of how to create and preserve the revolutionary struggle, she remains silent.

This gap, and the reason for her silence, we will try to explain.

At the time that the first World War was declared, August, 1914, Russia was a vast agricultural country. The farm lands were inefficiently developed and the rural population lived in great poverty. Capitalist industry had developed, with the aid of foreign capital, but there was little home market, and so little intercourse between the town worker and the country worker. Out of this fact arose the slogan, "the dictatorship of the proletariat." There was a vast movement of opposition to Czarism, supported by peasants, capitalists, and proletarians. But there was little common interest between the 95 per cent. country workers and the 5 per cent. town proletariat. There existed a Socialist movement divided into bitterly antagonistic factions.

The Russian Social Democratic movement was divided, as is well-known, into two factions since 1903; the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. Inevitably, they became two distinct and opposing parties. The Mensheviks stood for purely constitutional statism. The Bolsheviks believed in illegal organisation. In 1905, the Bolsheviks urged conquest of power by revolution and saw Russia the revolutionary hope of Western Europe. Like the Mensheviks, despite their revolutionary slogans, the Bolsheviks believed in a programme of reforms and in being elected to the Duma. The pre-war demands of the Bolsheviks were: a democratic republic; expropriation of the landowners; and the eight-hour day. A trifle confusing because items 2 and 3 do not relate. The eight-hour day is a sensible demand only if expropriation is impossible of attainment. In one's own interest one might be willing to work a much longer day.

The Bolshevik power did not come from this programme. When the Czar's Government declared war, the Bolsheviks opposed war firmly and voted against war credits. They condemned strongly all so-called Socialists who supported the war, whether in Russia, Britain, France, Italy, Germany, or Austria. To this very clear anti-war stand the Bolsheviks owe their revolutionary and post-revolutionary status. Why will not the Anarchists face this fact? Certainly it was not an accident that the Bolsheviks became a power in revolutionary Russia.

We know what happened. Russia reached the stage where it became impossible for her to continue in the war. Strikes for peace as well as for wages occurred in the large towns. Crowds attacked the houses of the Czarist ministers. On March 11, 1917 the Czar ordered the dissolution of the Duma. His order was repudiated and the Duma continued to sit. Regiments revolted. Street-fighting occurred.

On March 15, the Czar abdicated.

A Provisional Government was formed by the Duma. It was Monarchist and pro-war. Kerensky was Minister of Justice. Councils of workers, peasants and soldiers — Soviets — arose. These Councils were openly opposed to the Bolsheviks and supported the Capitalist pro-war Provisional Government. Kerensky was Vice-President of the Soviet and the connecting link with the Duma.

In May, 1917, a second Provisional Government was formed, and two months later Kerensky became head of the Third Provisional Government. This Government was supported by the Soviets. The Bolshevik minority staged an anti-war demonstration, bearing the slogan: "Down with the Capitalistic Government! Down with war! All Power to the Soviets!" The Soviets opposed the demonstration and it was cancelled. The Mensheviks organised a Joint Conference of the Peasants' Soviet and the Workmen's and Socialist Soviet, and passed a resolution establishing the supreme authority of the Soviet, and expelling from, or denying membership to those who repudiated or conspired against the authority of the Soviet. The Soviet recalled troops from the front to suppress a Bolshevik armed rising against "The Government and The Soviet." Kerensky appealed to the Soviet to suppress Kornilov.

The Bolsheviks continued their peace propaganda.

They were consistent in their anti-war attitude but not in their slogans of power.

In April, 1917, they demanded: "All Power to the Soviets."

This meant, then, power to the Mensheviks and the Left Social Revolutionaries, both pro-war factions.

In July they abandoned this slogan.

In September they revived it on condition of absolute freedom of agitation and the calling of a constituent assembly.

This offer was not accepted. But on September 9, a Bolshevik was elected President of the Kronstadt Soviet. On October 1, the Moscow Soviet elected a Bolshevik majority. A week later, Trotsky, regarded as a Bolshevik and acting as such in the closest alliance, was elected President of the Petrograd Soviet. A week later, this Soviet demanded the transfer of all power to the Soviets and immediate peace. On Novmber 7, this Soviet demanded the overthrow of the Government. Two days later came the Moscow rising. The Bolsheviks now consolidated their position with majorities in the Soviets. During the revolutionary struggle the Soviets superseded the Duma as the political machinery and the Bolsheviks took control of this machinery because they had proven to be the consistent anti-war party. Certainly they had used many revolutionary slogans, but their general policy was one of opportunism, now reformist, now revolutionary. Trotsky in his interesting and invaluable "Lessons of October, 1917," described the triumph of the Bolsheviks as an "almost constitutional armed insurrection." Actually they were voted into power by an overwhelming majority of non-Socialist workers and peasants on their programme of "Peace, Bread, and Land." They kept their pledge to end the war. Their attitude on the other issues is open to question and discussion.

Our author should have faced this record of the evolution of the Bolsheviks to power before indicting their conspiracy of dictatorship. Kropotkin's terrible war hysteria, mentioned in our last issue, robbed the Anarchists of their power to combat this conspiracy. Much harm was done to the entire revolutionary movement by this outrageous war attitude of Kropotkin at a time of supreme revolutionary crisis when he ought to have stood for peace. The Bolsheviks, by their uncompromising stand for Zimmerwald Pacifism, became the one party in Russia. Kropotkin by his retrograde Chauvinism made the Anarchists the group of reaction. Stern repudiation would have saved the situation. It was not forthcoming. And so the Bolsheviks became the one party of the revolution. With disastrous counter-revolutionary consequences they reduced what should have been a glorious sunrise to a hellish sunset. And to-day Stalin is the Chauvinist. The Communists mentioning Lenin's words less and less, but rejoicing in the shade of his authority, stand in 1944 where Kropotkin stood in 1917. Such is the tragedy of the struggle.

In failing to deal with the Kropotkin reaction, our author neglects her duty. But she writes with authority, power, and research on the events of Russian development from the time when the Bolsheviks seized power to the present time. It is sound deduction to follow her record of Trade Unions and The State; the Russian Factory; the Land; the Workers' Status; the Stakhanovite movement; Conscripted and Forced Labour; Women in the U.S.S.R.; Moulding Youth; "Justice" in U.S.S.R.; The Red Army, and "The Only Socialist Country in the World."

These excellent chapters we now summarise.

(To be concluded.)

The Duke of Bedford reviews Berneri's book on page 70.

SUPPORT OUR DEFICIT FUND

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters: 1 Adelaide Street, Charing Cross, London, W.C.2.

An organisation consisting of Communicant members of the Church of England, or of a Church in full Communion with it, who believe that membership of the Christian Church involves the repudiation of modern war. They pledge themselves to take no part in war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world.

Pacifists of the Anglican Church first came together as a result of a letter to *The Church Times*, written by the Rev. R. Gofton-Salmond, asking pacifist priests to get in touch with him. A small group was thus formed and a meeting was held at St. Clement's Church, City Road, London. Other meetings followed at which Dick Sheppard was present.

On November 26th, 1936, a deputation which included Dick Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris, the Rev. Paul Gliddon, Canon Denis Fletcher and the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier went to the Archbishops and put the pacifist case before them.

The first public meeting, at which over 1000 people were present, was held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on April 5th, 1937, with Dick Sheppard in the chair. The speakere were Father Andrew, Archdeacon Hartill, Canon Stuart Morris and the Rev. Paul Gliddon. A resolution was passed declaring that Jesus Christ would refuse to participate in modern war, and that his disciples ought to oppose war as being essentially evil.

On June 11th, 1940, the Archbishops said to a later deputation:

"We have never ceased to recognise the sincerity of pacifists, nor have we retracted our declarations as to their right to hold and expound their views within the Church of England.

On June 11th, 1937, a meeting was held at Kings Weigh House, with Canon Stuart Morris in the chair, at which The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship came into being.

The Duke of Bedford (then Marquis of Tavistock) was the first Chairman of the A.P.F. until the A.G.M. of 1939, when he resigned and Archdeacon Hartill was elected in his place.

The Rev. R. H. Le Messurier was appointed as the first Hon. Secretary. He resigned through illness. The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon took his place. He resigned on accepting a London hospital Chaplaincy.

All Anglican Pacifists should join the Fellowship and so maintain the constitutional right of a communicant of the Church of England to be a Pacifist. This is a most important right to assert.

LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

(AN ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIST MEMBERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY).

Headquarters:
127 Fellows Road, London, N.W.3.

Chairman: E. C. REDHEAD. **Hon. Secretary: W. R. PAGE.**

Dear Comrade Aldred,

GREECE.

This Fellowship deplores the situation that has arisen in Greece resulting in the use of British arms against a section of the Greek people. It condemns the Prime Minister's provocative statement which will exacerbate feeling rather than lead to a settlement. It urges the Government to send a Minister of high standing immediately to secure a settlement.

The Fellowship also deplores the use of Allied power to support reactionary regimes in this and other parts of Europe.

It calls attention to the tragic consequences of a resort to arms in the settlement of disputes and urges the workers everywhere to turn away from violence which threatens to engulf civilisation and to substitute determined resistance of a non-violent character, e.g., the boycott and strike, the efficacy of which has been proved in the workers' struggle.

Yours fraternally,

W. R. PAGE.

London, December 11, 1944.

A Member's meeting was held on December 10th, preceding the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, in the National Peace Council Offices, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship decided to affiliate to the National Council for Civil Liberties, and the World Airways Council, being represented by R. S. W. Pollard. It also appointed a representative to the Watching Committee on Civil Liberty.

Ted Redhead was elected as chairman in place of Reginald Sorensen, M.P., who has served the Fellowship untiringly for five years.

The L.P.F. is to issue an open letter to pacifists who have left the Labour Party and one to C.O.'s stressing the need for Socialist Pacifist political activity on their part.

The L.P.F. supports the National Peace Council's Campaign for a Constructive Peace and is publicising it in the Labour Movement.

The Allied Policy in Greece was condemned and the Policy Committee was instructed to prepare a statement for publication.

The next National Committee meeting will be held at the N.P.C. Offices on February 18th. A full member's meeting will follow, to consider the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals; the opening Speaker to be Robert Pollard.

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(Founded by ROBERT SHANKS)

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JANUARY MEETINGS.

7—George B. Barker. "The Case of Douglas Young."
14—Rev. Dr. L. Soukup. "Czechslovakia's Place in Post-War Europe."
21—George Singleton. "The Film of To-day."
28—Thomas Beet. "Scotland's Debt to Burns."

FEBRUARY MEETINGS.

4—Frank Stefani. "The Case for Survival."
11—Guy Aldred. "Jesus and Humanism."
18—Dr. Euan Faulkner. "The Future of Germany."
25—James Barclay, M.A. "The Author and his Age."

Opportunity for Questions and Discussion will be given after the Address at each Meeting.

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THE STORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By GUY A. ALDRED

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ESPERANTO, THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Beginners' and Advanced Classes commenced in October. Enrol and enquire at CLARION ROOMS, 144 WELLLINGTON STREET, GLASGOW, C.2. Every Thursday, 7.30 p.m.

SEVENTY YEARS OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

BY C. H. NORMAN

(*Concluded from Page* 59.)

Prof. Gooch was the editor with Prof. Temperley of the British Documents on the Origins of the War: but his account of what has been included in those documents is apt to mislead. Dr. Hermann Lutz, the editor of the German documents, told the writer that he had not seen any of the secret reports to the Foreign Office from highly-placed agents abroad: nor are any such documents printed in the British Documents. Henry Seton Merriman, in his interesting novel on the Polish Question "The Vultures", described the types of agent who report directly to the Permanent Head of the Foreign Offices of the respective states.

In the British Documents, the only despatch dealing with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife on Sunday, June 28, 1914, is a two-line message from Consul Jones.

One of the great gaps which Prof. Gooch does not seem to appreciate the importance of in the literature of the last war is an account of the activities of certain people in the capitals of Europe on that fatal Sunday. The only detailed account which has appeared is a record of events in London, which has a very grim significance on the question of the fore-knowledge in London of the tragedy of Serajevo.

Prof. Gooch has entirely overlooked the striking fact that the United States of America has never disclosed any of its archives concerning American diplomacy from 1895 to 1914. Nor does he seem aware of the sensational disclosures made at the Senate Committee on "the Causes of the United States entry into the World War," which sat under the Chairmanship of Senator Nye and concluded it deliberations in about the year 1938.

On the subject of aggression, Britain and the United States were the guilty parties in the two worst wars of aggression of last century, namely, the war against the Boer Republics, and the war by the United States against Spain in 1898, by which the United States took most of Spain's Colonial Empire.

The record of the United States in foreign policy has been one of continuous aggression against weak States in Europe, in Asia, and on the American Continent. After seizing the Spanish Colonies in the West Indies and in the Pacific, the United States next attacked the Republic of Colombia in 1904, to detach the Province of Panama from that Republic in order to construct the Panama Canal and retain a solely United States control. Between 1904 and 1914, the United States was continually endeavouring to undermine and wreck the Governments of various Republics in the Caribbean and in Central America. In 1915, the Danish West Indies were occupied by the United States by force and never returned, as the Faroe Islands and Iceland were jointly occupied by Britain and the United States in 1940.

The United States, Britain, and France carried on a war of aggression against the Soviet Republic from 1918 to 1920.

The United States and Britain were bullying Mexico and China throughout the whole period from 1919 till 1939. On several occasions the United States occupied by military force the capital of Nicaragua, and the United States was instrumental in engineering the revolution which put President Vargas in the position of Dictator of Brazil. Therefore, when Professor Gooch displays the United States and Britain in the role of champions vowed to defeat aggression, he is departing wholly from historical truth.

Professor Gooch then quotes the well-known declaration of King George to Mr. Page: "My God! Mr. Page, what else could we do," as though there was no answer to it in the existent circumstances. But the answer was simple. The British Government should have told the Russian Government that in no circumstances would Russia be supported in a war against Austria arising out of the Serajevo murders.

Lord Grey, however, was enmeshed in a policy of deceit, not against the German Government, but against the British people, his employers and paymasters. He had concealed the fact—indeed directly lied about it—that he had entered into secret arrangements with both France and Russia, which meant that Britain, whatever the cause, would be involved in any war which those countries chose to begin which would affect either Austria or Germany.

Yet the first, according to Mr. Asquith, who disclosed the documents in his "Genesis of the War," that the British knew about the terms (and extrordinary terms they were) of the Franco-Russian Alliance was in 1922! What can one say of the standard of public duty of a man like Grey, who placed himself and his colleagues in such a position. Even Machiavelli drew the line at treason against one's own state.

On the general subject of aggression, Professor Gooch, with all his learning and research, seems totally unacquainted with the little handbook issued by the British Foreign Office some sixty years ago entitled "Hostilities Without Declaration of War," which is a little bible on the subject of aggression. In the 150 examples given in that book, the German states appear only slightly concerned, which is another refutation of the stupidities of Lord Vansittart. It is unfortunate that Professor Gooch should have missed this little primer of the British Foreign Office as a reading of it might have prevented him taking the one-sided view he has done on this subject.

Herr Hitler, no doubt, has a long record of aggression; but he was a learner, a willing one probably, at the feet of many predecessors and contemporaries, few of whom were German.

Even in the case of Russia, well-informed people know that the German invasion of Russia in 1941 was prompted by the fact that Russia had become so alarmed in May 1940 by the progress of the German Armies in Europe that she was nerving herself for intervention, when the collapse of France took place, rendering any immediate intervention then futile and exceedingly dangerous. From that time, Germany and Russia were preparing against each other till Germany struck.

Passing to the general question of the morals of statesmanship, one finds that Professor Gooch is confused in his mind owing to his imagination overpowering his historical sense. He harps continually on the theme of aggression as represented by one set of statesmen and the principle of liberty as maintained by another set of statesmen. In fact, sometimes one is driven to doubt whether the Professor understands what is the measure of any true theory of liberty. He sees nothing odd in the disappearance of liberty of speech and writing in war-time. Yet, surely, war-time is the very period in which the true lover of liberty should assert his right to speak, think, and write freely on the ills which must flow from a declaration of war. Liberty in peace-time is the mere convention of a particular society. Liberty in war-time is the right to criticise men who have driven the ship of state on the rocks of destruction.

Professor Gooch is so hard-driven in this matter that he has committed himself to a statement which, on reflection, he must see is without foundation, in declaring: "In September, 1938, there were deep divisions in Parliament and the country; in September, 1939, there were none."

How comes it, then, that the war of 1939 is the first war in which a British Government has found it necessary to intern large numbers of Englishmen without trial, some of whom have held distinguished posts under the Crown, because of their opinions against the war? Why was it necessary to pass the Regulation forbidding any conversation about the war likely to cause despondency? Even the Pitt-Castlereagh Government never resorted to such stringent methods for the suppression of opinion against the Napoleonic War. Governments only resort to such methods when their conscience is uneasy on the subject of their policy.

The Left Wing intellectual school, to which apparently Mr. Gooch belongs, is in a sad plight in its whole attitude towards the war, which was strangely illustrated by a lecture given by Mr. Kingsley Martin, the editor of *The New Statesman*, at the Fabian Summer School in August, 1942, on the subject of "Propaganda in War-Time." The statements made in that address were of such a nature that the writer was constrained to ask whether the audience was to think that Mr. Kingsley Martin had abandoned any belief in the Latin maxim which, translated, runs: "Great is truth and it shall prevail." The reply was that he had never thought the maxim was true, but that the purpose of propaganda in politics was to convince the people that what one wished them to believe was the truth: a doctrine which seems closely akin to that enunciated by Herr Goebbels and Herr Hitler in their works on fooling the people.

Professor Gooch, in his optimistic survey of the liberal basis of politics and morals as applied in statecraft, is very convincing until the thought crosses the mind that his presentation of the case leaves unexplained the fact that 20 years after the Versailles Treaty and allied instruments the governments of the leading states of Europe had fallen into the hands of men like Chamberlain, Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, while the other great states in the world are controlled by men like Roosevelt, Chang-Kia-Shek, and Admiral Tojo.

The honesty of Mr. Roosevelt on the subject of aggression is well illustrated by his message to Congress on December 15th, 1941, when he had to explain how he, elected as a man who would keep the United States out of war, had plunged them into a worse war than President Wilson, who had been elected on a similar undertaking to the United States people, which he broke as rapidly as did President Roosevelt. This is the way in which President Roosevelt described the seizure of the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, as aggressive a war against a weak state by a powerful one as could be imagined: "At the end of the nineteenth century the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country." For simplicity of hypocrisy, one may doubt whether Uriah Heap ever surpassed that sentence.

The reason why Professor Gooch cannot account for the domination of the men named in the world is because, fundamentally, his whole outlook and philosophy of life is unsound. He has a dreamy view of a system of parliamentary government as representing the wishes of the people, whether in the House of Commons, in Congress, or in the French Chamber, which is an illusion.

Lord Acton, another great historian, perhaps the greatest true historian that the world will ever see, put his finger on the weakness of every known Parliamentary system in these sentences: "The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride and stinted luxury, but want, pain, degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls."

All Parliaments of whatever kind have been controlled by the men who pay wages, not by those who receive them. Professor Gooch, by overlooking that fact, has been plunged into a morass of political and moral misjudgment. Mr. Huxley gets at the heart of the matter in these words: "Great men have invariably failed to deliver the goods, but because we admire their qualities and envy their success we continue to believe in them and to submit to their power."

The goods great men never fail to deliver is a

nice war. The trust of the credulous peoples of the world has been rewarded by Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini, Stalin, Tojo, Churchill, and Roosevelt with one of the finest specimens of war on record since Tamerlane ravaged Central Asia.

The British people are particularly unfortunate in their leader as he is one who is enjoying this war as he has enjoyed past wars. Morley recorded that Mr. Churchill was the one member of the Cabinet in 1914 who appeared to enjoy the prospect of war and would have been disappointed had Germany returned a favourable reply on the question of Belgium. Mr. Churchill did his best to embroil England with Soviet Russia on several occasions and with Turkey. He was anxious to turn the general strike of 1926 into a civil class war. He has turned the guns on the Indian people. He was an admirer of Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, and Senor Franco. He has pawned the possessions of England to the United States. His policy has been so disastrous that, unlike in the war of 1914-1918, it can be said that the British Empire has been already defeated, as it is admitted that, without the aid of the United States, there would be no prospect of overcoming the combination of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and recovering the territories which have been lost and preserving those which are in peril. He has attacked the Vichy Government as the Soviet Government was attacked in 1917, occupying French possessions as Russian possessions were seized in 1918.

In these circumstances, he had the audacity to tell the House of Commons on 8th September, 1942: "Since we were last together the tendencies of the war have continued to move in our favour." While the American Assistant Secretary of the Navy, speaking on September 24th, 1942, a little more frankly, put the position as being: "We are still losing the war. It will take all we have got to win." (*Daily Herald*, September 25.)

Matters have improved somewhat since then, but at an enormous cost, in men, materials, and money; most of the currencies of Europe being on the verge of collapse.

Mr. Huxley solves the difficulty that the writer has referred to as confronting Professor Gooch in two passages:

"Universal education has proved to be the state's most effective instrument of universal regimentation and militarisation and has exposed millions, hitherto immune, to the influence of organised lying and the allurements of incessant imbecile and debasing distractions. Even if the intentions of the various centralised state authorities were pacific, which they are not, industrialism would tend of its very nature to transform them into totalitarian governments. When the need for military efficiency is added to the need for industrial efficiency, totalitarianism becomes inevitable." (p. 247.)

And so the Socialists and working men of England find that the warning of Herbert Spencer that the centralisation of power in the State would mean slavery has come true, for the condition of the masses in Europe and England is little removed from slavery to-day in 1942, and, with the continuation of the war, will become indistinguishable from all elements of slavery except the one of purchase.

These books should be obtained from the public libraries and studied by all interested in international affairs. They should prove a corrective to that Chauvinism which is such a curious feature of discussions on international politics at Labour Conferences. It is always unwise to concentrate too much attention on the vices of others as our own virtues are not always conspicuous to the onlooker, even though we may be very conscious of them ourselves when rising to denounce the iniquities of foreign nations and proclaiming the virtues of our own.

WORD BOUND VOLUME, for three years: May 1939 to July 1942 inclusive. Green Cloth 12/6. Post Free 13/6.

ENDURING PEACE

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL DEFINES ALTERNATIVE TO THIRD WORLD WAR.

The thoughts of men everywhere are turned increasingly to the ending of the war. Is it to be the end of War also? Is the Peace to be real and lasting—outcome of a true fellowship between peoples — or once again, only an *armistice*—the prelude to an even vaster and more destructive conflict? On the answer to that question, the fate of a civilisation depends; that this is sober truth, the flying bomb—sign of things to come—provides eloquent evidence. Unless we end War, War will end us. Total Peace is the only sufficient answer to Total War.

If we are to end war, we must understand whence wars come and above all we must pay *the price of peace*. For this war has its roots in the failure to recognise the essential one-ness of mankind—to secure a full and free life for all men everywhere. Nazism and Fascism precipitated war but it was in the *disorder* of our civilisation that Nazism and Fascism were born.

To end war we must redeem this failure—we must achieve a genuine human society based not on privilege or oppression but on a sharing of benefits and obligations among *all* the peoples of the world. And paying the price means that each of *us* must be ready and eager for the radical reconstruction—spiritual, economic and political—which the achievement of such a world fellowship involves.

Building a common life for the world will take time—especially in face of the destructive effects of five years of war. "The abandonment of the use of force" to which, as the Atlantic Charter says, all nations must come "for realistic as well as spiritual reasons" may not be attainable at one bound. But we must *commit* ourselves to these tasks *now*. The peace-making must have a radical and constructive purpose *from the beginning* or it will fail. It has no hope of success if we begin by sowing the dragon's teeth of a third world war.

Support the National Petition and Campaign for a Constructive Peace.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED,

believing that a world free from insecurity, injustice and war must be built not on conceptions of exclusive guilt, racial inferiority or preponderant power, but on the principle of the interdependence of all peoples and their common responsibility for the making of a peaceful order, and that a true security against war and aggression can be provided only by a positive policy which removes the causes of conflict; and believing further that such a policy calls for a radical reconstruction — spiritual, economic and political—which is rooted in responsible personal freedom, which subordinates sectional interests to the common well-being, and is directed to:

(a) the bringing of adequate relief to distressed peoples everywhere according to their need and the acceptance by those more favourably placed of the restrictions upon their own standards of living necessary for this purpose;

(b) the abolition of poverty and unemployment and the raising of standards, both economic and cultural, through the maximum use and equitable sharing of all available resources;

(c) the achievement of political and economic freedom for India and for all depedent peoples;

(d) the development within a wider co-operation of a closer unity between, and common services for, the peoples of Europe, as of other related areas;

(e) the international control of armaments to ensure their progressive reduction in all countries in conjunction with the transfer of world resources to productive uses;

(f) the promotion of education in the responsibilities of world citizenship; and

(g) the setting-up of the international organisations necessary to the fulfilment of these tasks and the limiting of national sovereignities in order to render their work effective,

pray His Majesty's Government to formulate such a programme of constructive peace-making, to put it into action at home as fully and as speedily as possible, and to commend it vigorously in the international field as the necessary basis for an enduring peace.

If in agreement, please write to the National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1, and indicate your willingness to sign this form and to support in every way the campaign for an enduring peace against a third world war.

"HABEAS CORPUS" MANIFESTO

18B internment is merely a war-time suspension of Habeas Corpus.

In our September and November issues reference was made to the protest signed by Francis, Fifth Duke of Bedford, and four other peers, in May, 1794, against the war-time suspension of "Habeas Corpus."

The manifesto read: "Dissentient," that is opposed to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill:—

Firstly, Because no evidence has been laid before us that this Kingdom is at present in those circumstances of imminent danger and imperious necessity, which alone, in our opinion, would justify even the temporary surrender of that sacred fundamental law which is the sole guardian of the personal liberty and security of our fellow subjects. None of these circumstances, either of foreign invasion, or of formidable conspiracy now exist, which induced our ancestors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianship of a despotical authority. Instead of such an unequivocal public danger which silences all deliberations and over-rules all laws, we are now required to vest an arbitrary power in his Majesty's Ministers upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or societies, whose strength and numbers are not proved, to our apprehension, to be such as would justify such a measure as the present, especially as the ordinary operations of the law are sufficient to check the spirit which is supposed to prevail. One of the worst effects of the conduct of these societies, is their having operated as the instrument for former artificial panics, and as a pretext for former measures, in our opinion, the most hazardous and pernicious. They continued the same conduct without injury experienced by the public, without accession of strength, without the proof of any change in their systems or designs. We cannot ,therefore, without betraying the trust reposed in us, consent to resign the liberties of all our fellow subjects to the discretion of the servants of the Crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole Kingdom.

Secondly, Because even the proof that some individuals entertain those desperate designs which have been ascribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any justification of the present measure. From the Revolution to the complete defeat of the pretentions of the House of Stuart, the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful and indefatigable Jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole Kingdom to the will of ministers. Miserable indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleasure of a handful of visionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces, and disguises which the agents of every government may assume) our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and ministers are to be vested with an arbitrary power over the persons of all the freemen of this realm.

Thirdly, Because even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been provided against by measures far less odious than that of depriving the subject of those rights of personal security which distinguishes the British Constitution beyond any other free government, ancient or modern, and changing it for the time from a government of law to a government of will. One expedient comparatively more moderate is obvious, namely, to put the law respecting bail for misdemeanours which affect the state, for a limited time on the same footing with bail in cases of treason.

Fourth, Because this bill appears to us under a still more melancholy and alarming aspect when we combine it with declarations which have been made by considerable persons during the dependance of this bill. Even this, the utmost extremity to which our ancestors were ever driven by the pressure of the greatest danger, is but the prelude to a system of measures (if possible) still more violent and arbitrary.

These menaces too forcibly illustrated by some past measures, in our opinion of a vigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the most melancholy apprehensions that designs are entertained by a progressive series of encroachments to annihilate all the rights of Englishmen, and to extinguish all the free principles of the British Constitution.

Fifth, Because the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the House is both indecent in itself, and directly repugnant to two standing orders of this House, one of the 28th of June, 1715, and the other of the 20th of April, 1699, standing orders, which ensure to this House the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the subject the invaluable privilege of petitioning against measures which, like the present, are subversive of his fundamental rights.

(Signed),

ALBEMARLE,
BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
DERBY.

CONCERNING THE EDITOR

(Concluded from page 55.)

Just as Aldred's name was used, without rhyme or reason, in London by the Crown before the Advisory Committee, to justify the wrongful internment and deportation of Milly Witcop, so it was used in Edinburgh by the Crown to secure and to justify a vicious distinction sentence in the Maxton case.

The Glasgow *Evening Citizen*, among other papers, on May 11, 1916, reported the trial, in the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, of *"the three young Glasgow Socialists—James Dunlop MacDougall, James Maxton, and Jack Smith,"* in answer to charges under the Defence of the Realm Act. All three accused were charged with inciting the workers to strike, and having thus attempted to impede, delay, and restrict the production of war material. The report stated that the trial *"did not last long."* It was not a very heroic case. The accused were represented by counsel and pleaded guilty. Why the movement had to pay counsel to plead guilty, and following on this exhibition of silence, had to decide that a man who was so defended, was a good Socialist spokesman to send to Parliament, must remain for ever one of the mysteries of working-class struggle and study in Socialist careerism. This is written as honest comment and without any personal antagonism to Maxton. It is sound criticism and a reasonable question.

Maxton and MacDougall were sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment each and Smith was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

Concerning Smith, the then Lord Advocate said :—

Prisoner was apparently an associate of Guy Aldred, who edited a paper called "The Spur," which contained articles of an extremely revolutionary character.

So Jack Smith received six months' extra imprisonment because he knew Guy Aldred.

The suggestion that he was the inspirer of revolt and conspiracy was made once more by the Government in connection with the strike that took place at Wandsworth Prison after he had been released from it under the Cat and Mouse Act. Mr. Albion Richardson, C.B.E., M.P., was appointed by the Home Secretary, on March 11, 1919, to hold an inquiry into the allegations made against Major Blake, the Acting-Governor of Wandsworth Prison. His report, dated April 2, 1919, was issued as a White Paper (Cmd. 131), on May 7, 1919. The report was summarised and reviewed in these columns for April, 1940. In *The New Leader*, for September 18, 1936, Fenner Brockway referred to the revolt at Wandsworth being led by Guy Aldred. It seems a pity that, at the time the struggle actually was taking place the I.L.P. and the No Conscription Fellowship could not support it with publicity, which was needed so urgently. Only George Lansbury, in *The Herald*, supported Aldred's struggle. But Lansbury, whatever his faults, always rallied to the side of the weak, the neglected, and the oppressed. Aldred protested against Richardson's report and Major Blake's attack in the Press. Here is an extract from *The Star*, London, for May 13, 1919 :—

MR. GUY ALDRED.

Mr. Guy Aldred writes to "The Star" in regard to the report upon the Wandsworth Prison strike to point out that he was not a prisoner there at the time that Major Blake was appointed Acting Governor of the Prison.

Major Blake had admitted that he had applied the term "Bolshevist" to Mr. Aldred, who argues that this description, in his absence from the gaol, was "quite gratuitous."

In June 1920, Rose Witcop identified herself with the Birth Control propaganda of Margaret Sanger. Aldred was in favour of birth control knowledge being circulated, but he was not interested personally in birth control activity. He held that the right of access to birth control knowledge was the inalienable right of the citizen and that no Government had the right to prevent the wide circulation of such knowledge.

After Aldred's release from Barlinnie in 1922, his interests and those of Rose Witcop grew apart in these matters. She definitely concentrated on Margaret Sanger's work to the exclusion of the Anarchist and Socialist propaganda with which Aldred was concerned. Their interests became opposed.

In January 1923, they were prosecuted for publishing Margaret Sanger's pamphlet on *Family Limitation*. The real publisher was Rose Witcop, but Aldred accepted joint responsibility. The West London Magistrate ordered the destruction of this work, and the case was appealed to the London Sessions and was heard on February 9. Sir Richard Muir appeared for the Crown and Lort Williams, K.C., M.P., and Mr. St. John Hutchinson for Rose Witcop. Aldred defended in person. The conviction was upheld, although the Crown and the Court admitted the good intentions of the accused and exonerated them from all suspicion of unclean or unworthy motives. Aldred was in favour of appealing by way of Stated Case to the High Court. But the author objected, and so he did not press the matter, although he would have appeared in person. A year later Guy Aldred and Rose Witcop parted company.

In April 1924, Aldred was involved in a Free Speech fight at Botanic Gardens, Glasgow, and in June 1924, in the Glasgow Green Free Speech fight for unlicensed meeting. Both cases were taken to the High Court by Aldred, by Bill of Suspension in the first case, and Stated Case in the Glasgow Green issue. Aldred argued his appeals in person and lost. But a ruling of the Court in the Glasgow Green case prepared the way for a later and successful struggle. In connection with the Glasgow Green fight occurred the famous Paisley Road disturbance which led to amazing proceedings in the Govan Police Court.

On Sunday, February 15, 1925, Aldred was arrested from the platform in Hyde Park and charged with blasphemy and sedition. Reference was made to this case in these columns for November 1942. At the time great press publicity was given to the charges and the meetings. Aldred was featured as an outstanding blasphemer and seditioner in the *Daily Mail* and other papers. He continued to address meetings in Hyde Park. The charges would not bear analysis and ended on March 10, 1925, with the Magistrate dismissing all the charges except one, and imposing a fine of £2, somewhat apologetically. He thanked Aldred for his manner of evidence and conduct of the case and indicated that he did not believe the police evidence on vital points.

The Special Branch of the C.I.D. now commenced to harass Rose Witcop and to threaten her with deportation to Russia. After challenging the validity of her union with Aldred, and ignoring the fact that she had a son born in 1909, the Home Office served a deportation order on her and refused to postpone its operation to permit her to appeal to the Court of Session. The result was that an irregular marriage was registered before the Sheriff at Glasgow, on February 2, 1926. This was reported widely and commented upon in the ordinary press. The *Daily Record*, Glasgow, published interviews with both the parties concerned and gave a very fair statement of the position in its columns the following day.

In January 1929, Aldred issued a printed denunciation of John Wheatley, M.P., for appearing at Shettleston on the same platform as Arthur Henderson, M.P., in view of Henderson's membership of the Cabinet responsible for the death of James Connolly. As a result, the meeting was interrupted with protests. Aldred and 12 other men and four women—including his comrade Jane Patrick, who had been sentenced with him in 1921—were arrested. Aldred delayed the trial by raising preliminary objections and taking a Bill of Advocation. In due course, conviction and nominal fines were imposed.

In 1931, Aldred resumed with others, including John McGovern, M.P., the struggle for unlicensed speech on Glasgow Green. In July he held up proceedings by taking a Stated Case. The meetings on the Green continued and commanded large support. On Thursday, November 6, 1931, the High Court of Justiciary upheld the convictions, but reduced the fine, and sustained Aldred's objection to the permits. The result was the passage of a new bye-law, authorising the Council to set apart meeting grounds in all the public parks. This bye-law the Labour and Socialist Council has failed to implement.

Rose Witcop died at London on July 6, 1932, and was cremated at Golder's Green.

In July, 1936, Aldred commenced an intensive series of meetings throughout Glasgow, at street corners, on behalf of the Spanish workers' struggle against Fascism. Between July and October he issued 19 mimeographed leaflets, headed *Regeneracion*. As a result of this campaign, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. invited his comrades, Jane H. Patrick and Ethel Mac-

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BIRTH CONTROL APPEAL DISMISSED

Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane giving evidence when the appeal against an order that a book on family limitation should be destroyed was heard at the London Sessions yesterday. Sir William, the great surgeon, said he could not understand why the poor should be deprived of the knowledge the rich possessed. Inset: Mr. Guy Aldred and Mrs. Aldred, the appellants, who lost their case.

Picture and text reproduced, same size, from "The Daily Sketch," London, Sat., Feb. 10, 1923.

Aldred is sitting at the Counsel's table in front. Rose Witcop is sitting just behind the reporters.

Donald to go to Barcelona. These comrades left Glasgow on October 20, 1936. Comrade Patrick went from Barcelona to Madrid, where she served on the Committee of Defence, and returned to Barcelona just in time for the famous or infamous May Days. She returned to Glasgow on May 24, 1937, and described conditions then existing in Spain in an interview published in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* on May 29. Ethel MacDonald remained in Barcelona and was arrested by the reactionary "Communist" junta that came into power following the May days. Her letters describing her experiences, were published in the *Glasgow Evening Times*, between June and September, 1937. She left Barcelona on September 3, under escort. After making some European Socialist and Anarchist contacts, she reached Glasgow, on November 7. Subsequently she returned to Paris and worked in the Anarchist movement there until just before the outbreak of war.

The letters of his comrades, Patrick and MacDonald were published by Aldred in May 15, 1937, as *Barcelona Bulletin*. This was the first description of the tragic events in Barcelona to reach the outside world. They were reproduced in American papers and also translated and circulated by comrades in France.

Ethel MacDonald brought from Spain a rare collection of documents, papers, posters, photographs, Government declarations. The collection was non-partisan for it represented all factions. These she presented later to the Mitchell Library and they have been placed in the Jeffrey Room for the use of students of the Spanish struggle. This collection is probably the most complete collection of documents relating to this period of Spain extant in Britain.

In November, 1938, Aldred challenged the restrictions on public meetings at Hyde Park and carried the case on appeal from Marlborough Street Police Court to the High Court of King's Bench. No public support was forthcoming and the appeal was lost. Yet Socialists still protest against the suppression of literature circulated in and around the Hyde Park meetings.

On January 7, 1943, Aldred was ordained a minister of the Humanist Society of Friends.

On November 15, 1943, Aldred received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the Pacific International University, of Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

When the Second World War was declared, and the present Duke of Bedford, then Marquess of Tavistock, took his stand for pacifism, Aldred identified himself with the Duke's opposition to war.

An admirer of Richard Carlile, Guy Aldred has decided that his body shall be used, after death, for the purposes of scientific research. To this end, he has willed it to the Medical School of the Glasgow University, and made the Chancellor and Court of the University his executors, as regards this section of his will. Concerning the disposition (according to Scots Law) of his body, the will is a carefully drawn document, which he has composed, having in mind the absurd and unnecesary restrictions of the *Anatomy Act*, 1832 (*Act 2 and 3, Will 4.c75, section 9*).

The Scottish Sunday Express, for June, 1944, featured his determination in this matter in a news item headed :—

SCIENCE WILL GET HIS BODY
MR. ALDRED IS HAPPY NOW.
"Sunday Express" Reporter

Guy Aldred, political figure and editor, is a public-spirited Glasgow citizen who holds the welfare of his fellow-man very dear.

When he heard that anatomy research was being hindered by a dearth of bodies, he immediately offered his own to the Medical School of Glasgow University.

Professor D. M. Blair, Professor of Anatomy at the University replied: "The offer is very welcome. But the trouble is that no one can legally bequeath his body for any purpose; he can only express an intention which his executor or next of kin may eventually set aside."

A sheaf of forms came from the Government's inspector of anatomy. They told Mr. Aldred that "a hearse with a shell for the removal of the body will be sent on the date mentioned by the executor."

They explained that "burial is conducted by a clergyman of the faith which the deceased professed during his life."

"This," agrees Mr. Aldred, "is fine."

But he disagrees that any one else should have a say in the disposal of his body.

Mr. Aldred is a determined man. Any one else might have accepted the conditions laid down in the forms from the inspector of anatomy. But after going to so much trouble to give his body to science, Mr. Aldred is not going to be foiled—even after he dies.

"I've drafted a legal document and sent it to Professor Blair. It makes the medical school my executor for that part of my will which bequeathes my body."

That, as Mr. Aldred maintains, should fix it.

HYDE PARK CHARGE

Guy Alfred Aldred (carrying coat) leaving Marlborough-street police-court after he had been remanded yesterday on a charge of using expressions during a public address in Hyde Park that were calculated to provoke a breach of the peace.—(*Daily Mirror.*)

Reproduced, same size, from "The Daily Mirror," Northern or Glasgow edition, February 17, 1925. The London edition published the same picture, beneath the heading:: "Breach of Rules Charge Against Park Orator."

This was illustrated with a picture of the editor—taken in Hyde Park in 1938—walking across the street, carrying the captions :—"Guy *Aldred," "Determination did it."* Perhaps this amusing, but not unfriendly comment, sums up the entire struggle of witnessing for heresy, commonwealth and anti-militarism, in a world of shams, war and exploitation.

The touch about this being fine is a satirical statement of what Aldred might have said. Actually he never said it, for Aldred really believes in no burial or cremation service. He does not mind the relations of a deceased person assembling and uttering friendly platitudes if it cheers them : but he does not see the necessity for it. He favours silence rather than speech.

TO "CONCHIES."

Your country calls you lily-livered cowards
Because your conscience tells you not to kill;
Or else your fellows think you simple-minded
Because you wish your "enemies" no ill.

They think you selfish, weak, unpatriotic,
Because, although your country you would serve,
From principles of decency and justice
And deep humanity, you will not swerve.

You're willing to be held in cheap derision,
Misunderstood, thrown out of work or home;
You're willing, if needs be, to go to prison—
Because you won't help bomb Berlin or Rome!

But hold your hearts high, citizens of England,
Your love for England is far-sighted, strong;
'Tis true you cannot serve her as a soldier
Because you know that WAR is simply WRONG.

But you CAN build, and work, and live for England,
Yes, work for all mankind till wars shall cease;
Take courage, friends, look forward to the future—
Prepare yourselves to live, or die, for PEACE.

—E. F.

LANARKSHIRE ACTIVITY

The Duke of Bedford addressed a big U.P.C. meeting at the Geneva Rooms, Glasgow, on Saturday evening, December 9. A keen discussion followed. Next morning he addressed the Study Circle and met with keen and interested questioning. On the Sunday evening he spoke at the Central Halls and had an enthusiastic reception. He returned to Lanarkshire the following week and attended an Anarchist reception at Burnbank on the Saturday. On the Sunday, he spoke in the Hamilton Co-operative Hall. There was a full audience and keen questioning. Before leaving Glasgow on the Monday, he attended a private conference of Pacifist ministers, mostly of the Church of Scotland.

The editor addressed the Glasgow University Union Dialetic Study on Thursday, November 23. He survived the preliminary ragging and got home his views in reply to much questioning. He wanted to speak on "Education and Individual," and did partly develop his theme. The students, however, insisted on questions on Anarchism, Pacifism, and the Duke of Bedford's anti-war attitude: all of which he answered, although they were irrelevant.

The following Thursday evening, the editor spoke to a small meeting of the Polish Students' Association in their rooms at Crown Circus. Nationalism, Power Politics, Anarchism, and Education were discussed, and further meetings and contacts are planned.

On December 12, the editor addressed a meeting of the blind in their hall in Rotten Row, on "Socialism and War," and was invited to address further meetings.

On Friday, December 22, a Social was held in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Motherwell, at which the Socialists of Lanarkshire gathered to honour our comrade, W. E. Currie, for his splendid and untiring work in the social struggle. Anarchists, I.L.P.'ers, and Labourists were present and spoke. Comrade Currie replied to the presentation. A full report will appear in our next issue.

TO A BROADCASTING POLITICIAN.

Loud-braying ass! I wonder that you dare
With dull, dishonest gabbling soil the air
Which, but a moment gone, all trembling, bore
The silver glory of a Mozart score.
O, that my radio, bereft of choice,
Must follow Mozart's music with your voice!
But mouth your mealiest, spout your bragging lay!
There is, thank God, a very simple way
(I use the fitting phrase) to "shut your trap"—
I quickly turn a knob—you're cut off—SNAP!
Now Mozart's memories from the silence creep,
The quiet air quivers thankfully to sleep.

—IVAN BEUTTLER.

We have been asked to deal with Greece and Poland and will do so thoroughly in our next issue. The situation in both countries illustrate the menace of power politics; the inability of militarism to cure militarism; the absurdity of Socialists allying themselves with militarism: and the ever-present threat of a third world war unless we arrest war now by destroying militarism once and for all.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The people of Holland and Norway are reported to be enduring very serious privations. All of these could have been prevented by a negotiated peace some months ago, just as they could now be mitigated swiftly and very substantially by the same method. At whose door does responsibility for their continued sufferings lie? Mr. Churchill's "victory" goes on receding with the steady persistence of a rainbow end. "No one knows," he cheerfully remarked on November 29, "when the German war will be finished, and still less how long the interval will be between the defeat of the Germans and the defeat of the Japanese." If at long last we do catch up with the rainbow, what shall we find? A pot of money or a spot of trouble? For the present, anyhow, we are sure of blood and still more blood—for what gain? The belief seems to be becoming general that Stalin will soon declare war on Japan, whom (shades of Finland!) he is said to have termed an aggressor nation. Such a declaration of war would doubtless be very welcome to the British and American Governments, and would materially shorten the struggle in the Far East. It would, however, be a completely amoral act, and all that could be said in excuse would be that it was no worse than the action of President Roosevelt in goading Japan into war by economic sanctions in order to embroil the somewhat reluctant American nation with the Western Axis Powers; and perhaps, also, it would be no worse than the policy the Japanese Government itself might have pursued had the positions been reversed. Still an amoral act it would remain—power politics naked and unashamed, ruthless, treacherous and greedy as all power-politics are. If Russia had been *really* shocked by Japan's aggression, why wait until she was obviously outnumbered before declaring war? Why did the British and American Governments also delay so long their threats and hostile economic action? Power politics of this kind may give a group of nations victory, but they can never give the world peace.

On November 15th, Mr. R. Purbrick, member for Walton, asked the Secretary of State for Air whether, in view of the attacks on civilians in England and with the object of destroying German civilian morale, he will arrange now to bomb Dresden, Breslau, Madgeburg, and other large centres of civilian population that have not already been heavily bombed. The electorate of Walton are to be congratulated on having such a fine type of Christian gentleman to represent them, who is in all respects so different from a brutal Nazi! Mr. Purbrick's address in Vacher's Parliamentary Companion appears to be "The Kennels." It might have been "The Lair."

Reliable information about the Continent, not obtained through the usual propaganda channels, is scarce and always interesting. The other day a friend wrote to me: "It appears that the Polish people were misled by the Allies, who first asked them to mobilise, then to demobilise; and then left them with barely half their effective army to face the Germans. The Russians came in bearing banners, asking the population not to resist as they were liberators, but in spite of this, outside the main towns, the Russians were waging war with as much ferocity as the Germans. Shortly after they occupied the country they put the Poles into prison camps in which many of them died. A great number were deported to Siberia to work in the mines and some escaped to recount their sufferings at the hands of the Russians. During the period of peace between Russia and Germany, a great number of Poles were exchanged by the Germans for food and fuel. These men were also sent by the Russians to work in the mines under terribly severe conditions. There has never been much difference between the treatment of the Poles by the two Great Powers, and of the two Germany acted the better in most respects."

Another friend has told me that in a certain large Government Department in which he recently worked, he did not manage to discover a single highly-placed official who was a man both of character and principle. There were strong men with no principles and weak men with principles, but no one capable of putting his foot down and insisting that justice and the honour of the Crown must be observed. I have had very similar reports from other sources. It is what one would expect in a war of this kind, but it is not exactly a cheerful outlook for the country!

Having liberated the Greeks, we are now (December 5th) engaged in fighting some of them. In explaining the situation, Mr. Churchill has said in the House of Commons: "It would be very much easier for us to stand aside and allow everything to degenerate, as it would very quickly, into anarchy or Communist dictatorship." Tut! Tut! What will Stalin say to this? Would not Mr. Churchill have been better advised to change round and start backing the other horse?

General de Gaulle said in Paris a little while ago that, while the Allies are militarily united, in other respects "They are States each one of whom, while fighting the same enemies as we (the French), pursues its own interests and makes its own policies." *I* had noticed something of the same kind myself, but wondered if it could be due to my possessing the morbid mind of a disgruntled pacifist!

In Berneri's "Workers in Stalin's Russia" it is stated that in the strictly-disciplined military academies which are now a feature of the country, boys are taught to have a high regard for "the honour of the school." "You may drive out nature with a pitchfork," wrote Virgil, "but she will always come back again." So, also, it seems, will the Old School Tie!

Forward of December 9th contains an excellent exposure of a first-prize atrocity story. Four German boys, according to some of our newspapers, had been captured and were to be tried by Court Martial because they had fired on American soldiers. The *Daily Express* was most vitriolic on the subject of these depraved little Nazis; many correspondents wrote suggesting that they should be shot, and Lord Vansittart himself came out in full eruption stating that "these young hooligans should be deported to some island reformatory and kept there till they were reliably reformed." In the end it was admitted that the boys had merely found a discarded rifle which one of them fired at a sandbag, much to the alarm of himself and his companions as they did not realise it was loaded!

The American paper, *The Progressive*, which, though not pacifist, well deserves its title and makes refreshing reading, has some good criticisms of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. It points out that, whereas the Conference suggested the creation of an Assembly of "all peace-loving States," the Assembly was not given a single grant of power, all control being lodged with the Security Council, which was completely under the thumb of the Great Powers, Russia, the United States and Britain, with China as a somewhat nominal fourth partner. Although the Conference believed in using force to restrain aggression, such restraint was not to be put into operation *unless the "Big Four" were in agreement.* This meant that if one of *them* decided to behave as an aggressor, the others must not interfere! Even the League of Nations, of lamented memory, started with a much better chance of success than what the writer of the article in *The Progressive* aptly describes as "The great Dumbarton Hoax."

The Progressive also contains an excellent article by a Mr. Milton Mayer. Mr. Mayer is a Jew of German origin and he ably criticises another Jew, also of German origin, Mr. Morganthau, Secretary to the United States Treasury, who, besides being one of the pillars of Big Finance, recently put forward a plan for the destruction of German industry. Mr. Mayer, naturally enough, is extremely anti-Nazi, but his strong feeling does not deprive him of the capacity for sound judgment. In his article he says, "I set myself to restraining my parochial hatred of the Nazis, as a Jew, and to hate them for all I was worth as a human being. My effort enabled me, and enables me now, to see clearly that all Germans are not Nazis and that, even if they were, they would not be improved by being subjected to Nazi treatment by their foreign conquerors. I am able to see clearly, as Henry (Morganthau) is not, that all conscious, freely-acting Nazis are bad because their ideals are bad; but we cannot say that all Germans are bad, any more than Hitler can say that all Jews are bad, for some Germans and Jews have good ideals and some have bad." Mr. Mayer goes on: "You and Henry may say, 'Yes, indeed, it will enrage them (i.e., the Germans, if their industries are destroyed), but without their machinery and land and mines they will be impotent!' . . . I can see that they will be militarily impotent, but I cannot drive out of my head the grinning threat of the demoniacal Goebbels that if the Nazis are defeated, they will win anyway, for the Nazi ideas will permeate the hearts of the victors. I am afraid that Morganthau's heart is permeated and I do not want to live in a Nazi world, not even if it is Henry's.

"No, my fellow Americans. Henry's plan is too practical for me. 'With malice towards none, with charity towards all,' is more my line. I know the doctrine of Judeo-Christian forgiveness is a lot of damned sentimental nonsense, and the only reason I have for calling it to the attention of the President's Cabinet Committee is that, impractical as it is, it seems to be the only thing that stands a Chinaman's chance of working."

MURDER OF A POET

They came upon him sitting in his room,
Dreaming glorious dreams he was of Spring,
He did not hear them for the choirs of birds
That were singing in the forests of his brain.

They came upon him stealthily like beasts,
Men who ne'er had paled at sight of beauty,
Nor sang a verse of purest lyric gold.

Came upon him, eyes of flashing hate,
Looking down on his fair young head, and curved back.

When their eyes met no word at all was spoken,
But the scorn for him was on their bestial lips,
He smiled at them defiant and unafraid.

Four shots rang out. He fell without a moan,
No more to sing of beauty, or to praise
The martyrs who had bled for Freedom's cause.

They laughed and went their way,
"Another swine!" they said, "that will not guide
The masses to another life than ours!"

Down the lamp-lit street they went,
Marching and saluting, bold and proud
That they had rid the world of one more Red.

Their leader smiled and said, "He was a poet?
'Tis well you found him out, I do not like
His kind, they have a roving mind."

He gave them medals for their manly breasts,
And never were there men so proud as they.

The while the blood was soaking through
The last sweet song the lad had written
An hour before they came.

Just two short verses of the joy of Spring,
And the freedom that should belong to all men,
Two little verses that will live through the years
Long after the last dictator is dead and gone.

JOE CORRIE.

UNITARIAN CHURCH.
PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.
The Rev. CHARLES H. COLE is now Minister of these two Churches.
SERVICES ARE HELD AT
PORTSMOUTH—62 Kingston Crescent, North End, at 3 p.m.
SOUTHAMPTON — In the Little Chapel Avenue Congregational Church, at 6 p.m.
Visiting Comrades will be Cordially Welcomed.
We believe: "It is the task of Christian people to make the Church a social embodiment of the will of Jesus."

DON'T STOP HALFWAY OBJECTOR

BY "GOWRIE"

A question I heard asked at a public meeting not long ago showed that the questioner was at a loss to understand why the Government was so "down" on Jehovah's Witnesses as objectors to military service. I was reminded of something I learned after the last war, for like many others I had no real understanding of the meaning of Socialism when as a young man I refused to take part in the slaughter of 1914-1918.

It may surprise many of the younger generation to-day to learn that there was once a Socialist daily paper running in these islands. It was called the *Daily Herald*, and at the time of which I write, about 1920, the editor was a man named George Lansbury. Among the regular contributors was a talented humourist, who wrote under the pen-name of "Gadfly." One of his articles—the Salvation Army was the subject—had raised a storm, and letters, of varying degrees of support and dissension, poured in to the Editorial Office.

One letter from a pioneer Socialist put the matter in a different perspective and led me, for one, a little nearer to a realisation of the way things are done in this capitalistic imperialist country of ours. The writer's theme was that when the ruling class realise that any movement which springs from the people has significance or is growing in popularity, they, the possessing, investing, ruling class set out to capture that movement, and in nine cases out of ten succeed. The Salvation Army was cited as a case in point.

Now I have tested this theory over a number of years. All manner of movements and societies—and this country is honeycombed with them—have come under the microscope, and I have found it surprisingly correct. The older established societies, associations, movements, groups, clubs, missions, have been long safely in the fold. Whether the more recent starters, the Youth Hostel Movement, the Spinsters' Association, the Old Age Pensioners' Association and many others, are maintaining their independence or not, I have no knowledge, but if the old men don't watch out, they'll be finding a Union Jack in their meeting room and will be terminating their gatherings with the National Anthem. Readers of *The Word* may judge for themselves as to whether any body they may be interested in has become, in the term used by the writer of the letter, "nobbled."

Not only does this apply to organisations. Our rulers know how to "cash in" on personal popularity in the realm of sport, and particularly in the entertainment world. Of such great use are certain popular entertainers that they can easily command greater salaries than archbishops or cabinet ministers.

And what happens to movements which have a certain following and which refuse to be "used" in the interests of the ruling class? The capitalist state, being the executive committee of the ruling class comes down on such with a heavy hand. Those who refuse to conform to state requirements in time of war they smite, and smite hard. Ask the Jehovah's Witnesses.

THE WAR GAME.

Many young objectors of the last war, high principled idealists, were appalled and horrified at the vehemence and the venom of a wartime public opinion which was directed against them. The ostracism, the taunts and the persecution of the present war have been nothing compared with 1916-1919. Not that they did not expect something of the kind, but it came from quarters from which they thought their attitude to war might have been more reasonably understood. They had not then learned that practically all the means of moulding the popular mind are in the hands of those who are in possession of economic power. They did not realise that they had committed an unpardonable offence in resisting the conscription laws, laws which are the master stroke of the ruling class to keep the workers in subjection.

So thoroughly was the poisoning of opinion carried on that for years afterwards C.O.'s met with ostracism and the refusal of work in all walks of life. We can be sure that after the present war, organisations like the British Legion will do their utmost, by means of "Indignant Soldier's Wife" letters to the local press all over the country, to keep public opinion prejudiced against objectors and to prevent them from getting work.

Large numbers who had taken their stand on religious or humanitarian grounds were impelled to get the truth of this hate phenomenon, and so came to a better understanding of the main causes of modern war, of the reasons why the state demands subservience at all costs, and of the need to be equipped with knowledge as well as the duty to follow religious or ethical conviction and the human call of goodwill to men.

Such a revulsion to war will follow the present instalment as has never been known before. It will have nothing to do with any party or any "ism," but will come right out of the people, who have endured the hardships, the torments and the sorrows of these years. Does any C.O. look for some form of service to which he can devote his own time? Let him equip himself to denounce and debunk the war game; show it up for the vile thing it is. For game it is, a game in which the workers always lose. Never has there been such abundant material.

THE COMMON PEOPLE.

After the disillusionment which follows "victory," and a return to the same old conditions of living, only worse, there will come a mood in which the people will be ready and eager to listen, and support will be forthcoming from unexpected quarters. Not always will the millions now in uniform be silenced by distance and censorship and military law.

Let each give his or her talent in the struggle, a talent cultivated and developed for a purpose. It is more effective than wealth. To aim only at a fine house with garden and car is to cut one's self off from the great forward urge of life.

Our hopes for the future must rest with the commonpeople of all lands. This we have often heard in speeches and often read in our anti-war papers. Against it we have the solid fact that there has never been any conversion of the majority of a people. All the changes have been brought about by energetic minorities. We ought to know the "common people." We move among them. We know what a hold tradition and family sentiment has on them; how strong is the disinclination to do anything which may not have the approval of neighbours. Has not almost every house got enlarged photographs on the parlour walls of members of the family in the uniform of the last war? Don't we know what an easy prey they are to the militarists—easier to-day perhaps than ever before? Have we not realised the truth of Bernard Shaw's words, that the governing classes keep the mass of the people enslaved by taking advantage of their sloth, their stupidity, their poverty, their narrowness, their superstition and their vices? But times of upheaval come along, and sheer force of circumstances compels people to think on different lines, to get below their previous surface, to listen to voices they had formerly disregarded, and to question authorities they once respected. Those who have stood out against war must be ready to help in guiding such an awakening force along lines which can lead to the people's real liberation.

SAVE THE CHILDREN.

And of greater importance than the adults and the aged will be the children. A world-wide slogan arose in 1919 as the nations realised the extent of the devastation and the appalling state of the surviving human beings. It was "Save the Children." Save them from the diseases which spread across the war-ravaged countries like a plague; from the famine caused by the blockade and other means of warfare used by the Christian nations of Europe. In spite of all the efforts made, millions of children perished, while others grew up deformed for life as a result of the starvation and disease which had been their lot during the war.

All that must happen again. Years must be spent in rescue and rehabilitation work, as a natural consequence of the present war. But the slogan will have another meaning for us to-day. Most of us remember the pictures which were published in the daily papers a few years ago showing the school children of Germany and Italy, dressed in military uniforms, drilled and regimented and imbued with the ideal of the supremacy of military service. We remember the horror and disgust to which our national papers gave expression. Yet this is what is happening to the school children throughout these islands to-day. It is what we are told our children must undergo in the future, not only in the "national interest" and for the "peace of the world," but for their own good. Politicians, militarists, industrialists, education experts and archbishops point out the absolute necessity for this in post-war Britain.

Do we need more examples as to where militarism leads a nation than the present state of Italy, Germany and France?

"Save the Children" will need to be our slogan in this country as well as the call to rescue and support the starving millions in Europe and Asia. Save them from the militarised state. Save them from the reactionaries whose idea of education is that the children of the working classes should be clever at saluting. These people have been in the saddle long enough. If they are unchallenged, a generation will grow up relieved of the necessity of thinking for themselves.

At the present stage of "civilisation's" evolution, nothing is more sinister than the prospect which is in front of the young children of to-day, the prospect of state-moulded lives, open to all the perils of dictatorship—England's subtle kind—and closed to the real principles of freedom and the full development of individual personality, for which so many great and fearless souls in the past have sacrificed liberty and life. Don't stop halfway, objector.

DUMBARTON HOAX.

They've completed their task at Dumbarton
(To plan the new world) the big three,
And already, no doubt, made a start on—
What's brewing for you and for me.
The acorns they've sown (so they tell us)
Will grow into powerful oaks
To strangle at last casus bellus
(Ein Reich und ein Fuhrer und volks),
With excellent chances
Of spreading their branches
To shelter all sensible blokes.

There'll be room for the Hammer and Sickle,
The bourgeoisee, too, and the Church,
And also the Dollar (or Nickel)
Will find there a permanent perch.
Side by side 'neath their shade we will gather,
Sharing vodka and beer and spam,
For the Left and the Right close together
Shall lie down like the lion and lamb,
With provision to please us
From Karl Marx to Jesus
(On both sides of our bread there'll be jam).

There is only one fly in the ointment,
But that is a trifling affair;
The lion may growl disappointment,
And the eagle may peck at the bear,
If the seeds that were broadcast this autumn
Should later be proved somewhat mixed
And are not really quite what we thought 'em
(Alas! every genus is fixed).
For my personal fash* is
The "oaks" may turn "ashes,"
Causing chaos between and betwixt.

—ANDREW MILLAR.

*English readers should note that "fash" is Scots for "worry." It is a dictionary word.

PRISON IMPRESSIONS.
FROM WALTON PRISON, LIVERPOOL
FROM BARLINNIE PRISON, GLASGOW
FROM WANDSWORTH PRISON, LONDON
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Councillor CHARLES A. EARL,
3 Molyneux Road, Farncombe, Surrey.

BOOK REVIEWS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

I have often said that we should not form a final judgment on men or institutions until we have heard the criticism; the defence; the critic's reply to the defence; and the defender's reply to that reply. Very often, however, circumstances do not permit a thorough investigation, in which case we may be compelled to form provisional judgments, based on such evidence as is available, evidence which we must select as carefully and fairly as we can.

Berneri's *Workers in Stalin's Russia* has the appearance of being reliable evidence on an important subject, not merely because of the author's own personal opinions, but even more because of the quotations the book contains—often from pro-Soviet writers. The conclusion to be drawn is a sad one. It is the old story once again. The workers have been let down by their leaders, and Russia is not, to-day, the workers' paradise which many hoped that it would become and some still believe it to be. For a time, in spite of the cruelties and excesses that accompanied the early days of the revolution, there was a promise of better things. When the Soviets were first formed they did provide some kind of channel for expressing the will of the people and promising social legislation was passed, especially in the interests of women and children. The tide of reaction, however, has now set in. The elaborate administrative machinery no longer functions to allow the will of the people to be expressed, but rather to transmit to the people the strict orders of the bureaucracy of the Communist Party, with Stalin, as Dictator, at the head. Political freedom is non-existent; police espionage is severe; the idolatry of "increased production" exploits and exhausts the poorer and less robust workers; the liberal legislation of the early days of the Revolution is being repealed or curtailed; militarism is rampant and was becoming so even before Russia became involved in war; and a new highly-privileged class of bureaucrats, technicians, and army officers has arisen to take the place of the old aristocracy.

These unwelcome developments do not justify any feelings of contempt for the Russian people or even angry and belligerent hysterics towards their leaders. They do, however, teach some useful lessons. Why do revolutions so often end in reaction and a return to something like the old regime under a new set of labels? Why are the workers so often let down by their leaders? The French Revolution began with the slogan: "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality!" It ended with the imperialism of Napoleon, and was, later, succeeded by the militarism and intense corruption of post-1918 French politics. The Russian Revolution seems to have gone the same way; **why?** The answer is partly to be found in the fact that revolutions are often accompanied by bloodshed and violence and upon methods of cruelty and violence, no matter how understandable, a curse for ever rests. Metaphorically speaking, it is the curse of God, for these methods are the antithesis of true Christianity and are in flat contradiction to the way of Jesus Christ.

It is, I am afraid, also necessary to realise that in our own and other countries the workers themselves have had a measure of responsibility for this betrayal. If so many of them had not been so politically uninterested and unintelligent; if in religious, ethical, moral and political spheres they had understood better "the things that belong to their peace"; if they had rallied more frequently, in larger numbers, and with greater determination in defence of some comrade persecuted by the State; if they had been less easily doped by propaganda; if they had shown better judgment in their choice of the men they allowed to lead them, and had rejected more firmly the unsuitable candidates pushed forward by corrupt or power-lusting groups or parties, these betrayals could not have come to pass. As things are, however, we must face reality and not try and linger in a fool's paradise. Russia has become a powerful "Fascist" country in a "Fascist" world: we have travelled far along the same road. The freedom of the workers is yet to be won, but if the right character and outlook can be gained, it is still attainable—in Britain, in Russia, and elsewhere. The job begins with the individual: what he is, and what he does. Where leaders and administrators are concerned, power always tends to corrupt: only true Christians and humble men endowed with the highest moral standards and destitute of personal ambition, can withstand the temptations of office. These are the men whom, alone, it is safe to choose or follow. The others will **always** let us down.

The following is an extract from *Repair My House*, a very thought-provoking pamphlet by the Rev. Charles Stimson of The Brotherhood of the Way, Haxone Abbey, Diss, Norfolk. Mr. Stimson for many years has been an able exponent of true Christian Communism, both by what he has said and written and by the sincere and wholly consecrated witness of his way of life. He feels that the true Church can give its most effective witness in these dark days through Christian communities whose members in all their personal and social relationships obey without reservation the principles enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount.

The command ("that we be reconciled to our brother before we proceed to our worship") would, if taken seriously, change our whole approach to life and religion. If we accepted this law as binding we should be compelled to think of the Church as a society existing to reconcile individuals, classes, and nations in its brotherly and equitable way of life. The notion of the Church as primarily a society for worship and mystical devotion, would have to give way to the thought of it as primarily a fellowship in Christ. We would no longer seek to draw men into a common worship and creed in the hope that eventually their divisions and rivalries might be broken down, but we would insist that the barriers be broken down, and reconciliation made, as a condition of membership. "First be reconciled . . . and then bring your gift to the altar," or again, "If thy brother sin against thee go and show him his fault . . . . If he will not hear the Church let him be as a heathen man and a publican." A society of this kind could, as it spread its bounds, save mankind; but a society which tolerates the class-war and international war, private quarrels and economic rivalries, among its members, and makes no attempt to thrash out the differences and to adjudicate between the parties, but seeks instead an abstract and fictitious unity on a level of worship and creed (divorced from the essential requirements of both worship and creed) could never save mankind though it enlarged its borders to cover the whole world. The question the Church should ask of the world is not, "Will you come to church and join in our worship and assent to our creed?" but "Will you come and be reconciled to your brethren within the divinely appointed sobriety? Will you worship God in a disciplined fellowship?"

GLASGOW FABIAN SOCIETY.

Secretary—Helen M. Yuille, 25 Stamperland Ave., Clarkston, Glasgow. Telephone—Giffnock 3429.

MEETINGS IN 1945.

Meetings will be held FORTNIGHTLY on Saturdays in the Geneva Room, Green's Playhouse, at 7 p.m.

January 13—Mr. S. K. RATCLIFFE: "THE U.S.A. AND THE WORLD SETTLEMENT."

January 27—Dr. Wm. S. Cormack: "Three Freedoms."

February 10—Councillor A. B. Mackay: "Housing—Land and Finance."

Please keep the dates in mind. You may forget the details, but remember EVERY SECOND SATURDAY.

U.S.M. MEETING

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OXFORD PEACE MEETING

On Armistice Day the Duke of Bedford addressed a meeting at Oxford, of an unofficial Oxford society for enlightenment on important matters, known as Group 26.

The Duke pointed out that the objectives which England had in mind when she declared war were now unattainable, and that the appeasement of Stalin was going to prove a bigger business than any appeasement of Hitler. He stressed the real nature of the conflict as an issue between Anglo-American orthodox finance based on gold, and Totalitarian unorthodox finance, based on work to be done and hands to do it. The Duke went no further than these limits, either in criticism of Anglo-America or in approval of the Axis.

In reply to questions from an Oxford teacher, whom the Duke amusingly mistook for a banker the Duke declared that the financiers of Wall Street and the City were men who knew perfectly well what they were doing, but were carried away by their lust for power, rather than simple-minded folk who precipitated storms and were then more or less dragged along in the wake of them.

After showing that—contrary to press misrepresentation—he had always been aware of certain virtues in Russian Communism and certain vices in German-Italian Fascism, the Duke outlined a more Christian world economy, which had the terrific merit of being obviously practicable.

At the end of the meeting the speaker was asked how the financiers could be dealt with, and he replied that enlightenment must proceed as to what sort of people they really were and what sort of thing they were really doing.

The Duke, who made a good impression, talked to an audience that was more Town than Gown. Academic Oxford still tends to cling to Churchill, Roosevelt, the gold standard, and other morbidities; but, perhaps that is a good sign; the University is a home of lost causes.

T. G.

The "Oxford Mail," in its issue for November 13, reported the Duke's meeting as follows:

The Duke of Bedford declared on Saturday, that in the event of a complete Allied victory and the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers, Britain would be defeated morally in regard to her war aims.

"We shall have to agree," he declared, "to Russia taking more land than Hitler ever asked for.

"We went to war to save the rights of small people, but Latvia and Lithuania will be swallowed up by Russia."

He addressed a group who meet from time to time to hear diverse speakers and to consider varying problems at "The Greyhound," Oxford.

The group calls itself Group 26, because it was formed on the 26th of the month. It has a Committee which consists mainly of Oxford Playhouse actors and actresses. Mr. D. Davie-Distin presided.

"Many of you," said the Duke of Bedford, "may be hardly old enough to remember we promised Montenegro that she should regain her independence, but she was handed over to Serbia.

BRITISH WAR AIMS

"We went into this war because we refused to appease Hitler even when his demands in regard to Poland were not altogether unreasonable, but we shall have to appease Stalin.

"Do not think I am anti-Communist or anti-Russian in a vindictive fashion. When there was violent propaganda against Russia I stood for fair play for Russia.

"Russia has large gold mines, and Marshal Stalin is ready to exchange useless gold for useful goods. This may be nice for the financiers, but useless for people like you and me.

"At Bretton Woods it was proposed that the amount of foreign trade should be limited by the amount of gold they proposed to allocate to it—a sinister tyranny.

PEACE BY AGREEMENT

"There can be no lasting peace unless it be a peace by agreement, in which all nations bind themselves to respect the rights of others and to agree to co-operate to make use of the world's resources.

"When peace comes it will be in our interests to establish friendly understanding with the Russians."

RECONCILIATION

Bellshill Pulpit Message

On Sunday, November 12, 1944, the Rev. A. A. Bowyer preached at West Church, Bellshill, from the text:—

"God hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5, 8).

Part of his sermon was published in "The Bellshill Speaker," the following Friday. We make no apology for reproducing our contemporary's excellent report of Mr. Bowyer's powerful address:—

One of our wayside pulpit notices recently carried the following warning:

"If humanity will not end war, war will end humanity."

The events of these last six months have brought these words home to us in startling fashion. Science has placed such terrible power into the hands of man that it is a truth to-day that unless we can end wars, wars will surely end all that we know of civilisation. War has become so devilishly brutal with its ever increasing powers of destruction that another war will surely finish humanity. If we are ending this war with robots and rockets, if to-day cities can be wiped out by bombing planes and armies leave in their wake utter and complete devastation then with what fearful weapons will we begin the next war?

It is apparent that this war will end only on the "unconditional surrender" of Germany. It is time to ask whether this unfortunate slogan is not inevitably prolonging the war. "Unconditional surrender" quite obviously has come to mean for the German people extermination and utter and complete ruin. It offers them no hope at all. There are many people in Germany opposed to Nazism; if it were not so there would be no need for a Gestapo. What of the recent revolts and the opposition of the Church, Protestant and Catholic. "Unconditional surrender" brings even the enemies of Hitler to his side. He will rally them, as he is doing, on the plea that the Allies intend to wipe out Germany and to crush her for ever. The war might have been over to-day but for this foolish slogan. As it is Germany will fight to the bitter end, and the tragedy of it all is that the suffering and the sorrow in the world will continue to multiply.

Captain Liddell Hart, the military strategist, writing in the "Daily Mail," says this:

"Unconditional surrender has been a heavy handicap since its adoption. It is contrary to the most elementary principles of psychology and strategy."

Since it is the Church's task to end wars, not to prolong them, we firmly believe that "unconditional surrender" is contrary to the will and wisdom of Almighty God.

Assuming the end of hostilities, what are the plans devised to make future wars impossible? There is going to be an alliance of Great Powers—such as Britain, Russia, America, France and China. These military and economically powerful nations are to maintain the peace of the world. That this is a sincere attempt to solve the problem we do not doubt, yet we maintain that we are seeking peace along the wrong way.

History has shown that such Power alliances, so far from ending wars, create wars. After the Napoleonic wars a Four Power Alliance of Russia, Britain and Prussia (which being a victor in these days was said to be "peace-loving") was agreed upon to preserve the future peace of Europe. What happened? In 1821 Austria invaded Italy, and in 1823 France, admitted to the Alliance, declared war on Spain.

Is there any guarantee to-day that none of these five Great Powers will ever break the peace of Europe? It is not the small nations who are the aggressors, but the powerful. It is not Germany, alone, that breaks the peace. Russia first waged war in Europe when in 1938 she invaded Finland. And there is no guarantee that the Great Powers will not themselves be the first to break the peace. It has happened before, and it can happen again.

Is there a better way, a more stable way of creating peace? We believe so, and we are convinced that it is the Church's task to-day to declare this better way to the anxious and troubled peoples of the world. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, sayeth the Lord."

God hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation. The task of Christian people to-day is the task of reconciliation. God hath called us to proclaim two demands to the leaders of the nations and to the people.

The first demand is that of justice. Wars do not simply happen out of themselves. They arise out of injustice and a sense of grievance and hatred. The best way to end wars is to create justice. Let the Church, therefore, proclaim justice: justice not only for the big and powerful nations, but for small nations, for example, for Holland and Denmark and Poland, and for Germany and Japan also. If every nation were able to feel that she was receiving a measure of justice, if those nations that "have" were prepared to share their riches with those nations that "have not," then one of the real grievances that make for wars would be eliminated.

God, to-day, is pointing the nations of the world to the demands of justice.

The second demand of God is the demand of love.

"The law came by Moses," said the author of St. John's Gospel, "but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

The only thing to do with an enemy, if you want to live at peace is to make him your friend. There will only be peace in the world when the nations are friends one with another.

The great healing power required to-day is the power of love as it is exemplified in Jesus Christ. We must be prepared to forgive, to be merciful, to be generous even with Germany.

Her people must be shown that we do not want to exterminate them, but to live with them as brothers of the same Heavenly Father.

You say that this is folly, that it is impossible. Remember this, "that the Cross to some has always been a stumbling block, to others foolishness, but to them that believe the power of God unto salvation." There is no other way to peace, to an end of war, save the way of love and friendship laid down by Christ. Once, after the Boer War, Britain treated her enemy in a spirit of friendship and generosity. She confessed her common sin before God. To-day South Africa is one of Britain's most loyal friends.

The way of Christ works. Love never faileth. Justice is essential and vital, but greater than justice, more powerful for good is the way of love.

We must take that way. It is the Church's duty to proclaim it, and by that way out of the chaos and catastrophe of this present day we are persuaded that a new and better day will dawn—the day of liberty, of brotherhood, of peace.

Christ calls His followers on this Day of Remembrance to the ministry of reconciliation even as He through love reconciled sinful humanity to God.

The Editor of the "Speaker" in his "Bellshill Cavalcade" notes on another page, makes a challenging apology for reporting this sermon.

We reproduce our fellow-editor's commentary in full, side-headings included:—

THE REV. A. A. BOWYER.

I have printed the sermon preached by Mr. Bowyer to his congregation last Sunday. There has been a lot of talk and nasty remarks passed about it. Maybe that is why I have rushed it to press. Being a man with a dual personality, as it were, but only for commercial reasons, I will look at Mr. Bowyer's sermon from both angles.

A SOLDIER.

First of all I am a soldier (I was in the Home Guard once) and as a soldier I stand on the same platform as Mr. Winston Churchill and with him shout "Unconditional surrender" and receive the plaudits of the mob. Sure, make Germany pay for her deeds, and the only way to save ourselves from another war is to crush the spirit of the German people. They are not like the Polish or the Scottish people, who rose time and again when they were supposed to be crushed. The German nation is different; all it can do is take on the whole world and keep on fighting.

THE OTHER SIDE.

Then there is the other part of me, and it is good for Mr. Bowyer he has got me in a soft mood. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord, and no nation has ever defied that statement and survived. Mark my words, just as sure as you are reading this paper this policy of "Unconditional surrender" which we are preaching to-day is going to have dreadful consequences. I agree with Mr. Bowyer; if there were no decent German people there would be no need for a Gestapo. We should take stock of what is happening behind the scenes in our own country to-day before we put ourselves in the place of rulers of righteousness.

AN AIRMAN'S LETTER.

I have just been reading a letter from an Airman prisoner of war. He was brought down when straffing some German aircraft gunners and put in hospital along with some Germans whom he had probably injured during the raid. The treatment he received was superb. His companion in the next bed was a young blonde German, who could speak English. He remarked to our young airman that his mother, who was coming to see him at the week-end, would be glad to meet him as she could speak English.

NO RAT POISON.

When the German mother did come her boy was dead, but the parcel she brought for her own son she left with our airman, and weekly parcels followed. The South of England clergyman will be shocked to hear that there was no rat poison in any of the parcels that German mother left. I make no personal comment on this. I merely pass it on to my readers.

The Editor of our contemporary is to be congratulated on his courageous and useful writing. Mr. Bowyer is to be esteemed for his fearless preaching. The combination of local press and pulpit makes Bellshill a healthier and more truly patriotic centre than it would be if the menacing and distasteful paganism of our war-epoch was permitted to parade its follies unchallenged.

Lanarkshire has another fearless and most scholarly preacher in the Rev. T. F. Harkness Graham, B.D.

On Saturday, November 18, 1944, the **Hamilton Advertiser** published the following pulpit announcement:—

CADZOW PARISH CHURCH.

11.15 a.m. and 6.30 p.m.—
Rev. T. F. HARKNESS GRAHAM, B.D.
Evening Subject—Thomas Muir, the Scottish Electoral Reform Martyr, with the Romance of a Bible.

VANSITTART PACIFISM

In the "Peace News," for October 20, 1944, John Middleton Murry wrote:—

. . . . one of the important facts to-day is that the German, who is in personal relations just as decent as the Englishman, is a quite different kind of political animal from the Englishman or the Frenchman. To assume that the Germans could create a workable democracy if only they were left to themselves is to assume what is probably untrue.

We are not concerned with the truth or error of this statement in itself. To our mind it is a definite plea for the military occupation of Germany. If Middleton Murry subscribes to this opinion, he ought not to be editor of "Peace News" and logically has no place in the peace movement. He ought never to have opposed the war.

Defending his attitude in the "Peace News" for November 4, Murry writes:—

On the whole I find pacifists rather ignorant of German political history. Vansittart knows the facts better than they do. It is a pity. Because, ignoring the facts, they cannot challenge his false interpretation of them. In an official capacity I had to make a close day-to-day study of German politics during the last war; and I am bound, in honesty, to say that the facts, as given by Vansittart in a recent broadcast debate (Listener, Oct. 19, p. 436) are, in my judgment, roughtly true. . . .

I differ greatly from Vansittart in the interpretation of them; but I believe he is right to warn us that liberalism, as we understand it, is an exotic growth in Germany. Unlike Vansittart, I hold there are good and sufficient historical reasons for this. Germany has had to cram into a century the growth of four centuries in Britain, and has had to depend on a powerful State to consolidate herself.

Moreover, since the Reformation her predominant religion (Lutheranism) has been precisely the one which inculcated complete submission to the State. Add to this the terrible sense of vulnerability that comes of a long exposed land frontier on the East, and you have all the conditions necessary to identify security in the German mind with the existence of a strong military State.

Just as liberals and pacifists in this country are loth to admit how much their development has been dependent on the security achieved by the British Navy, and regard liberalism and pacifism as the product of an immaculate conception, of immediate universal validity, so they are loth to admit that the peculiar conditioning of Germany is such that militarism and anti-liberalism are as natural to Germans as liberalism and navalism are to ourselves.

To admit this is not to fall into the Vansittart heresy of a peculiar and ineradicable racial evil in Germans. But it is to realise that the "education" or "re-education" of Germany is a necessity. To ignore that necessity is dangerous Utopianism.

The "re-education" of Germany is not a slogan of Pacifism. The man who believes in such "re-education" is playing at militarist politics and ought to give up pretending to be a pacifist intellectual. Murry has become a Vansittart Pacifist!

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"DAILY WORKER" AGAIN

A Study in Falsehood and Misquotation

The "Daily Worker," London, in its issue for November 4, 1944, publishes the following enlightening item:—

ALLIED VICTORY "USELESS," SAYS DUKE OF BEDFORD.

From DOUGLAS HYDE.

With apparent indifference for the feelings of the wives and mothers of the men now dying in the final battles against Hitlerite Germany the pro-Fascist Duke of Bedford has just issued a leaflet telling them they die in vain.

The leaflet, entitled "Where Have We Got To?" goes farther in undermining the Allied war effort than anything yet published by this ducal apologist for Hitler.

In it he asserts that "any further sacrifice of life which the continuation of the war will entail will be, from every point of view, utterly and completely useless"—a comforting thought indeed for the men who are preparing for the biggest battles yet.

Here are other samples of the arguments used by this defeatist aristocrat:

"At the end of the war . . . . the principal victor will be the Atheist totalitarian Government of Soviet Russia, which in two Continents will be endowed with that absolute power . . . which corrupts absolutely";

"If there should be an Allied victory, the stage will be set for another war."

Did not the Communist Party between the years of 1919 and 1939 tell the workers that they die in vain? Did they not organise bogus Anti-Militarist Movements urging the workers never to fight again? Was not one of their present war-mongering stooges imprisoned for handing anti-militarist literature to the troops? Would these knaves have been anti-Hitler if Hitler had refrained from invading the Soviet Union? Is it not true that militarists in the capitalist saddle can send the nations to utter total disaster?

If ever there was an outrage committed against the freedom of the Press, if ever liberty was reduced to licence, the activity of the Communist Party has been that outrage and licence.

As to the Duke of Bedford's leaflet, the citations made are travesties of what he has written.

The Duke is a Christian and believes in God. We are Atheists. President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill are reputed to be Christians. Stalin is an Atheist. There are Christians and Atheists on the side of war. There are Christians and Atheists opposed to war. All parties unite, speak, and think in the terms of their peculiar philosophy and theology.

Answering the Christians who say that this is a Christian war, addressing himself as it were, to his nominal fellow-believers, the Duke says:—

We went into the war to check the spread of an un-Christian totalitarian political idea which subordinates the individual to the State. At the end of the war, if there be an Allied victory, the principal victor will be the atheist, totalitarian Government of Soviet Russia, which in two Continents will be endowed with that absolute power which, it has been said, corrupts absolutely. State tyranny, moreover, will have increased in most other parts of the world, our own country included.

We do not object to "Communist" apologists attacking the Duke of Bedford's views, but we do object to deliberate misquotation. It is a perfectly sound argument. Russia is an Atheist Totalitarian State not an Atheist Libertarian State. Because it is totalitarian, in the end it will surrender its Atheism. For Atheism means liberty—whereas dictatorship must have a cult, a church, and a worship.

After a perfectly friendly reference to Russia the leaflet utters a warning against the agencies that will tend to foster a war against the Soviet Union. It indicts British Imperialists who might want such a war and concludes with a plea for world total disarmament.

The leaflet merits wide reading. Only enemies of their fellows, in times of crisis, deliberately misrepresent what their opponents write. The Stalinists are merely the interested political liars of corrupt society and anti-social interests. They are the betrayers and enemies of Socialism and of mankind.

We shall return to the exposure of the "Communists" and shall list their crimes against the common peoples, until every decent man and woman of the working class will feel sick when the charlatan term "Communism" is mentioned. Just as the Church destroyed Christianity, so have the "Communists" depraved and mutilated Communism, the ideal of proletarian Socialism, the hope of oppressed mankind.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—May you have many more 5th of November anniversaries, each nearer to your goal of international humanism.

The last two numbers of "The Word" have made the "anarchist" poseurs wriggle and they seem to be creating a red and black inquisition. Well the "heretic" label won't be strange to you.

Anyhow we know you will not pull your punches even though would-be anarchist champions can't take it. Your variety of sparring partners does not alarm us, for we know that they will not blunt your sane thinking, plain speaking, and militant action.—Yours in comradeship,

PETER AND MARY PAUL.

Hounslow, Middx., Nov. 5.

Dear Sir,—I have just read your book, "Call to Manhood." It is the best book I have ever read.

I am associated with the Birmingham Public Opinion Action Ass. recently formed in addition to the National Secular Society and R.P.A. Would you consider an invitation to address us—or lead a discussion—at the P.O.A.A.?

I was once your very near neighbour at Richmond Garden, Shepherd's Bush.

I was a C.O. during the last war on political grounds, of course. I know all about "padded cells." I have reached the age of 57, but I have just as much fight left as ever.—Yours fraternally,

T. H. BURGESS.

Birmingham, Nov. 6.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Many thanks for your prompt dispatch of "The Word" month by month.

And still the war drags on in spite of the increasing intensity of war weariness among the general public, and our struggle for the abolition of war must be maintained in spite of the increasing weariness of many pacifists who are beginning to suffer from the illusion that the end of the war will end our job. It will merely make it possible to make a real beginning of the task of putting an end to war for ever.—Yours in the struggle,

JOHN MORLEY.

Westerhope, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nov. 5.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Many thanks for copy of "A Call to Manhood." What little I have read so far is very sound.

After hearing the Glasgow Anarchists speak in Brunswick Place, I must agree with the views you express. I must also confess that your remarks on the "Freedom Press" anarchists are quite justified.

A pity that human beings are so inconsistent!

Yours in the struggle,

D. J. MEAGER.

Nottingham.

Dear Sir,—Please forward copy of your book, "A Call to Manhood," by Guy Aldred.

I am a Christian Pacifist and as such find it a difficult job to gain tolerance and understanding from some of our fellow Christians.

Am a great admirer of Rhys Davies and the other M.P.'s in the Commons who refuse to countenance and support war or industrial conscription and totalitarian measures and decrees, 18b, etc.

Have been directed to coal mine from tribunal as a result of my objection.

With best wishes to you and for your journal. Keep it up. Live in faith.—Yours fraternally,

HERBERT LOVELL.

Sheffield.

Dear Comrade,—Congratulations on the fighting spirit unwaveringly shown by "The Word," and consistent general excellence of the articles and other matter which you secure.

I feel that I must say, however, that the articles about Herbert Read are a little ungenerous to one who has made a definite contribution to anarchist thought whatever our personal opinions of him as a man may be.

However, I find very little indeed to criticise in the paper and will close by saying, "More power to your elbow" and sincere good wishes from—Yours fraternally,

GEORGE J. EMMETT.

Hounslow, Middx.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been going to write you ever since the splendid Negotiated Peace meeting you addressed here. I am more in accord with your views than with anyone else. I think the Duke of Bedford is a splendid and wise type. There must be many of similar views but we do not hear them from all sorts of reasons.

I am not bound by the shackles of so-called religion and the incubus of the next world by the fact I have never been a member of any Church, and my people were Unitarians.

I was born September 27th, 1871, so I am quite young in every way and hoping to see our point of view more widespread. What fearful folly war is. 1914-1918 convinced me, and this present war is just as silly. With best wishes for your great work.—Yours,

W. WOLSTENCROFT.

Lancaster.

BEDFORD NEWS-LETTER NOW READY.

Edited by the Duke of Bedford in the hope of uniting all British people to insist that difficult post-war problems must be faced with honest financial methods and adherence to our national traditions of Christianity and reason.

"To prepare the paths to peace and prosperity and to unite those who view current propaganda with scepticism and current events with alarm."

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RHYS: DAVIES, M.P.: JANUARY MEETINGS.

Our Comrade, Rhys Davies, M.P., will address meetings as follows:—

Fri., Jan. 5, at Cleveleys, Blackpool, on "Coal."
Thurs., Jan. 11, Sedgeley Park, Manchester, on "Palestine."
Fri., Jan. 12, Llangollen, N. Wales, on "Peace" (in Welsh).
Sat. afternoon, Jan. 13, Llangollen, W.E.A., "Education."
Tues., Jan. 16, Welfare Hall, Pyle, Glam., "Treatment of Germany."
Wed., Jan. 17, Brynamman, Carm., Welsh meeting.
Thurs., Jan. 18, Taibach, Port Talbot, Glam. "Peace."
Fri. Jan. 19, Fabian Society, Swansea, "Peace."
Sat. afternon, Jan. 20, Gorseinon, Swansea, W.E.A., "Peace."
Sun., Jan. 21, Pontypool Trades Council, "The Future of Labour."
Fri., Jan. 26, Conway Hall, London, "India."

Reports of these meetings and records of Rhys Davies' further questions and speeches in the House of Commons will appear in later issues.

GLASGOW SECULAR SOCIETY.

Our Comrade, F. J. Corina, defender and champion of modern youth, who vigorously opposes the charges of "moral decadence" so frequently laid against young people to-day, will speak at the Cosmo Cinema, Glasgow, on Sunday, February 4th, at 2-30 p.m., under the auspices of the Glasgow Secular Society. His subject will be "The Moral Landslide."

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Vol. VI. No. 7. FEBRUARY, 1945 Price: TWOPENCE (U.S.A., 5 Cents)

The Right Hon. JOHN CURTIN
(Prime Minister of Australia).

WAR RESISTER, 1916.
WAR PRIME MINISTER, 1941.

CONSCRIPTION IN AUSTRALIA

A Study in Labor Politics

Readers of this factual study should regard this essay as an appendix to our "SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT," Parts I and II, obtainable from this office.—Editor.

The reader will understand this record of the menacing development of conscription with its trend toward servile statism, by noting the following biographical facts culled from *Who's Who* for 1944 :—

HUGHES, Rt. Hon. William Morris; P.C. 1916; C.H. 1941; K.C. 1919; M.P. for North Sydney in Federal Parliament of Australia; Leader of United Australia Party; b. Wales, 25 Sep. 1864; m. 1st, 1886; 2nd, 1911, Mary Ethel, G.B.E., cr 1922, d, of Thomas Campbell, Burrandong, N.S.W.; three s. three d. Educ.: Llandudno Grammar School; St. Stephen's Church of England School, Westminster Pupil teacher, St. Stephen's Church of England School; came to Australia 1884; engaged in various occupations; elected to State Parl. of N.S.W. for Lang Div. of Sydney, 1894; re-elected three successive Parliaments, resigned upon election to 1st Federal Parliament for W. Sydney, on Labor Party's platform; Minister for External Affairs, 1904; Chairman Royal Commission on the Navigation Bill; Delegate to Imperial Navigation Conference, 1907; Member of Imperial Cabinet and Delegate to Paris Peace Conference; Australian representative League of Nations Assembly, Geneva, 1932; Master of Gray's Inn; Grand Officier de la Legion d'Honneur; Order Grand Crown, Belgium; D.C.L., Oxford; LL.D Cardiff, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow; F.Z.S.; admitted to N.S.W. Bar; organized Maritime Unions; Gen Sec. of Wharf Laborers; Pres. Carters' Union, N.S.W.; President, Waterside Workers' Federation; Attorney-General, 1908-9, 1910-13, and 1914-21; Prime Minister of Australia, 1915-23; Minister for External Affairs, 1921-23; Vice-President of Executive Council, 1934-35 and 1937-38; Minister for Health and Repatriation, 1934-35 and 1936-37; Minister in charge of Territories 1937-38; Min. for External Affairs, 1937-39; Minister for Industry, 1939-40; Attorney-General, 1930-41; Minister for the Navy, 1940-41.

CURTIN, Rt. Hon. John, P.C. 1942; Prime Minister of Australia since 1941; Minister of Defence since 1942; Minister of Defence Co-ordination, 1941-42; Chairman Advisory War Council since 1941; b. 8 Jan. 1885; s. of John Curtin and Katherine Bourke; m. 1917, Elsie Needham, Hobart, Tasmania; one s. one d. Educ.: State Schools. Secretary, Timber Workers' Union, Victoria, 1911-15; Editor, Westralian Worker, Perth, 1917-28; Member House of Representatives, 1928-31 and since 1934; Australian Delegate to International Labor Conference, 1924; Member Commonwealth Royal Commission on Family Allowances, 1927-28; State Advocate for Government of Western Australia to Commonwealth Grants Commission, 1933-34-35; Leader of Opposition, Commonwealth Parliament, 1935-41; Member, Western Australia War Industries Committee, 1941.

In each case we have omitted publications, recreations, and addresses.

The biographical data retained show, how two men, one born in 1864, and the other in 1885, have risen from humble circumstance, through the Labour movement, to high position in the capitalist state, without in any way coming to grips with the social or economic problem, or saving from massacre and disaster the working-class whose contributions and sacrifices elevated them. Yet a generation—a full twenty years—separates their births. Parliamentarianism emancipated the leaders and left the workers submerged.

Compulsory military Service has been law in Australia and the Territories since 1903, when the first Defence Act was passed. It is established by Part IV of that Act. Section 49 forbids compulsory service outside Australia and the Territories.

In 1901, the Barton Government proposed that Australians should be compelled to serve outside Australia and the Territories. The proposal met with widespread opposition and the Government dropped the suggestion.

William Morris Hughes revived the idea in 1916 and in 1917. He challenged two Referendums on Conscription. The first was on October 28, 1916. Conscription for overseas service was defeated by 72,746 votes. On December 20, 1917, the "No" majority was 166,588.

William Morris Hughes walked out of the Labor Party in 1916 over the Conscription issue. He proposed to establish a National Government. The majority of the Laborists refused to follow him, but he made overtures to the heads of the Official Labor Party. He asked them to be represented in the National Government *"so that the full force of the nation should be behind its war policy."*

In this proposal, as in his overseas conscription referendums, Hughes had no idea of serving the working-class of Australia. He was moved by the glory of his parliamentary status, a sense of provincial imperial careerism.

Hughes had been in London. He had been feted. He had been admitted into the deliberations of the British War Council. He had sat at the Economic Conference. He felt his importance as a statesman and viewed, as inevitable, the servitude of the common people. In July 1916 he returned from England and in August 1916 decided that a Referendum would be taken on Conscription. He did not know that twenty-eight years later, to the very month, a later Laborist, John Curtin, would imitate him faithfully.

In 1916, John Curtin was not a Member of the House of Representatives. That was to come some years later. He had emerged from being secretary of the Timber Workers' Union and was about to become editor of the *Westralian Worker, Perth*, as a result of his opposition to Hughes. Curtin was on his way up.

When Hughes proposed to place his Conscription Referendum before the people of Australia in August 1916, Curtin, then a young man, became a leader of the "No" campaign in Victoria. He went to jail because he refused to obey Hughes' conscription law. He refused to become a conscript Hughesilier.

It was Curtin who wrote and issued the manifetso of the Australian Trades Union Anti-Conscription Congress, calling for a one-day stop work meeting on Wednesday, October 4, 1916. We reproduce the full manifesto in another column. As the reader will see from the text of this manifesto, Curtin wrote in 1916 :—

In the fight against conscription of labor and life, the Labor Movement finds itself also compelled to fight certain men whom it put into high offices to serve the Movement, and not to betray it.

No pledge against conscription could have been more emphatic than that.

In the days when we were resisting conscription, publishing *The Spur*, facing court-martials and enduring imprisonment for our military resistance, our Australian comrade, Don Cameron, became a regular and valued correspondent. Cameron reproduced our pledge against military service with approval. In time the correspondence lapsed. Don Cameron is now Senator Don Cameron, Australian Minister for Aircraft Production.

Our anti-war pledge was first published in "The Spur" during our struggle against war-time conscription. It was revised and published in "The Commune" (2nd Series, Vol. II, No. 3) for March, 1927. Don Cameron reproduced it, with acknowledgments in "The Tramway Record," Sydney, New South Wales, for March 19, 1927.

The pledge read :—

WORKER'S PLEDGE IN TIME OF WAR.

I REFUSE to kill any child's father.
I REFUSE to slay any mother's son.
I REFUSE to plunge the bayonet into the breast of any woman's brother, lover, or mate.
I REFUSE to murder, and deem the slaughter glory.
I REFUSE to butcher with the hands that were intended to serve and caress.
I REFUSE to soak the earth with blood and blind my reason with obedience.
I REFUSE to assassinate another man, and then hide my stained fists in the folds of a blood-stained flag.
I REFUSE to be flattered, cajoled, or driven into hell's nightmare by a class of well-fed snobs, crooks, and cowards, who despise my class socially, rob my class economically, and betray and oppress it politically. Let militarism do its worst, I refuse to serve, I decline to kill.—

This means that, as late as 1927, Don Cameron endorsed this pledge. Two years later we reproduced it as the concluding note of Chapter 9 of our "At Grips with War." The second edition of this book appeared in 1931,

and the third edition is printing now. We have remained loyal to this pledge during two World Wars and decline to varyour firm anti-militarist attitude at this late date. Events establish its accuracy of vision and soundness of ethics. But Comrade Don Cameron, turned Senator, has grown into Australian Minister for Aircraft Production in the War Government of the ex-conchie, John Curtin!

In 1942, although Minister for Aircraft Production, Don Cameron opposed Curtin's overseas conscription proposals with vigour and ability. Two years later he supported Curtin's Federal Powers' campaign, although his Socialist studies should have told him that the purpose of these Federal Powers was post-war industrial conscription. Cameron had become a "Yes" man.

At a meeting of the Victoria Labor Party executive on December 4, 1942, Cameron recalled the speech made by Curtin in 1916.

Cameron declared that Curtin rose and said :—

I am a young man. I am single. I am eligible. I call upon the Labor movement to protect me, and men who are like me. I ask it to fight against conscription.

Curtin maintained his opposition to conscription as late as June 1939. He then opposed the Menzies Government National Registration Bill on the ground that it meant industrial and military conscription. As a result of his opposition, a provision was inserted in the National Registration Bill specifically declaring that industrial conscription should not be introduced into Australia.

This was Curtin's last stand. From now on, step by step, he forced the Australian Labor Movement, or, at least, its official caucus, to abandon its semi-anti-militarist position. The Australian defined "conscription" as overseas compulsion. Conscription for Home Defence and against invasion was deemed organisational only, so long as the pacifist was protected by a conscience clause and that clause was respected faithfully.

Overseas conscriptionists held that there was no difference between compelling men to resist an invasion with force and compelling them to become invaders. Hughes had to walk out of the Labor Movement in 1916 because he refused to make this distinction between killing in hot blood and killing in cold blood. John Curtin helped to form the No-Conscription Fellowship, organised a protest strike, went to prison, and helped to force Hughes out of the Labor Movement for urging overseas conscription. In October, 1916, he urged the Labor Movement to answer conscription for overseas service with a strike and a pledge of individual opposition. In November, 1942, as Labor's Prime Minister, he proposed that the Australian Defence Act be amended to permit the militia or conscript forces to be used anywhere in the South-West Pacific.

This proposal was unexpected. It created widespread surprise. The Labor movement learned of it with some consternation, but the representatives of capitalism and militarism rejoiced and Curtin was eulogised, his 1916 resistance to conscription having been forgotetn.

In *The Worker*, Sydney, H. Boote attacked the proposal and declared that conscription must be rejected. He avowed that Curtin's proposals were supported by *"the same body-snatching reactionaries . . . who twice during the last war attempted to rivet the chains of conscription on Australia."*

Boote continued :—

The Menzies and Fadden Governments pledged themselves not to introduce conscription during the present war for purposes outside our own domain.

The Labor platform explicitly repudiates the compulsory method of raising forces for external operations.

What right has anyone, or any group of men, to sweep away a principle which has become incorporated in the national policy of Australia?

Whatever present limit might be fixed for the employment of conscript forces, there would always be other places still farther on to which the enemy should be followed to protect our country.

First it is Timor, mentioned by Mr. Curtin. Then it will be islands in the vicinity. Then the Netherlands East Indies. Then Singapore, Malaya, China. Even the Mediterranean is essential to our welfare, and our fate, it would be said, is being decided in Africa and Europe.

Once assent to conscription for military service outside our own territores, and assigned limits are worthless.

The proposal submitted to the Labor Movement by Mr. Curtin will not do.

As we shall see, this feeble protest was Boote's last stand.

The Federal Conference of the Australian Labor Party met in Melbourne on January 4-5, 1943, and endorsed the Prime Minister (Curtin's) proposals to amend the Defence Act, so that the members of the Australian Militia Forces, as conscripts, could be sent outside boundaries of Australia's territories.

24 of the 36 delegates present supported the Prime Minister, and 12 were opposed—the 12 being from Victoria and Queensland respectively.

Among the 24 who supported the Prime Minister were 12, six representing New South Wales and Tasmania respectively, who had not been authorised by the affiliated organisations in their States to vote as they did.

In effect, they voted independently of the affiliated organisations to reverse the policy against military conscription for overseas which had been laid down by them over the years.

Despite the fact that he was Minister for Aircraft Production, Don Cameron, in *The Labor Call* for January 14, 1943, dealt faithfully with this conference and Curtin's conscription proposals in a powerful article written in the spirit of his pre-senatorial and pre-ministerial days. This was Don Cameron's last stand.

In July, 1944, Curtin returned from London exactly as Hughes returned from London in July 1916. He demonstrated the fact that Hughes was quite a pioneer just as Ramsay MacDonald demonstrated that John Burns was a pioneer. Emulation is unanswerable apology.

All the things that Hughes had done in 1916, Curtin had done in 1944. He had sat in the War Council. He had had the Freedom of London conferred on him at the Guildhall, just as Hughes had it conferred in 1916. He too had returned with a job to do. His first step was to secure the adoption of industrial conscription for the post-war period. The only way to do that was to ask the workers to vote "Yes" to a Federal Powers Referendum. Post-war reconstruction and the rehabilitation of returned ex-Service men and women was too heavy a responsibility to share between six States and the Commonwealth. Such was the camouflage. Prime Minister John Curtin added to his pledges on conscription. Despite his precious pledges on conscription, both industrial and military conscription were introduced by Curtin. He introduced industrial conscription by regulation and not by legislation. Actually, as he admitted afterwards, he wanted conscription of any and every sort in 1942 and 1943, for works and services, despite his assertions to the contrary. He was a worthy 1944 colleague of William Morris Hughes, whose Government had imprisoned him in 1916.

Up to the time he left London, Curtin had resisted all attempts to create a National Government in Australia. He clung to the War Council as an alibi, and on his return he found that Hughes, for all practical purposes, had been admitted into the Official Labour Party.

Never before in the history of the Official Labor Party had non-members of the Party been allowed to act on a Campaign Committee. On this occasion, invitations were extended both to the Communists and to Hughes.

Hughes was no different in 1944 to what he was in 1916. His opinions were the same. He was still a whole hog conscriptionist. It was not Hughes that changed his opinions. It was the Official Labor Party.

The Official Laborists, Curtin and his caucus, crossed over to join hands with the man whom for 28 years they regarded as a political Ishmael.

They acclaimed him.

The conscriptionists wanted Hughes to do as they did in 1916.

The Communists wanted Hughes because they were conscriptionists. Post-war industrial conscription was the major issue of the Referendum in August 19, 1944. But the Labor Movement of Australia voted No in 1944 for the same reason as it voted No in 1916 and 1917.

On Wednesday, August 16, 1944, Curtin issued the following appeal, beneath his picture :—

TO ALL AUSTRALIANS

"In view of the many misrepresentations that are being made, I reiterate my pledge to my fellow Australians, that neither I nor my Government will be a PARTY to INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION in Peace time.

"As your elected Leader, I ask you, in the interests of a better Australia in the post-war period, to Vote "YES."

JOHN CURTIN,
Prime Minister of Australia."

Three days later the workers of Australia voted "No." In New South Wales, 10 barometer seats, held by Labor, went over to "No" majorities. William Morris Hughes found his electorate of North Sydney against him with a "No" majority of 15,000 odd. The total "No" majority in New South Wales stood at 108,000. The equally strong Labor State of Queensland voted a strong "No" majority of 89,000. Curtin commented rightly that *"the verdict is decisive."* Like William Morris Hughes, he was disappointed.

"CORRUPTION, TREACHERY AND REACTION"

Curtin's 1916 Manifesto

[. . . . As pointed out in another column, John Curtin denounced the introduction of Conscription into Australia in 1916, when John Curtin was of military age. He called for a one-day strike on Wednesday, October 4, 1916, in a manifesto condemning the Government of William Morris Hughes as the "traitorous Government" which would betray "the Labour Movement," "wreck your unionism," and subject you to "servility" and "military slavery" by the introduction of Conscription. Curtin saw Conscription in 1916 as it affects the Conscript. In 1943 he conscripted the workers who elected him to resist Fascism and the introduction of Fascist methods. And in August, 1944, he sought powers of post-war dictatorship and industrial conscription. —Ed.]

Trade Unionists of Australia,—

Two specially convened and emphatically representative inter-State conferences of trades unionists have unanimously agreed that Labor's attitude to conscription is one of implacable hostility. For the workers that should be the last word on the subject.

In the fight against conscription of labour and life, the Labour movement finds itself also compelled to fight certain men whom it put into high places to serve the movement, and not to betray it. Unity of action is, therefore, now more essential than at any time in Australia's history.

If the Labour Movement loses, it means that Corruption, Treachery and Reaction win. Fight then you must for your life, your cause, your liberties.

Fighting gamely and greatly against conscription, the industrial movement has realised that the Proclamation of the Government summoning single men to the camps really establishes conscription, and believing the Proclamation to be illegal, as well as perilous—and for many other weighty reasons—your all-Australian Congress of trades unions has unanimously resolved that a protest must be made. Your congress has decided that the protest shall be made by means of stop-work meetings throughout Australia, on Wednesday, October 4, following the issue of the Government's Proclamation.

Whatever happens—whatever influences may be operated, whatever pressure may be brought to bear, whatever the consequences—attend the stop-work meeting on Wednesday, October 4th.

Your loyalty to the mandate of your chosen delegates will be a demonstration of the deter-

mination and power of the organised workers; and not only this, but an action certain to become historical as one of the world's finest displays of working-class solidarity. It may sound the death-knell of conscription.

At all events, it is Trades Unionism or Dictatorship in combat for the control of the lives and liberties of the people, and for the maintenance or annihilation of that "Government of, by and for the people" upon which the eminence of Australia has been based and builded.

On the Wednesday fixed upon, you will be expected to show that, under a strong provocation, willing a general holiday, you shall have it in the teeth of a lying press and a recreant Parliament. Not a cab, bus, tram or train should run, not a ship should sail, not a shop or factory or hotel or theatre should be open, not a newspaper should come out, not a butcher's, baker's or grocer's cart should be seen in the streets, not a man of the all-powerful working-class should be at work. Will you, as a unionist, help in the success of this policy? It is a policy for the protection and preservation of trades unionism, with all that it implies in better wages and conditions through a glorious gospel and might of organisation.

On the immortal Wednesday, mass meetings organised by the chief industrial body of each centre will be held all over Australia, and you will do your part nobly and well by attending such a meeting, and bringing along everybody you can. Spread the news!

At the same time, if you have reason to believe that any will be so vile as to scab on the stop-work call, make sure of effective picketing with your union's sanction. The times are too critical, and the issue too grave, to allow meanness or cowardice, or "standing in with the boss," to harass or handicap Australia's biggest achievement in industrialist action.

Success is vital. Singly, individually, the workers are weak—bound together they are strong. Without unity the workers will be crushed and beaten. United, their class solidarity will break a traitorous Government, astonish and hearten a continent, and save the situation.

In the meantime, those affected will wisely disobey the Government's illegal, undemocratic and tyrannical Proclamation. It must be resisted to the last ditch. Its success means your failure, whether you be married or whether you be single. The very making of the Proclamation is an attempt to sell your class and cause into servility. Do not be decoyed or deceived into thinking that, if married, you will save your own skin by sacrificing the single man. Introduced piecemeal, conscription, where coquetted with, has ultimately embraced all.

Therefore, stand together in defiant protest against an infamous and unconstitutional Proclamation intended to wreck your unionism, lessen your standard of subsistence, terrorise your hearth and home, and manacle you and your children. Refuse to be bullied or lied or voted into the slavery of military control, under which your progress—the admiration of a world—will be stayed, and your life made unendurable.

Already behind the scenes the foe is in high glee at the "split" he has successfully manoeuvred in the Labour Movement by breeding an insolent disregard for the mandate of the rank and file. For the rank and file it is now or never that it must justify itself—its rights and its duties.

Fellow workers, Trades Unionism is your trenches, emancipation is your flag, solidarity is your bayonet, and the stop-work meeting your machine gun.

Onward to victory! Stop work and vindicate your claims, and win respect for your demands. Thus, you march in a deathless army.

DO NOT BE HALF-HEARTED OR DOWN HEARTED.
LABOUR CONQUERS ALL.
For the National Executive,
J. CURTIN, Secretary.

THE FARMER AND HIS GUN

By Ben Quarmby.

In the *Manchester Evening News* for December 8th there appeared a special article by one John Bowra, devoted to the work of an 84-year-old Cheshire farmer, looking after his farm and swearing by the old methods, ploughing with the hand plough, and sowing from the hopper by hand, and holding a justifiable pride in the possession of implements that had belonged to his ancestors.

Illustrated with two photographs, the first of which shows the old farmer sowing seeds from the hopper in his field, with his collie dog "Flash" at heel, the second giving a close-up of the farmer with his gun, letterpress stating that the gun is the farmer's "most treasured possession."

It seemed peculiar to me that this conclusion could be reached by any writer after his hearing the farmer's praise for his old possessions, or by any farmer owning and taking pride in such, so much so that I suspected the hand of the warmad journalist, with the result that I wrote to the farmer as follows:—

Mr. Tom Chesters,
Smithy Bank Farm,
Burwardsley, Ches.

Dear Sir,—I have enjoyed and read with great interest the article on your activities in the "Manchester Evening News" of to-day's date, and wish you a happy and lengthy continuance of your healthy and useful occupation.

But surely the "News" reporter is wrong when he says "your most treasured possession" is a gun?

What would "Flash," the collie, think of this statement could he read? Surely you will inform me this is not correct, so that I can form a better estimate of your love of nature, of the soil, and the faithful followers and friends of man.

All the best wishes and seasonable greetings.

Yours very truly,
BEN QUARMBY.

In reply to this letter, I received the following from the farmer:—

Smithy Bank Farm,
Burwardsley, Chester,
Ches., 12/12/1944.

Dear Sir,—Now I take the pleasure in writing to thank you for your kind letter, and photographs which I received to-day, Tuesday.

"Yes," I quite agree with you when you state the matter about the Gun.

The photographs show that "MY MOST TREASURED POSSESSION" IS THE HOPPER.

Again I want to thank you for your kindness.

All Best Wishes and Seasonable Greetings.

Yours Very Truly,
(Signed) TOM CHESTERS.

This of course proves that I was right in my impression of the false ring of the article, and in my estimate of the farmer without having interviewed him, but of the impression given even by the illogical writing of the author of the article.

The article told us that old Tom's *youthful* ambitions were to possess a watch and a gun, but was a prevarication when it misled the reader into believing that the gun was still the most-treasured possession. Tom has learnt something since he was a youth, but our reporter still seems to be fonder of the gun, that of the pen, which is much mightier.

Wishing to see this false impression corrected in the paper in which the article had originally appeared, I wrote in the following terms to the *Manchester Evening News*:—

December 14, 1944.

Dear Sir,—I read with interest your article on 84 year old Tom Chesters, and his work on his 22 acre farm, in your issue of December 8, but in view of the two photographs and the man's love of the possessions of his ancestors, and of the mention of "Flash," his dog, I could not bring myself to believe the statement of your reporter, that the gun was this farmer's most treasured possession, with the result that I wrote to the farm, and have received a reply from Tom Chesters in which he says he agrees with me when I state the matter about the gun. The photographs show that "My most treasured possession is the Hopper."

I trust you will publish this as a correction to the erroneous impression created by your article.

Yours faithfully,
BEN QUARMBY.

Up to when I write this, on Christmas Day, the letter has not appeared in the *News*, although I expect a letter of correction to have some priority, and am aware of the limitations of space. Other letters have appeared on trivial matters, and I conclude it has been thought unimportant, and feel justified in seeking other means of publicity.

The simple inclusion of the words "near Chester" in relation to the whereabouts of the farm would have been useful information to many readers, not one of many I questioned knew where it was, neither did I until I received the reply letter from the farm.

Further clarity about the "hand plough" would also have been enlightening, as it was later stated that the farm boasted two horses. It is not clear whether these are used for ploughing or not, and an illustration of the plough would have been more in keeping with the nature of the article than that of a gun.

We have, however, been treated to a further article in the same paper by Bowra, this time the hardy annual of the lost property office sale of the transport department, and the usual cheap umbrella lots, a subject much less harmful than guns and more to the writer's taste than the construction of an informative logically developed article on a worth-while subject.

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THE CHALLENGE of the PACIFIST SOCIALIST: AN ORIENTATION

By George W. Hartmann.

[George W. Hartmann is Professor of Educational Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University. He was a foreign travelling post-doctoral fellow of the Social Science Research Council in 1930-1931 and the third President of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (1939). Among his publications are "Gestalt Psychology" (1935) and "Educational Psychology" (1941). He has also served as Editor of "The Social Frontier" and the Yearbook on "Industrial Conflict." Dr. Hartmann is a member of the Board of Directors of "The Conscientious Objector," U.S.A., and the Executive Committee of the U.S.A. War Resisters League. He has written an excellent pamphlet, "Pacifism and its Opponents in the light of Value Theory."—Ed.]

The two great all-inclusive reforms that World Society of the Twentieth Century must undergo are easily identified. One is an attempt to meet the universal need for a standard of living possible in an advanced technological culture, i.e., Socialism. The other involves a change in personal behaviour and institutional practices on a large or small scale so that the violent "solution" of group difficulties is replaced by pacifist conduct. Stated in slogan form, the first is an effort to conquer or eliminate poverty, and the second an endeavour to banish war from human experience.

That involuntary poverty is an evil which men should jointly do all in their power to end is something few moderns deny. The character-building attributes of self-denial and simplicity of life are unquestionable; but we should never confuse the corrupting effects of luxurious consumption with the stark degradation of body and mind resulting from poor or insufficient food, insanitary and ugly housing, little or no education, etc. So long as half the human race lacks these decencies, Socialists are in no danger of demoralising men by showering them with the material abundance a planning and sharing economy could provide. Compulsory scarcity of goods and service yields so few satisfactions that we can count on the elemental drives and needs of people to energise their quest for the plenty that might be theirs if we properly organised our resources to that end.

A similar situation exists in the search for a warless world with this important difference: whereas most Americans see no point in economic deprivations and hardships as such, a much larger number than we like to believe declare that if war is the price that must be paid for a certain type of business prosperity, why then let's have war. I suspect that many industrial and labour leaders are now in a mood where they are ready to accept the prospect of more or less permanent and constant war as the most convenient means of keeping the economy going full blast. What if it does mean an annual casualty rate of a half million? In a country with the population of the United States, this loss can be easily balanced by the birth-rate. If some must die in order that others may continue to eat, and eat well—that's just an unfortunate reality, since one can't expect to get something for nothing.

This sketch emphasises what must already be clear, viz., that the popular acceptance of a Socialist outlook (broadly interpreted) is much further along than the acceptance of the pacifist view. Various factors contribute to this discrepancy; I am concerned here merely to note it and not to explain it, for it obviously contributes to the tension which occasionally manifests itself (1) between socialism and pacifism as "movements," and (2) between the two ideological loyalties in the same person.

As I see both the national and the world scenes, Socialism needs Pacifism to supplement it and make it a more attractive orderly whole; similarly, pacifism probably requires socialism to round out its implied program of community reconstruction. Oscar Ameringer used to say that Labour without the Socialist ideal was a corpse, but that the Socialist Party without Labour support was a spook. I wish I could say something apt about the other dyadic relation with which we are here concerned—the most appropriate figure that occurs to me is that of the wedded state. Socialism and Pacifism are like husband and wife—they need each other and self-realisation is impossible without the dependable presence and contribution of the other partner.

As in all pairings, we can distinguish between wife-dominated and husband-dominated families, i.e., between an individual who is a Socialist-Pacifist or a Pacifist-Socialist. Normally, the distinction is something only logic-choppers would worry about, but in a chronic crisis age like ours, the difference can be quite meaningful. I propose that we call a person who was originally a Socialist and then accepted the pacifist addendum a pacifist-socialist, and one in whom the order of development was reversed a socialist-pacifist. In mature and well-integrated personalities, the differences would be purely historical or genetic, there would be no true functional or operational distinctions in behaviour.

The failure of Socialists generally to absorb the pacifist position into themselves for the sake of their own completeness seems to me to be one explanation of the contemporary feebleness of international socialism as a conscious political force. I know of nothing which weakened the pre-1914 Social Democratic movement in Europe more than the fact that Socialists from all classes of society generally accepted non-pacifist or anti-pacifist directions in times of crisis. The spectacle of Socialists slaying each other merely because they were enrolled as soldiers in rival armies is too sickening to linger over. It is worse than nominal Christians murdering each other, because Socialism presumably was a newer and more vital creed. No amount of re-interpretation, analysis, and nationalisation about this war can make us feel comfortable when I think of a single member of the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. in uniform, a condition which means that that person stands ready to kill another human being on order of a "superior" officer. Even more repulsive is the butchery of the Russo-German front where millions have slain each other in the name of two rival forms of pseudo-socialism, which the unfortunate participants were unable to distinguish from the real atricle. Is it surprising if many potential converts, noting this incongruous tragedy, observe to themselves that in a pinch Socialists are really no better than and just as nationalistic as other folks? And since the behavorial gain is so small, what is the point in being a Socialist—even a democratic one—if it condones participation in wholesale slaughter?

The plain duty of the Socialist is to grow up, to learn from these painful lessons, and to accept the pacifist approach as an essential and indivisible part of himself. Conversely, the non-socialist pacifist wins integrity for himself when he incorporates the Socialist goal into his pattern of values. There are some pacifists—chiefly, but not always, of the narrowly religious variety—who deplore war and all its associated phenomena, but who seem blissfully ignorant of the political and economic conditions that foster international hostilities. Such pacifists will vote Republican in 1944, partly because of a genuine distaste for the blatantly militarist aspects of the Democratic Administration, but also because of the strong pull of "conservative" business practices. They fail to see man in his total cultural setting and the need to change more than one set of attitudes simultaneously if a balanced citiizen is to result.

Peace and Justice are co-ordinate values indissolubly linked together. The successful pursuit of one requires the simultaneous quest of the other. To speak of Peace or Justice is a false appraisal of the relationship. All efforts to correct injustices by war merely increase the inequalities of life. Yet it is also time that a peace that is not a Just Peace is recognised as being merely suspended or disguised warfare.

The roots of both Socialism and Pacifism are in such moral conceptions as fraternity and humanitarianism. To separate them is to divorce what both Nature and Man have decreed must be one if either are to live.

SOCIALISM IN LANARKSHIRE

W. E. CURRIE

25 YEARS' WORK FOR SOCIALISM.

Mr. W. E. Currie Honoured.

Members of the United Socialist Movement in Lanarkshire held a social and dance in the Y.M. Institute, Motherwell, on Friday evening, December 22, 1944.

Mr. C. Foley presided over a large and representative gathering which included members of Labour and Socialist organisations in the county.

After tea reference was made by the Chairman to the excellent progress made by the Socialist Movement in Lanarkshire. At last it was being recognised that no matter to what organisation or party members were attached, they must go forward as one united body if Socialism was to be achieved. One of their number who had been largely responsible for establishing this unity was Mr. W. E. Currie, whose record of service to the Socialist Movement over a quarter of a century was well known. It was to recognise that service that a testimonial had been raised some time ago. To-night he had much pleasure in calling on Mr. Blaeford to make the presentation.

WALLET OF NOTES.

Mr. Blaeford, in asking Mr. Currie to accept a wallet of notes as a token of their appreciation, referred to the splendid service rendered by Mr. Currie, particularly in the interests of ex-servicemen.

Mr. Guy Aldred, Glasgow, said he was glad to be present that evening to pay tribute to a great Socialist friend and comrade. He spoke highly of the work performed by Mr. Currie over a long period of years.

Tributes were also paid by Mr. Robert Weir and other members of the Labour and Socialist movement.

Mr. J. Carracher, Hamilton, and Mr. L. Fisher, Burnbank, also spoke highly of the service rendered by Mr. Currie, while letters of appreciation were received from Members of Parliament.

EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY.

Mr. Currie, in thanking all concerned for the honour which had been bestowed on him, said that he felt that this was not only a personal tribute but an expression of the solidarity and comradeship which existed among them.

The dance which followed proved an outstanding success, the duties of M.C. being ably carried out by Mr. C. Foley. Songs were rendered by Mrs. Freel and Mr. J. Ewart, while Miss Betty Boyd earned much applause by her delightful elocution.

Mr. Bob Carroll provided the accompaniments with his usual efficiency and skill.

—"Motherwell Times," Friday, December 29, 1944.

A record of Comrade Currie's Socialist activity was published in these columns for June, 1944. His more recent work and challenges on behalf of serving soldiers, ex-servicemen from the last war, and conscientious objectors will be reviewed and recorded in an early issue.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
London, W.C.1

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11 a.m.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

"The Britisher will always fight and die, if need be, for the freedom of some other nation, but rarely for his own freedom and security. We are, in fact, more famous for our love of fair play than our ability to see beyond the end of our own noses." In the above passage, Mr. R. Scrutton has, as American slang puts it, "said a mouthful." Indeed, how much happier the world would be if the people of *all* nations could learn the simple lesson that it is better to mind your own business and put your own house in order than meddle in other people's affairs; also, that it avails little to display the courage of a lion in resisting alien tyrants on behalf, it may be, of an alien land, if, in relation to your own tyrants, you display the qualities of a sheep and rabbit combined.

In the report of the Liberator (Monetary and Foreign Trade Reform) Council it is stated that "the Government have bowed before the storm and, under pressure of M.P.'s of all parties, have postponed indefinitely discussion of the Bretton Woods Plan (Final Act). It is thought, by informed circles, that this means that the Plan is dead, but the Liberator Council have decided to continue their campaign until an official pronouncement is made." If the Plan, which has as its object the economic enslavement of the world by a gang of Wall Street financiers, *is* dead, it constitutes a very striking victory for the advocates of a sane order in foreign trade and money-creation.

The notes published by the Negotiated Peace Campaign point out that in Germany in almost every election from 1871 to 1912 there was a steady decline in the votes polled for the militarist and imperialist "Right" parties, and that even under the Nazi régime over 25 per cent. of the votes cast at every election have been Labour, in spite of a discouragement of opposition parties severe, though not, as in Russia, absolute.

On December 12th Mr. Morrison reported in the House of Commons that food and medical supplies are being sent to the Channel Islands and that "the German Government have granted a safe conduct to the ship which will convey these supplies to the Islands." So much for the yarn that we cannot negotiate with the Nazis because they cannot be trusted and that no agreement on the question of the restriction of bombing could have been reached when Germany offered to discontinue the use of V1 if we would abandon our wholesale bombing of non-military objectives in Germany.

Farmers have asked for German prisoner-of-war labour. This will never do. What use is it for the British and American Military Headquarters to issue fierce and foolish orders against fraternisation lest the troops should find out that the Germans are ordinary human beings, if the same discovery is to be made by our agricultural population at home? It is, however, reported that some Land Girls threaten to go on strike if they are asked to work alongside German prisoners. Cannot these Miss Vansittarts be sent on a lecture tour to those districts where British girls are proving a bit *too* friendly with Italian prisoners?

Nominal Socialists have done many disgraceful things in this war contrary to the principles of true Socialism and Christianity. The imprisonment in concentration camps, under harsh conditions, of conscientious objectors, by New Zealand ex-pacifist Labour Ministers, should cause the latters' names to stink in the nostrils of decent men for all time—unless, of course, the offenders should achieve a very genuine repentance.

"A war-devastated country with a population of millions of miserable and illiterate people swept up in all sorts of major and minor wars, petty quarrels and disputes, and massacred, pillaged and ravaged by local and national tyrants for more than twenty years. For this length of time armed bands, some large enough to be called armies, were roaming about the land of China, extorting taxes and tribute from the people wherever they went, massacring and robbing wherever they found resistance, and fighting with one another for local supremacy. Their armies were equipped with European weapons and their representatives and officers came to Europe to visit its great armament firms—Creusot, Vickers, Krupps—and to place orders for the latest type of weapons."

The above passage is an extract from Fenner Brockway's "Death Pays a Dividend," an up-to-date exposure of the international armament racket which everyone should read. It shows that, badly as the Japanese have often behaved on the Continent of Asia, they have treated the Chinese little, if at all, worse, than the latter have treated one another. Nor has the conduct of the white races in the Far East been anything to write home about. Which is likely to do more good to the peoples of Asia and to the world in general—years more fighting to enable the white races to recover their more or less ill-gotten gains and deprive the Japanese of theirs, or an effort to secure peace on terms which will impose on both belligerents the duty of showing greater regard for the interests of native peoples and a willingness to develop and share economic resources for the benefit of all?

Mr. Churchill has now made it finally clear that Poland—the country for which we went to war—is to be sacrificed and our pledges to her are to be broken in order to appease the Soviet Government. This seems to be causing very strong feeling in America, and some feeling even in our own country. The *Manchester Guardian*, after many years of untrammelled warmongering, during which it has been disloyal to those principles of true Liberalism which in its early days gained it a high reputation, now complains, "This is not a Polish crisis; it is a crisis of the United Nations." Well, what else could it expect than a crisis of such a kind in such a war unreasonably prolonged?

Meanwhile reports regarding the state of Eastern Europe, all pointing to the same conclusion, and none needing to be taken from Fascist sources, come in thick and fast. The Co-ordinating Committee of American Polish Associations protested against the refusal of the Soviet Government to permit Unrra to enter the liberated portions of Poland for relief work and suggests, very reasonably, that unless the Soviet Government changes its attitude, it should be requested to withdraw from the Unrra Council and renounce its claim to American aid.

The *Catholic Herald* reports mass deportations into Russia of Lithuanian citizens and the murder of Bishop Motulionis, a church leader of great devotion and courage. Also, the murder of Dean Vladas Mironas and the passing of death sentences on relatives of Antonas Garmis, chairman of the Lithuanian Red Cross, who had condemned Soviet terror methods. A relative of an English friend of the writer's, living in Sweden, reports the arrival of large numbers of refugees from the Baltic States fleeing from the Soviet "liberation" and the fate which appears already to have overtaken many of their fellow-countrymen.

Further details of the vindictive terms imposed on Finland include a demand for the handing over of "war criminals" to the mock justice of a Russian tribunal. It is high time to face facts. The Soviet Government is as ruthless in its foreign and domestic policy as the German Government, and may even in some cases be worse. "Unconditional surrender" is only another name for unlimited idiocy. The right course for the Democracies is to hold the balance between the rival tyrannies, and compel both, as the price of peace, to observe the decencies of civilised behaviour, not forgetting to do the same themselves. Certainly Russia has a right to protection from military attack, but so also have the Baltic States and Poland, and so also has Germany, and this protection cannot be found in the annexation of the territory of neighbour states, but only in total world disarmament. The rulers of the Democracies are well aware, and now sometimes even admit, that the world of tyranny, violence and injustice that is the best that unconditional surrender can now achieve contains little or no hope of lasting peace. If they lack the vision and courage to try the alternative, then the peoples they are supposed to represent should make them, before further lives are wasted in a struggle that lacks both sense and hope more obviously as each week goes by.

I cannot help feeling that many pacifists hardly realise the strength of their own position and, by being too diffident and pessimistic, are not as effective as they might be.

In March, 1944, I attempted a vigorous and fairly comprehensive challenge to the more extreme militarist position in the pamphlet "Straight Speaking," which many readers of *The Word* will have seen. The pamphlet has had a wide circulation and I myself have sent it to dozens of pro-war people, including all the most rabid I could find. In some cases I have issued a very definite challenge to my contacts to send a reasoned and weighty answer, if they could. With one solitary exception, not a single individual has shown himself, or herself, prepared to stand up to "Straight Speaking" in fair argument. The exception just referred to—a professor—sent a reply which even the most impartial judge could hardly consider "weighty," as it consisted largely of personal criticism—and he declined to face a second round!

Surely, if we have a case, growing stronger every month, which we can present to our opponents with the confident challenge "You may meet this with abuse, but you cannot by fair argument and I don't suppose you will even try!" we can take our stand with more assurance?

HEAVY-FOOTED WOMAN.

Heavy-footed woman,
Mother of seven.
At this time of the year
She lies down on her bed of straw
To gift to the world
Another child.
Baggy-eyed woman,
Washing clothes in a box of a kitchen,
Five stairs up in a slum,
Asthmatic, and gasping,
For the steam in the kitchen
Envelopes her like a mist.
Three children asking for bread,
But they'll have to go hungry
Till father comes home with his dole.
Weary-hearted woman,
Just one of a million,
Just one of a million,
Yet, perhaps, in her womb
A child that will live for ever,
A genius that will reshape
The beauty of the world,
And link his name with the stars.

—JOE CORRIE.

"A CALL TO MANHOOD."

The Christian Pacifist reviewed this work in its issue for December, 1944. The reviewer wrote:

Dr. Aldred is never dull, and these essays, most of them editorials reprinted from "The Word," though not all of equal interest now, have a literary quality and a penetrating judgment that justify their preservation in book form. Some of them written during the last war afford material for an interesting comparison with the present time. We particularly commend "Christianity, Militarism and Espionage," which is a study of 1888, and "The Vansittarts Dined with Hitler," which quotes Mr. Ward Price's description of Sir Robert and Lady Vansittart's fraternisation with Nazi leaders in 1935. Prospective members of the "win the Peace" movement should have a look at this first!

In another column, our contemporary notices the Duke of Bedford's pamphlet on finance:

"The Financiers' Little Game" (Strickland Press, 18 pp. 2d.) is a piece of forceful writing by the Duke of Bedford exposing the abuses of the money market.

The Call, New York, in its issue for December 1, lists *A Call to Manhood* in its *Vital Pamphlets* for Socialist study.

OUR LETTER-BOX

FROM NEW ZEALAND.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—It is almost a year since I wrote to you. The "Word" has been arriving regularly, much to my amazement, as I have heard of it being withheld from someone here.

I am enclosing a five-shilling postal note in this envelope, and am forwarding another five-shilling note in another letter. Please send me Eastmann's "Marxism," your own work, "Communism," and anything else you think there is a chance of my receiving. I leave the whole matter to your discretion. Take a percentage for your deficit fund if you think fit.

Sincerely yours,

J. K. ALEXANDER.

Dunedin, N.Z., 11-10-44.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Your letter of August 12 arrived on Wednesday last (October 4), and I want to thank you very much for all you are doing to feature the stand that Sydney has taken.

I am hoping that the September "Word" will not be intercepted by the Censor here and virtually banned. Not long ago a boy in Dunedin sent you an airgraph asking for the "Word" to be posted to him and arranging for the subscription, and a week later his letter was returned by Censor saying that "ALL GUY ALDRED'S PUBLICATIONS" were banned in this country!

I received the August issue yesterday. When Sydney was in gaol near Christchurch, he was allowed to receive the "Word," so I am going to try again, now that he is back in Hantu prison. You may have heard that he, and the five other men who were in solitary confinement for refusing to co-operate with the detention system, were taken before the magistrate quite suddenly and all given "prison for the duration." Lincoln Efford regards it as a strategic triumph for the men, and I certainly think that the pressure we brought to bear must have had some effect this time.

It is tremendously heartening to know that all over the world there are individuals determined to speak the truth as they see it. And how this mad, sad world, is in need of such! But it will need more than a handful of such people to work as leaven through "the dull, dense void" if World War III is to be averted. The future prospects are pretty well hopeless at the moment.

Yours sincerely,

MONICA TOWNEND.

Christchurch, N.Z., October 8, 1944.

Hantu Prison, Private Bay,
National Park, 29/10/1944.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Once a fortnight we are permitted to write one letter to a friend and as yesterday I received from my wife, together with a bundle of other literature, copies of the "Word" for August and September, I wish to use this precious letter immediately to say how much I appreciate all you have done, and I know will continue to do, to serve the cause we have mutually at heart. Needless to say, I got a surprise in looking through the latter issue of your monthly, and can but thank you again and trust that the revelation of such matter will help to stir up a few more people to action. I would like to say here, that in all my protests against the action taken against me in this country, I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to stick to principles and have not attempted to use any qualifications I might have as a lever to gain special consideration.

At times, in moments of depression, some of us fellows get a feeling that we are bumping our heads against a stone wall, and often wonder whether our minute efforts are making any impression either on the Government or on the public in general—the opposing forces having at present such terrific power and in control of practically every vehicle of expression that touches any appreciable section of the public. Despite such apparent futility of our stand, however, we do know, at heart, that such a course of action is absolutely necessary if this decadent age is ever going to pull itself out of the mire in which it flounders; if a recession to the Dark Ages is to be avoided. You can understand what wonderful encouragement it is for us to know of the excellent work that is being done by you, and men like the Duke of Bedford and Rhys Davies, M.P. I assure you that you have the very sincere wishes in your future work of many people out here.

The steps taken by the Newcastle War Resisters Group, as announced in your July issue, is excellent, and gives weight to the few who are trying to stimulate such action by the corresponding Union in this country. After the present holocaust is over (and how we long for that day), I foresee a huge task confronting us, and I hope that progressive-minded people will be able to sink their minor differences and pull together in order that there never will be a repetition of the conditions pervading in 1939. That in such collaboration wooliness of thought and action can be avoided is testified by the brilliant joint work of yourself and the Duke of Bedford.

I am also impressed with the contacts you are establishing with like-minded people overseas—such voluntary collaboration is the only real approach which can be made towards the development of the international spirit. What a valuable increment of association can be so gained for those who work in the respective countries!

This place is classed as a prison farm and the conditions here are far more congenial than in the more solidly established institutions such as one of my previous residences. At the end of my last three months' sentence, on July 4 (Independence Day), I was returned to the detention camp and kept there for nine weeks, after which period I was re-sentenced to prison for the duration of my detention. The conditions here seem very pleasant, indeed, after those nine weeks, and are almost like freedom itself. What effect the real product will have it is hard to imagine.

The countryside here is very beautiful at this time of the year with all nature bursting with life; it is truly a time to renew one's faith in humanity.

With every good wish, and trusting that you enjoy the best of health as I certainly do.

Yours sincerely,

SIDNEY TOWNEND.

AUSTRALIA NO-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—A copy of "The Word" (January, 1944, Vol. 5, No. 6) has been handed to me by a friend, so I thought I would write to you. Under separate cover I am sending you a collection of Australian papers which will acquaint you with all the activities of the movement here. I hope you will help us in our work. We are members of the No-Conscription Campaign, and meet each Sunday night in the Temperance Hall, Melbourne. The meetings are public and the lectures of topical interest. Your journal seems to have readers in this city, and they would be most welcome at our meetings. The N.C.C. came into being over 12 months ago, when the Prime Minister, John Curtin, amended the Defence Act, to compel men and women, I suppose, to fight outside Australia. Mr. Blackburn, our late President, was the only member of Parliament to oppose the Bill. Some members of the Labour Party were ready to support him, but were bound down by the Party. Many, maybe most, Trade Union leaders supported Curtin, and also the Communist Party.

At the last Federal Elections, Maurice Blackburn stood as an Independent Labour candidate, and was defeated on the preferences. Workers were led to support Curtin and the Labour Party through this rally in support of the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist Party. Blackburn had been excluded previously from the Labour Party because he dared to speak for the Anglo-Soviet Friendship League. But he acted from principle and was not prepared to support conscription just because "Communists" wanted it.

Comrade Blackburn is dead, but we carry on his good work. We opposed the recent Referendum, which the majority of the Australian people rejected, because we felt that, since the Amended Defence Act was military conscription, the Referendum was industrial conscription.

My friend drew my attention to the title of Rhys Davies' Cosmo address: "Has Conscription Come to Stay?" I am quite sure that we are doing effective work towards answering this question with a definite "No."

Those opposed to our activity and stand tell us that our case is hopeless: "Conscription has come to stay." Our reply is the challenge: "Has It? You wait and see. The Australian people have never supported conscription."

We proved our case in the recent Referendum. The people gave their answer.

I am glad to note your strong opposition to Conscription. We are often told that Australia is the only country that has not been conscripted. U.S.A., Britain, Canada and New Zealand are held up as examples. It is good to receive reports of resistance.

We are told that this is a war against Fascism. Let the "democratic" leaders (sic) produce some proof of this fact, by not developing a corporate State inside their democracies. Let them not foist Fascism on the workers inside Australia.

I am a student here of the Melbourne Labour College.

It may be of interest to you to know that my grandfather, Robert McNeil, saw the light of day on the shores of Bonnie Scotland.

Best wishes and kind regards in the great struggle.

Yours fraternally,

JEAN ALMOND.

Melbourne, Vic, Australia, October 31, 1944.

Dear Guy,—"The Word" arrives fairly regularly. It is difficult to send any financial assistance from this part of the world under present regulations, but I will make further enquiries. I want to help.

It is a splendid thing that Humanist Society of Friends: I trust the time will arrive when it will be officially represented here. It will do more good than all the talk about Union or Re-Union of the Churches. It is good to see Bottomly's name mentioned.

Yours,

A. E. COSTAR.

Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 6-11-44.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I held off writing until I could report receipt of the six packages you sent. Four were received soon after receipt of the letter and a fifth some days later. That doesn't seem a bad average, but since each package contained different booklets, imagination rather magnifies the loss of the sixth package. I have read only a few of the things sent but, frankly, some of these nearly knocked me out. I am referring especially to the concluding article on Read in *The Word*.

Socialism to me has rather a respectable connotation (though I know little enough about it) but Anarchy in my mind is the essence of selfish lawlessness; terrorism; and to find them used synonymously sent me reeling.

"To hell with culture." I was aghast! Either I am addle-brained or Read is.

"Suicide is more dishonourable than murder," says he. It is more honourable to injure others than one's self? Funny code! A ghastly code. No wonder we have wars. And this man's selfish ravings are touted as exemplary?

I am so happy not to find these corroding sentiments in the little booklets by the Duke. He really is rare. It amazes one to find so much *active* nobility and high-mindedness in this sordid world. I haven't read all of them but I should like to have more of those I have read so far, especially "Straight Speaking" which, like Mr. Cornell, I find chock-full of information and logic. Oh, I forgot doesn't Semantics claim logic to be illogical?

I have one up on you. I was in your country way back in 1909. Arrived on the Allen Line, Ionian, I think. That was the Golden Age. Or did it only seem "Golden" to me?

I was just young enough to be enchanted by everything. I wasn't lifting any corners. Come to think of it I don't believe the "Golden Age" part was all fantasy at that. No class hatred; no race hatred. Then the "Four Freedoms" were so much a part of our lives that like breathing, we were unconscious of them. That was before nations, for their own ends, destroyed the character of other nations, before the hate-mills of the first World War started their baleful grinding.

How different were things when I was again in Europe in 1921. But you must know about the misery then. You have had plenty good writers who covered that period. You British have been more fortunate than we in that respect.

Do you know it was impossible to get a copy of "Unfinished Victory" here even in '39 and '40? A friend finally got a few copies from Canada but the source soon dried up. That also was his experience (and he is a book merchant) with other British books. Ponsonby's "Falsehood" is still to be had, I believe, but not locally.

Sincerely,

ELSA GRUBBS.

Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., Nov. 24, 1944.

Dear Guy,—This morning when I asked for details about your Sunday meeting, I was piqued that I had been unable to attend, owing to a very bad cold I could not throw off. According to my comrades who were there, you gave one of the very best lectures they had heard.

I often wonder how you manage to struggle on rendering the service you do, not only on the platform and in the press, but privately, with your encouragement, assistance and advice. I am sure that, whether they express it or not, the people you help appreciate what you do. The world owes you a lot of harmony, happiness, and rest, and it is bad for you to take things too hard. But harmony seems impossible in the topsy-turvy chaotic world in which we live, and you probably would find no happiness in easing down the struggle. Still, you need rest.

I think that the December issue of "The Word" is extra good. I was pleased to see "Gowrie's" report of the N.C.L. meeting. Your address made good reading and I liked Comrade Rhys Davies' rebuke to his own party and to the snug, conceited, self-righteous Britishers who support the notion that their mission is to educate the German people. I am glad to see that you lend encouragement and support to the live-wire Socialist Welshman by giving his anti-war stand as much publicity as you can. I hope that Comrade Davies and yourself can keep the struggle up. Perhaps both of you can give the Labour and Communist militants a red face. I doubt it, for they are too much possessed by the opportunist careerism of power politics.

The speech delivered by Francis, Duke of Bedford, against the Seditious Meetings Bill, was marked with sincerity towards the working-class. I was enamoured with its clear and unambiguous language.

The same characteristics mark the present Duke's new feature, "Notes and Comments." They are pertinent and humorous.

Your reply to the American Anarchist editor, Frank, is dignified and powerful. It will give him a little study before he replies—if he ever does.

Best wishes. I hope that next year's first issue of "The Word" will be as good as the December, 1944, number.

Fraternally,

HUGH LAMBERT.

Paisley, December 6, 1944.

Dear "Richard Carlile the Second,"—Congratulations on December issue of "The Word." If only ALL the people of Britain could read it, instead of the rubbish they are spoon-fed with—by Press, Radio, Cinema, Church, and Professional office seekers.

I note a contributor to the "Letter Box"—Arthur French—thinks you are an Anarchist.

I wonder whether he can give us his definition of an Anarchist, and then perhaps you will tell him what an Anarchist is.

I do not think there has been any word in our vocabulary that has been so distorted and misrepresented as this word has, very few persons really know.

It reminds us of the interpretation put on the word Bolshevist—which also few people knew the meaning of when it was used first in this country.

When I look back over the years since Shepherds Bush, I realise that no man has fought so hard against our rotten system as you have, hence my addressing you as above.

I do, however, feel that the future will produce some more who will carry on the struggle.

Sincerely

FRANK BURGESS.

Birmingham, Dec. 17, 1944.

Dear Aldred,—I, as much as the Duke of Bedford, cannot make out why you are an Atheist, even though I have read your books with care and followed your evolution with more than sympathy. To deny God appears to me just to deny free will, which seems most fantastic in a man such as yourself, who daily makes such good use of his will. I think that suffering just unhinges you a little there, and no wonder: for suffering, in this world, can be so appalling. I have, in the past, gone through what you have, but I am a deist, or rather, I should say, a mystic.

All the same, if Bedford is puzzled that you are an Atheist, I am just as puzzled that he is a Christian.

Kropotkin was a great inspiration of my youth. No one more than myself deplored the attitude he adopted in his old age. It was a terrific blow to me. Yet I think that we are rather too severe towards Kropotkin. I may be wrong, but I, personally, think he regretted his foolishness, and died of a broken heart. It is no excuse, no doubt, but after all, none of us are infallible; and, integrity, so valued by us both, so clear to us in our own case, is a matter not easy to guage *in complete fairness* in other people. Could we do that we would know more of that mystical animal called MAN!

I have read Berneri's *Workers in Stalin's Russia*, a useful little book because it is not expensive and presents many facts in a nutshell, though it is in parts inadequate and somewhat crude. For instance, in the chapter on women, the author seems to represent the acme of woman's rights over her own body as the right to abortion. The Soviet's coarse policy is not only that it failed to guarantee this right to abortion for very long, but far more that it never had enough imagination to see further than abortion, and never upheld birth control. This Margaret Sanger shows in her autobiography. Still, the book is not bad.

I will not say that I send best wishes for a happy New Year—it will hardly be so—but certainly for a happy continuation of your good work. And let us hope that 1945 will bring us peace—for what it may be worth.

In the struggle, fraternally,

F. LAFITTE-CYON.

North Finchley, London, N.12, Dec. 24, 1944.

THE HUMANIST TRADITION.

There was glory in ancient Greece
Where Socrates and Epicurus
Gave imprisoned truth release,
And man, new aims and aspirations.

There was grandeur in old Rome—
Aurelius, Cicero, Lucretius—
Towered like St. Peter's
Over all the mental landscape.

In the era of rebirth
There were Leonardo, Valla,
Testifying to the worth
Of the man-centred mind and spirit.

The Enlightenment brought Voltaire,
And the great Encyclopaedists—
Diderot, and D'Alembert—
Then came Hume, and Mill, and Darwin.

Our own land had Franklin, Paine,
Jefferson, and Ingersoll—
Men of free, creative brain,
Crowning Humanist tradition.

—EVA INGERSOLL WAKEFIELD.

VANSITTART'S APPEAL.

I have just received an appeal on behalf of an Orphanage, signed by Lord Vansittart. On Thursday, March 26, 1942, Lord Vansittart criticised my parody, "Onward Conscript Soldiers" published in "The Word," saying that it was "a piece of grubby doggerel, that any third form boy would disown." He asked for my suppression on the ground that the poem was an evidence that I had "never grown up!"

Philanthropist, you did not like my verse
On an Archbishop who supported war.
I now return the compliment. I find
Your sense of humour lamentably poor.

—BEDFORD.

Intellectual Irresponsibles

Our articles on the subject of "Anarchism and Integrity" have led to wide discussion. It is impossible to print all the letters that we have received. But we intend to open our columns to full and free discussion.

One letter received calls for a short comment. It is from comrade C. Philip Skilton. He writes:—

Dear Comrade,—Your attack on Eric Gill in the October "Word" seems to call for challenge. The article is often not without truth but it is entirely without balance or charity. To dismiss Eric Gill as a very commonplace man of talent and his autobiography as unnecessary is bad judgment if not sheer spite.

On page 111 of "Autobiography" Eric Gill wrote "my socialism was from the beginning a revolt against the intellectual degradation of the factory hands and the damned ugliness of all that capitalist-industrialism produced, and it was not primarily a revolt against the cruelty and injustice of the possessing classes or against the misery of the poor."

Gill was not an orthodox socialist; he may more accurately be described as a Catholic anti-industrialist. As such he did not lack integrity and as such he exposed the system against which we campaign in a more merciless and uncompromising manner than any other man of his time. His pacifism (which you deny) was preached up to his death in 1940 and when many Socialists had conveniently forgotten the basis of their creed — the brotherhood of man.

...Eric Gill's many writings (and let the Socialist and Pacifist reader study them all) have the virtue of a clarity and directness which come only from a decided mind and integrated philosophy; his engravings and his sculpture enable him to rank as one of the foremost of workers in these media. His letter designs will for ever remain among the most perfect that the hand of man has produced. (His own type, it may be noted, has been used to head the article in which you denounce him.)

It is difficult in a brief letter to rebut conclusively some of your remarks concerning Gill, and I have not the time to write a longer one; I hope, however, that an indication has been given that the other side to the question does, as usual, exist.

Yours sincerely,

C. PHILIP SKILTON.

This is a poverty-stricken piece of special pleading in defence of a worthless and overrated character. We have no spite in the matter. But we refuse to dispense charity at the expense of truth, since that is to sacrifice the welfare of mankind to the post-mortem reputation of one individual. Our philosophy does not permit such license.

Why did not comrade Skelton answer the specific factual charges brought against Gill, which were stated clearly and without abuse?

These charges concerned:—

(1) Gill's conduct in relation to the last war.

(2) His attitude towards "Christian Marriage."

(3) His reason for leaving the Fabian Society.

(4) The War Memorial business.

Skilton runs away from the facts chronicled because there is no answer to them. He runs away from them because they destroy utterly Gill's pacifist reputation. And he cannot bear to see his idol destroyed. We have no time for idols and hypocrisy.

Eric Gill lacked integrity, as shown in his autobiography, in relation to the issues of war, Socialism, and "Christian Marriage". If Skilton thinks otherwise, let him answer each specific charge and not take refuge in generalisations and wishful assertions.

Are we to condone Gill's cowardly, self-interested, and absolutely morally reprehensible attitude during the last war; his hypocrisy concerning "Christian Marriage"; his war memorial prostitution of talent; and his Fabian Society episode, because he invented type that has been used for heading an essay? We did not deny that he invented a certain face of type. We impeach his reputation as a moralist, a Socialist, a thinker, and a man. And his apologist pleads that he could design type. What excellence! And what a plea! The truth is that our indictment is unanswerable and Gill cannot be defended. The man was worthless. His reputation was a masquerade.

We ask every reader to re-read our indictment and then treat this apology with the contempt it merits. Why must Skilton, himself a conchie, defend a man who acted as a mean, average orthodox militarist in war-time? Gill would have dodged the issue to the end if he could have done and he did hide himself behind the execution of utterly worthless work. Certainly work that no Anarchist ought to applaud and defend.

We indicted Gill because Herbert Read applauded him as a true Socialist and Herbert Read is read and circulated by certain Anarchists as "an Anarchist" writer.

In "The Politics of The Unpolitical (1943)," Read writes:—

. . . . Among Christ's direct disciples we must include several philosophers and poets nearer to our time, whose message is still insistent and directly applicable to our present condition—Ruskin and Kropotkin, Morris and Tolstoy, Gandhi and Eric Gill. These modern representatives of what we might call an ancient tradition form a closely interrelated body of thought. Gandhi, for example, has declared his debt to Ruskin and Tolstoy; Gill is a disciple of Morris, who was himself a disciple of Ruskin; Kropotkin was closely associated with Morris.

This is one of the most rubbishy generalisations ever palmed off on a long-suffering and too long-victimised humanity. It is intellectual pretence from beginning to end and will not bear analysis. And Kropotkin was not closely associated with Morris. There was no association at all.

Indicting "the cult of leadership," in *Now, November*, 1943, Herbert Read denounces the trade union officials for their irresponsibility—adding "perhaps it deserves a stronger word"—and concludes:—

"Responsibility is the alternative to leadership, and the counterpart of equality."

This is well said. But if there is one intellectual who has developed irresponsibility throughout his life, it is Herbert Read. For him to demand responsibility in individuals is a blasphemy against integrity. Anarchism means nothing if it does not mean propaganda by example.

Without capacity to exhibit example, Herbert Read naturally applauds Eric Gill, as one drunkard supports another in the name of eternal friendship—while in his cups! Intellectual irresponsibility is the worst form of intoxication.

CONFESSION.

House of Commons, Friday, 15th Dec., 1944.

Mr. Ivor Thomas (Labour) (Keighley): It is melancholy to think that after more than five years of fighting, in a war which we entered to defend the independence of Poland, we should be debating whether Poland is to be a State at all. For, make no mistake, that is the issue before us. The frontier question is entirely subordinate. I shall develop that in a few moments; but let me say now that if the proposals made by the Prime Minister this morning are in fact carried out—and I am not criticising the Prime Minister, because I think he may have been caught in what the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. H. Nicolson) recently called a chain of circumstances—if these proposals are carried out, the real victors will not be the Lublin Committee. They will be my hon. Friend the Member for Westboughton (Mr. R. J. Davies) and my hon. Friends who, on most other days except Fridays, sit on the benches below the gangway; if their case is not indeed proved, it will be greatly strengthened, for their case is that war settles nothing. If, at the end of six years of fighting, we see the causes for which we entered the war trampled underfoot, then, indeed, that case will be very much strengthened, and it will lead to a sense of cynicism and shame which will make it very difficult to get the people of this country to go to war again, however sacred the cause.

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DEMOCRACY SPEAKING.

U.S.A. STUDIES

Freedom of Speech, of Writing, and the Right of Political Asylum are the fundamental traditions of the English-speaking nations. Daniel De Leon, speaking and writing as an avowed Socialist, emphasised this concept some years ago, when he insisted that the Stars and Stripes was, historically, the only Flag of Freedom among the national emblems. He explained that every Star and every Stripe stood for human liberty. War-zealous alleged American Socialists have exploited this notion to the limit for militarist purposes. It may have reconciled them to the red, white, and blue emblem that floats over the Capitol at Washington: but British Socialists will find it more difficult to explain the Union Jack. The truth is, Socialism has not emancipated itself from the thraldom of nationalism.

Traditionally, it may be true to assert that the English-speaking fraternities incline towards political and religious freedom. The belief is a healthy one, for it forwards the struggle towards the realisation of such equality of mental and social freedom. It defines a tendency, a strong tendency, but not a fact. Were the assertion true, there would be no colour problem in the United States and Jim Crowism would be unknown. The English-speaking countries are a long way off from enjoying social, political, or economic freedom, though the spirit of protest and demand is urgent. English is the language of liberty, but it has to use the opposition benches. As witness these notes, describing conditions operating in the United States during the interlude between two world wars.

* * *

Parliamentarians, alike in U.S.A. and Britain, since the outbreak of World War Two have denounced Fascists and Fascism, and justified the suspension of *habeas corpus* on the ground that the victims were Fascists, collaborators, and foreign-born loyalists of the Fascist Powers. This is not true. Between 1918 and 1939, the Democracies, as the United States and British Governments termed themselves, collaborated with the Fascist Powers against the enemies and victims of Fascism. In a word, the parliamentarians, now proclaiming their war-time ideals of democracy, treated democracy as an illusion when it most mattered. They evinced a real hatred of the great principle of democracy. They denied the right to Freedom of Speech and Writing, the right to complete liberty and equality of citizenship in these two matters, of the foreign-born. This was especially true in the United States. It was less true in Great Britain.

The right to speak, irrespective of place of birth, is not a concession to the speaker or writer who may be born abroad. Paine and Jefferson ought to have convinced American folk of this truth. It is the fundamental and unquestionable right of the citizen in his own country to learn all that anyone can say on any subject. The right of speech is to be original and not to be coerced. This has been maintained in Britain in other days and the heritage has been fought for in New England. The land of Theodore Parker, Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Whittier, and Whitman has no right to suffer oppression or admit despotism and dictatorship. We have stressed this theme in pre-war years and we return to it to-day with vigour.

* * *

The now forgotten (by Socialists) arrest and persecution of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallito give point to these remarks. Ferrero was confined on Ellis Island on December 28, 1935 and Sallito on January 14, 1936. The latter had been confined previously at Angels Island, San Francisco, for two months. Both were released, on a thousand dollar bond each, on April 4, 1936, pending an appeal to the Superior Federal Courts, against the refusal of Federal Judge Frances G. Caffey, of New York, to grant a writ of *habeas corpus*. In the end, their appeals were unsuccessful.

The immigration inspector of Oakland, Cal., filed this secret note to the Washington authorities, on September 8, 1935, with reference to Sallito:—

"I understand that the Italian Consul is very much interested in the deportation of this alien, and would be only too glad to issue a passport for this alien's return to Italy."

Edward W. Cahill, the District Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco, and erstwhile supporter of Upton Sinclair in his Epic campaign, communicated to Commissioner D. W. McCormick a statement that Ferrero and Sallito *"appear to be rather proud of being labelled as Anarchists,"* adding:—

"Should they succeed in overcoming the order of deportation, we shall have to be prepared to 'take it on the chin,' as the publicity will be very much against our department."

The question of *justice* was no concern of this cowardly official and supporter of Upton Sinclair. Ferrero and Sallito had committed the "offence" of letting a room to the English-speaking Anarchist paper *Man*! Therefore the question of democracy and constitutional right involved in these arrests and deportations was: Has an Anarchist journal, against which no legal charge has been made, any right to be issued? If it had, then Ferrero and Sallito never ought to have been arrested and held for deportation. Actually, *Man* was an Anti-Fascist journal and the democratic immigration authorities stood for handing these Anti-Fascist refugees over to the Fascist Government of Italy which the Democratic United States Government denounced.

The same issues arose in the case of Emil Gardos, editor of *Uj Elore*, Hungarian working-class paper published in Cleveland. A warrant of deportation was issued by Commissioner of Immigration Daniel W. McCormick, on February 27, 1936. Because of his allegiance to the workers' cause in America, his splendid work in assisting to organise the textile strike of 1926, in Passaic, N.J., Gardos' citizenship was revoked in 1934. At the hearing before Federal Judge Geiger, of Milwaukee, Wis., in reply to questions, Gardos said: *"I have no higher loyalty than my loyalty to my class."* Whereupon, the Judge declared that Gardos had taken the oath of naturalisation with "mental reservations," and so ordered his citizenship revoked.

Geiger, a die-hard Republican, refused to hear references to the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the sayings of Thomas Paine and Abraham Lincoln.

"Bill of Rights," he sneered, "No; property rights are supreme."

"You Communists," he said again, in his most judicial impartial manner, "would take away the home or the farm of a man acquired after a life of hard labour."

"No, your Honour!" Gardos said, "it is being done every day now by the mortgage holders, backed by court rulings."

Judge Geiger was right. Property rights are supreme, and, of course, business is business. Take, for example, this April 1936 gem from the "Public Notice" column of the New York *Herald Tribune*, which speaks volumes:—

"Walt Whitman Birthplace, Huntington, Long Island, for sale; widely advertised, historic landmark; main highway; ideal inn, roadhouse. Apply Elizabeth Putt, 46 Lawrence Street, Brooklyn."

In 1916, the advertiser acquired for 5000 dollars the modest dwelling in which the most American of the American poets was born. The Whitman Society was anxious to secure the place as a Whitman land-mark but the sum asked, twenty years later, was 30,000 dollars for the cottage and garden! Believing that business is more typical of society than poetry, the owners preferred to sell to some enterprising innkeeper with dollars galore to invest who would jump at the chance to lure the between-wars Sunday autoists and speed maniacs to take their gin and ham sandwiches while they let off pent-up noise in the place where the boy Walt dreamed!

After all, what has modern America to do with Whitman, the poet of Freedom!

* * *

Fred Werrmann, who came to the U.S.A., a political refugee, in 1926, was arrested by the Chicago "Red" Squad during an unemployment demonstration, on September 27, 1934. He was ordered to be deported by the Department of Labor on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party. When he reached Ellis Island, his case was fought by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born. Finally, the Mexican Government in 1936, through its Embassy, announced that it would grant Werrmann the right of political asylum.

Whilst extending asylum to Werrmann, so that he might not go back to certain imprisonment and possible death in Germany, the Mexican Government arrested Plutarco Elias Calles, former Mexicamn President, with three colleagues, on April 10, 1936, and shunted him across the border of the United States to Texas.

* * *

Don Agalos was deported from the U.S.A., at midnight, Feb. 18, 1934. He entered the United States in 1910, at the age of fourteen. He went to Omah, Nebraska, then to North Platte, then to Great Falls, Montana. In Butte, Agalos participated in the Great General Strike of 1917, and, in 1922, in the Shop Craft Strike in Montana. With the same spirit, he led the Unemployment Councils and the fight to organise the railroad workers. On June 29, 1933, Agalos was arrested in Spokane, Washington, and held for deportation.

On Friday, February 14, 1936, *Der Deutsche Staats-Zeitung*, a German Nazi newspaper published in New York, printed the following under the heading GERMAN GENERAL CONSULATE:

"The above-mentioned persons are asked to report, or deliver their address at the German General Consulate, 17 Battery Place, Room 1941, in the hours of 9 a.m. to 2 p.m., Saturdays until 12. At the same time those who know about the present whereabouts of those listed are asked to inform the German Consulate."

And, down the list appeared the name:

"Saupe, Walter, born May 2, 1916, in Penig."

Monday, February 17, three days later, Walter Saupe, ninteen-year-old refugee from Nazi oppression, was arrested without a warrant by an Immigration Inspector at the Louvre Buffet, 50 John Street, and taken to Ellis Island! This same emigration official will be found busy to-day denouncing Nazi concentration camps!

* * *

Mrs. Mabel Eaton, of Bloomfield, N.J., lost the custody of her children by virtue of the husband producing as evidence her unfitness—the *Communist Manifesto* and an I.W.W. songbook.

Congressman Vito Marcontomo, erstwhile buddy of Mayor La Guardia of New York City, found himself arrested by La Guardia's police chief when he attempted to lead an unemployment demonstration. The police chief termed it "protective custody."

Leslie Cleary, District Attorney of Stanislaus County, Cal., demanded that two professors, Dr. Max Radin and Harry Canover, be dismissed because in struggles between workers and exploiters, they dared to take the side of the workers.

Major William L. Ball presided over a meeting in New York City on February 29, 1936, where Phelps, former assemblyman spluttered: *"The only Thing the radical knows is force, and he must be met with the same weapon."*

* * *

That alienism and hatred of the foreign-born is parish-capitalism and not patriotism, the restriction on migration within the U.S.A. proves.

During the winter of 1935-6, the rulers of Florida turned back 10,000 transients, classed as "vagrants". They attempted to enter the State, in order to seek a warmer shelter for their worn-down bodies. But even sunshine and air were limited, the second world-war not having been visioned, only to those who can pay for it. So decreed the rulers of the richest play resort in the country!

The next year California's fascist rulers emulated the Florida ones.

The Los Angeles chief of police and the

Chambers of Commerce stationed patrols on every state border entrance, and invaded the cheaper rooming houses of the city, in order to keep out and rid the city of the "angels" and "vagrants."

* * *

During 1936, the former Barbara Hutton, who had sent a poor fool to prison in London, asked the Board of Tax Appeals in Washington to review a 25,108 dollars income-tax deficiency assessed by the Treasury from 1933. The Woolworth heiress claimed that she was entitled to a deduction of 130,000 dollars "in expenses incurred by her guardian in the management of her large estate prior to November 14, 1933, the date she attained her majority." No tax was paid by Miss Hutton that year. The government—a notoriously conservative estimator in such cases—estimated her fortune as 45,00,000 dollars.

Contrast this news item with that eulogising Mrs .Henry Morgenthau, Senior, mother of the Secretary of the Treasury, for handing a cheque of 100 dollars to the principal of Public School 14 in New York City to be expended for needy pupils in any way the principal thought wise.

The gift was used by Miss Moore the principal, for 26 families, mostly for groceries and clothing. Donations from the 100 dollars included 25 cents to send a child, too ill to walk, home from school; 8 dollars for burial clothes for a child killed in an accident, whose father was out of work; 8 dollars 97 cents for a family of seven, with five children undernourished, in need of clothing. The small income of the father, was unable to provide enough to eat, to wear, or to provide a decent home.

Twenty-six "lifts" from 100 dollars! No tax due—130,000 dollars needed for expenses to manage the estate of one of America's outstanding parasites, whose child was born in London, and who is treated in England with all the freedom of a distinguished citizen! No deportation here!

* * *

Evidence taken from the files of Federal Laboratories, Inc., of Pittsburgh, the principal American seller of tear gas and sickening gas, and placed before a group of U.S. investigators shows that major American industries made large secret purchases of tear gas, guns and ammunition in anticipation of strikes. The vice-president of the Federal Laboratories wrote to the Smith and Wesson Company pistol manufacturers of Springfield, Mass.

I hope you will let nothing prevent your shipping out to us for the Weirton Steel Co., Weirton, W. Va., the 47 .38 military and police S. & W. six-inch barrel revolvers.

We will send you a confirming requisition for your permanent record to-day, and ask that the invoice be made out to Weirton Steel; on account of their desire that their employees be not familiar with what they are doing, they require that we use great secrecy in the way bills are handled.

Other firms listed as buyers of arms for such sinister purposes included Cudahy Packing Co., H. C. Frick Coke Co., Southern Natural Gas Co., Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Corp. and Gulf States Steel Co., all of Birmingham, Ala.

Meanwhile the Rust Brothers, inventors of the mechanical cotton picker, were living in Utopia and dreamland. Interviewed by the Cincinnati *"Post,"* John Rust announced that the brothers would forego all profits on their invention, in order that the machine might be "a blessing, and not a curse to mankind."

John Rust said :—

We got down on our knees and picked cotton when we were boys. We decided then that we would try to invent a machine to do this back-breaking labour. We have that machine. It will do the work of 50 to 100 men.

We are convinced that exploitation of our invention would create untold disaster. Thrown on the market in the manner of past inventions, it would mean that 75 per cent. of the labour population would be thrown out of employment.

Machine elimination is not stopped because an inventor renounces profits. Inventions will bless humanity only under Socialism. Men of genius, like the Rust brothers, should work for the Coming Socialist Republic, the Anarchist Commonwealth, if they would redeem the world from mercenary burdens. And the proletariat should reduce the militarists in their own ranks, the flag-waving war-mongers who accepted Nazi and Fascist Governments in peace-time, hounded extreme Socialists and Anarchists back to concentration camps from political asylum, and now shout for death and glory. To these militarists, democracy means merely servitude to power and authority equally in peace and war. Their democracy is a phantasy and a masquerade. They are the charlatan bureaucrats who rejoice in irresponsible authority and perpetual dictatorship. When democracy does speak, when English really becomes—as is its right—the basic language of freedom, these poor pretenders will be cast into a much deserved desolation of oblivion. Their status and their authority will pass like some evil shadow of social night.

WAR DOESN'T PAY

By R. G. GLASS

Yes, I am a confirmed pacifist now—because from bitter experience I've found that *war doesn't pay*!

No, I'm not talking about my war service either, even although I *was* 8½ years in the Navy—before the war, though.

I mean my own *private* war—which I have waged for six long years—principally against myself, and anyone else who happened to be involved by my way of thinking.

And now every time I look at my dear adopted mother's face, I realise what a silly headstrong fool I have been, and what harm I have done and am doing myself as long as I remain at war.

No, it's no good at all—much better to accept things as they are, and face up to the facts of life—hard though they may seem—so much easier than trying to escape, as this only makes it worse, and isn't the least bit brave.

Oh, admittedly, it almost broke my heart to leave the Navy and all my pals, because I didn't know any other life, and had no brothers or sisters, and my father and mother existed in name only to me—so I always used to dread coming "home" on leave—which, needless to say, I seldom did, preferring to do my service abroad.

Well, when I was invalided from the Navy, I decided I'd go home and square things up—but, as soon as my pension came through, I'd beat it back down South.

But my pension didn't come through as easily as I expected (of course I was *so* well disciplined joining up as a boy, that I didn't argue about it), but my parents not being well off and living from hand to mouth sort of thing, and didn't like the idea of me being foisted on them penniless *and* unfit besides.

So after a lot of correspondence with the Admiralty I eventually got a small pension—but by this time I was beginning to worry and think what a raw deal the Navy was giving me, as my illness was definitely contracted on service and I was one of the "cream of Britain's youth" on joining.

So I began getting dumped in various hospitals, until I was so demoralised that my illness developed to such an extent that my parents refused to take me back. I was removed, a quivering wreck of humanity at 25, to endure the mental tortures of the Poorhouse.

So naturally, being a very sensitive and proud young man, I felt more like a hunted animal that had been eventually trapped through no fault of his own than a human being, so I just lost interest in life and classified everyone as my enemy.

But I had met one good friend whom I liked and admired very much, and when he heard about my "incarceration" in that hospital, he visited me and immediately took steps to get me removed to a more suitable environment. Well, he succeeded, and I was transferred to an ex-Servicemen's hospital, which would have been all right if I hadn't been kept amongst a lot of poor old men all the time, and made to feel I was only there on sufferance as my pension didn't cover my "cost of living." I felt this keenly, although quite a few *were* pensioners. It was a wealthy institution, specially for disabled soldiers and sailors, so I needn't have worried.

But I got over that, and determined to get fit in spite of everything, I was managing fairly well, and although my parents visited me occasionally, they wouldn't co-operate and get me a holiday at all.

My friend had taken ill and died unknown to me meantime; otherwise he would have arranged this, I expect. But his landlady wrote and told me that he had died, and arranged to visit me.

Well, she is now my mother, and I love her and am proud of her, after even fighting against her love and all that I have received.

But I can't deceive myself any longer, no matter how hard I try, and no matter how hard it feels.

I *should* know—that *war doesn't pay*!

UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

The U.D.C. Scottish Federation has been fortunate in securing the services of the DUKE OF BEDFORD as speaker at their next meeting, which will be held in the Central (Grand) Hall, 25 Bath St., on Sunday, 11th February, at 3 o'clock.

The Duke has chosen for his subject:

"SOME PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT DAY AND POST WAR WORLD."

His striking views on political and financial questions are known to thoughtful people all over the English-speaking world, and they are well worth hearing.

Members of the U.D.C., and all Pacifists and Socialists are asked to make this a bumper meeting. Come and bring all your friends: make the meeting widely known. It is our duty to understand conditions and events in order to make sure that, this time, Peace shall be just and lasting.

Admission is free. There will be a collection to defray expenses. Discussion is invited.

Those interested in the work of the U.D.C., should write to me at the U.D.C. Office, 54 Gordon St., Glasgow, C.1.

HELIB T. LOW,
Secretary.

The Duke of Bedford speaks in Glasgow On SUNDAY, 11th FEBRUARY, 11 a.m. for the STUDY CIRCLE, and for ST. MARGARETS' OPEN FORUM, Polmadie, at 7.30 p.m.

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THE OBSTRUCTION

A Modern Parable

By E. E. BRISCOE

In a country where, despite much protestation of freedom and democracy, the rich "ruled the roost," there dwelt a wealthy and aristocratic squire. This squire, a retired brigadier-general, owned a great portion of the land, including a number of villages and a small market town, the inhabitants of which rented their farms and cottages from him, and were, most of them, employed by him in various work on the estate. Within his domain his word was law, and none dared openly to oppose him: for if any ever questioned his authority or interfered with his schemes he dismissed them from his employment and turned them out of their abodes.

Once, in the past, a few men of strong character and exceptional courage had banded together and attempted to resist him in an unjust process; but having no support from the rest of the tenants, who were afraid to join with them, they had suffered the inevitable penalty, and they, with their families, were cast adrift.

Since then the people had generally succumbed to a state of dull submission, thinking it expedient to remember whence came their "daily bread."

* * *

Now, near the Squire's residence, on a space of grass bordering the narrow, but most frequented, road through the estate, there was a great barn. It was a store-house for machinery and implements used by the labourers on the land; and, owing to the Squire's tyrannical system of conducting his affairs, was commonly called the Armaments Barn. Just beyond it the road turned abruptly and ascended a steep hill. Here was a very dangerous situation for motorists; for the position of the barn made it impossible to see what lay ahead.

There were many accidents; and, as time passed, many were the killed and injured. The people murmured among themselves, and all agreed that if the barn were pulled down the accidents would cease.

At last one man, regardless of consequences to himself, went to the Squire and besought him, for the sake of common humanity, to demolish the barn.

"What!" roared the Squire, ruby red with rage, "My barn, that has stood there for over three hundred years! Pull it down? You're impudent! and—and, damn you, you're sacked. Get out!"

* * *

The following day there was another fatal accident. Then the Squire, still fuming at the threat to his property, began to think.—He'd "see everyone in hell" before he'd demolish his barn; but perhaps "noblesse oblige" and "the old school tie" made it advisable for him to do something or other in the matter.

A few days later he sent out notices announcing that he was having a dilapidated cottage, which had become unfit for occupation, repaired, and equipped with beds and necessary furniture for "first aid" treatment of those who happened to be injured in road accidents on his estate. He also made arrangements with a local doctor to attend whenever required, and informed the parson that he would probably be wanted. Finally he called upon the young men to volunteer for stretcher-bearing, in terms that hinted at the foolishness of refusal.

The Armaments Barn remained, and the road accidents continued; while the Squire never tired of telling everyone that he was doing all he possibly could to relieve the sufferings of the victims, and that he was prepared to go to even greater expense in provision for the "cottage hospital," if it became necessary.

* * *

Then a dreadful thing occurred. The Squire, who enjoyed "good wine and good company," was returning in his powerful car from a convivial gathering in celebration of the New Year. The night was bitterly cold, the roads slippery with ice, and he passed through intermittent patches of fog as he raced recklessly homewards.

Before he was aware, he reached the hill, and went rushing down the steep descent. At the bottom the car skidded and crashed into the barn!

At break of day a farm labourer passing, on his way to work, was astonished when he saw the barn. The end by the road was shattered, and the splintered timbers were strewn around. Entering the barn, through the gaping cavity, he found the overturned, crumpled car, and lying beside it the dead body of the Squire. Horrified, he hastened away, and gave the alarm. Later he returned with some of his fellow stretcher-bearers, and they carried the body to the "cottage hospital."

* * *

The remains of the Squire were consigned to the family vault in the parish churchyard: and his son "reigned in his stead."

Then the people became hopeful. "Now, surely," they said, "the new Squire will pull down the barn, and the disasters will cease."

Alas, it was not so. The young Squire was a "chip of the old block-head"; and he immediately ordered his workmen to repair the barn.

Roused, at last, from their obsequuious submission, all of the tenants flouted his authority; and there was not one who would consent to do the work. The Squire threatened them with the usual penalties, but they remained firm in their opposition; which inspired with sympathy, and brought support from a great number of people outside the estate.

So the Squire obtained workers from a distant town: but when these men learned the truth they refused to continue, and went away; and although the Squire got many more men from far-away places, they all packed up their tools and departed as soon as they knew the facts.

After being thwarted at every turn, the Squire suddenly became sane; and breaking away from the family tradition, he entered upon some honest thinking. The result greatly surprised him; for very soon he found himself formulating ideas of life which hitherto had never developed in his mind. He saw the Armaments Barn with new eyes, and became aware of its sinister significance: and—he saw *himself*.

Without delay he called together the people of the estate, and made confession. "By God!" he concluded, "I've been a sanguinary fool—a sadistic idiot. I now realise that humanity is the thing that matters. That cursed barn must go."

It went. Since then the dread of recurrent calamity has gone, and a new spirit of mutual respect and confidence exists between the Squire and his tenants, which is expressed in altruistic thought and co-operative effort for the welfare of all.

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OUR OLDEST READER.

George Gorman, formerly of Oakley, Fife, and long resident in Middlechurch, Manitoba, is our oldest reader.

As we go to press we received an interesting letter from him, and a poem composed in his honour by our Comrade, C. R. McFarlane.

The letter reads:—

My Dear Comrade Aldred,—I enclose one Dollar in payment of "The Word" for another year. I am glad always to get it. And I hope that you will be long spared to speak and write as fearlessly as you do. The paper is a treat to me.

We folk here have an idea that unless Churchill shows more common sense, he will be a fallen idol, like Hitler and Mussolini. We will see.

Wishing you all success, and all the good things of life, or at least what you may count the good things of life, the leisure to study and to create and serve.

One great admirer,

GEORGE GORMAN.

Middle Church, Manitoba, Dec. 14, 1944.

Comrade Gorman writes this letter in a bold, clear hand-writing, in pencil. We receive many friendly letters, as well as many bitter and antagonistic ones. This is one of the most directly inspiring letters ever written to us.

The poem, which will lighten these pages considerably, and will be appreciated in Fife by Comrades who know our Comrade Gorman, as well as by his friends in Canada, reads as follows:—

GEORGE GORMAN

(Born Oakley, Fife, November 11, 1853).

I'm brisk and spry, though a wee bit shy
To craw or blaw my horn.
But a secret I'll tell, between you and I,
This is my birthday morn!
Oh! I'm ninety-one to-day!

Chorus:

Yes! I'm ninety-one to-day,
And as blythe as the birds in May.
I can sing and dance,
And I'm full o' romance,
For I'm ninety-one to-day!

Lang syne in Fife, I began my life,
In a wee butt and ben on the brae.
At the hour o' seven—November eleven
I entered the world—to stay
And I'm ninety-one to-day!

You may think I am auld, that I feel the cauld
But it's much the other way.
I'm frisky as a Kitten
Wear neither scarf nor mitten,
And I'm ninety-one to-day!

The doctors threep, I'm a human jeep,
That can skelp through stoor and glaur.
They have it in mind, that a man o' my kind,
Can outlast Hitler and war.
Gings, I'm ninety-one to-day!

When Hitler's forgotten, and is dust in his grave,
I'll still lead the young and the brave.
Thanks to Brose and Oat Meal,
I could tackle the Deil
Gings, I'm ninety-one to-day.

Chorus:

Gings, I'm ninety-one to-day
And as blythe as the birds in May.
I can sing and dance,
And I'm full o' romance,
For I'm ninety-one to-day!

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Chairman: E. C. REDHEAD. **Hon. Secretary: W. R. PAGE.**

"COMMUNISTS" and The Labour Party

The *Scottish Sunday Express* for November, 1944, published the following report:—

POLLITT'S CALL TO LABOUR PARTY.
"Work with us."

Co-operation between Labour and Communist parties to fight the General Election was urged by Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist Party, at a conference in Glasgow yesterday.

"We can bring strength and virility to the Labour Party," he said, "which is rapidly falling into stagnation."

Chairman William Gallacher, M.P., asked: "If Churchill and Stalin can work together to defeat Fascism, why can't Morrison and Pollitt work together to beat Toryism?"

William Pearson, president of Lanarkshire Miners' Union: "It is nonsense to say that members of the Communist Party can't be trusted to-day."

A similar report appeared in other papers. These statements take one's breath away for sheer audacity, in view of the record of the Communist Party.

The *New Leader* for May 13, 1932, published the following enlightening paragraph.

THE BROCKWAY-POLLITT DEBATE.

The speeches of Harry Pollitt and Fenner Brockway at the London "C.P.—I.L.P." debate in April, are now available in twopenny pamphlet form from the C.P. headquarters at 16 King Street, W.C.2. Apparently the workers are not to be allowed to read the speeches, and judge for themselves the two policies. It has been found necessary to add a typically C.P. foreword by William Rust!

The debate took place at the Memorial Hall, London, on April 18, 1932.

The Foreword by William Rust was written in the typically, aggressive, we-are-right, no-matter-how-often-we-change-our-coats style of the Communist Party. We cite some interesting paragraphs from this preface:

The debate between Harry Pollitt and Fenner Brockway at the Memorial Hall, on April 18, attracted large numbers of London workers. The hall was crammed full and many hundreds were turned away. There was no mistaking the views of the audience: it was overwhelmingly in favour of the Communist Party's policy of revolutionary class struggle.

The reader of this report will be struck by the deliberate way in which Brockway attempted to cover up the anti-working class policy of the Independent Labour Party by continual pleas for unity and the claim that the differences between the Communist Party and I.L.P. would tend to disappear as the crisis of capitalism grew . . . .

. . . . His shuffling was of no avail against Pollitt's searching criticism, which showed that whatever variations the I.L.P. may play on the Labour Party tune, it actually stands for the policy of the Labour Party and has nothing to offer the workers other than trust in a third Labour Government.

This is the real meaning of Brockway's unity talk. He wants the unity of corrupt leaders in order to deceive the workers. He wants unity with the Hendersons and Lansburys. Only Pollitt spoke for real unity: that is, the unity of the working class in struggle against the capitalists and the Labour leaders who are nothing but the agents of the capitalists. . . .

The fight against the war is now the central issue before the working class of this country, and it is precisely upon this issue that the I.L.P. comes out and says: leave it to the leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party, the very leaders who are supporting the policy of the Government and the capitalists, and attempting to disorganise and split the ranks of the workers.

Harry Pollitt showed that the way out of the capitalist crisis is only possible through revolutionary class struggle, and that only the Communist Party organises day in and day out for the working-class solution of the crisis.

The speeches of Fenner Brockway were just another proof that, with words of Socialism on their lips, the I.L.P. leaders betray the struggle of the working class and that their party has become a part of the capitalist machine for crushing the workers and preventing the onward march to a free Socialist Britain.

Consider this preface. Consider the arrogant false pretences of the party that could publish such a preface. Overwhelming support for the Communist Party's policy of revolutionary class struggle! Shuffling support of the Labour Party's policy! Nothing to offer but a third Labour Government! The real meaning of unity talk: Unity with corrupt leaders to deceive the workers! And now—the man who wants the third Labour Government, who sees no hope beyond a third Labour Government is Harry Pollitt! The words in his debate, the noise, the heat, the denunciation, the cheers: all so much unmitigated humbug engaged in by a power-intoxicated, contemptible, self-seeking careerist politician!

Let us look at Pollitt's speeches in the debate itself from this Communist Party report.

In his first speech, Pollitt said (pages 3-11):

The issues that we have to fight out this evening are, in our opinion, vital to the whole future of the working-class movement of this country. This is not a debate between two parties who have a common aim and are only separated by certain differences of tactics, such as their attitude to Parliament, violence, Labour Party, etc. This is not a debate between two parties, one of whom is a little more "advanced" and a little more "extreme" than the other. This is a debate which represents, in every meaning of the word, war between the Communist Party, a party of the working class, which strives to build up the daily fight of the workers, seeking that struggle to strengthen the working class fight, until by revolutionary action we can destroy the whole apparatus of the capitalist State and end the domination and exploitation that it represents both for the workers in this country and the workers and peasants in the colonial countries; and the party known as the INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY WHICH, IN OUR JUDGMENT, AS WE SHALL ATTEMPT TO PROVE, IS NOT A PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, IS NOT A PARTY OF SOCIALISM, BUT IS A PARTY OF CAPITALISM which hinders and retards the workers' daily struggles, which confuses and disorganises the workers' fight, AND WHOSE SOCIALISM IS A BASTARD SOCIALISM which involves nothing more or less than acquiescence in every theory appertaining to the capitalist State and the administration of all that the capitalist State power represents.

My job is to prove these assertions and accusations. Let us for a moment take the way in which the Labour movement in this country has developed; what has constituted the basis upon which the Labour movement of this country has developed? The basis has been the possibility in England to deny revolution, to deny revolutionary struggle, and, by capturing Parliament, so to wield that institution that it would be possible to modify and reorganise conditions that we can thus pass through capitalist prosperity, to the establishment of what is described as a Socialist Commonwealth. And so long as the basis of the Labour movement of this country has rested on that assumption, on the capturing of Parlioament, and of the denial of the revolutionary struggle and aim, it has naturally led to the inevitable sequel which we have seen in the experience of two Labour Governments, namely, taking over the apparatus of the capitalist State, administering that apparatus in the interests of capitalism, defending capitalism, making peace with capitalism and perhaps, what is more important, as I hope to show in my concluding remarks, actually being used for the purpose of holding down the colonial peoples by means more bloody and repressive than the open capitalist parties would ever dare to attempt.

The culminating point of this process was seen last Autumn in the complete exposure and collapse of the second Labour Government, a Labour Government let it be remembered, that was elected with the full support and backing of the I.L.P. just as the I.L.P. to-day are engaged in turning the eyes of the masses from the immediate fight on to the question of waiting until another General Election "and give us a majority of real Socialists in Parliament." The exposure and collapse of the second Labour Government was the inevitable outcome of the whole policy upon which the Labour movement of this country has developed . . . .

There is no difference between the Labour Party and the I.L.P. however much is said in speeches and written in newspaper articles. The way of the Labour Party and the I.L.P., the way of all reformists has been demonstrated to every thinking man and woman in this country as a way which simply leads to the possibility of the capitalists finding the way out of the crisis at the expense of the working class. I say the path for the working class is that of mobilising all their forces for the conquest of power.

At this point perhaps it will be interesting to give the reply of the Communist International in 1919, when the I.L.P. put to Moscow the question: What is the difference between Communism and other forms of Socialism? And Comrade Lenin, who drafted the pamphlet "Moscow's Reply to the I.L.P.," attached sufficient importance to this question to give considerable attention to drafting this reply even with the situation as acute as it was at that particular time, in the Soviet Union. This is what is said:—

"To the question of the British I.L.P.: In what respect does Communism differ from other forms of Socialism?" we reply: "There are no other forms; there is only Communism. Whatever else goes under the name of Socialism is either wilful deception by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie or the self-deception of persons or groups who hesitate to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, who hesitate to choose between a life and death struggle, and the role of assistants to the expiring bourgeoisie."

And that definition and that formulation of the fundamental distinctions between the Communists and the reformists is a classic definition and a classic formulation, and has been proved one hundred per cent. correct by every event that has taken place since Lenin wrote these words. . . .

What is the line of the I.L.P. at the moment? It is to bring forward a third alternative—"a majority Labour Government," a "majority Labour Government of convinced Socialists," a "Parliament in which we have a majority of I.L.Pers." . . .

Comrades, the significance of these articles and this line of policy is that this "new" change in I.L.P. policy only takes place after events have proved the bankruptcy of every previous policy they have advocated. . . .

In 1919, when there was a reolutionary ferment all over the world, when revolution was breaking out in country after country, the I.L.P. at that time could blandly talk about affiliating to Moscow, and if to-day the capitalist class of this country can emerge from the present economic crisis as a result of the disorganisation of the workers' fight caused by the treachery and deceit of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress and the I.L.P., we shall find the I.L.P. again making a series of political somersaults.

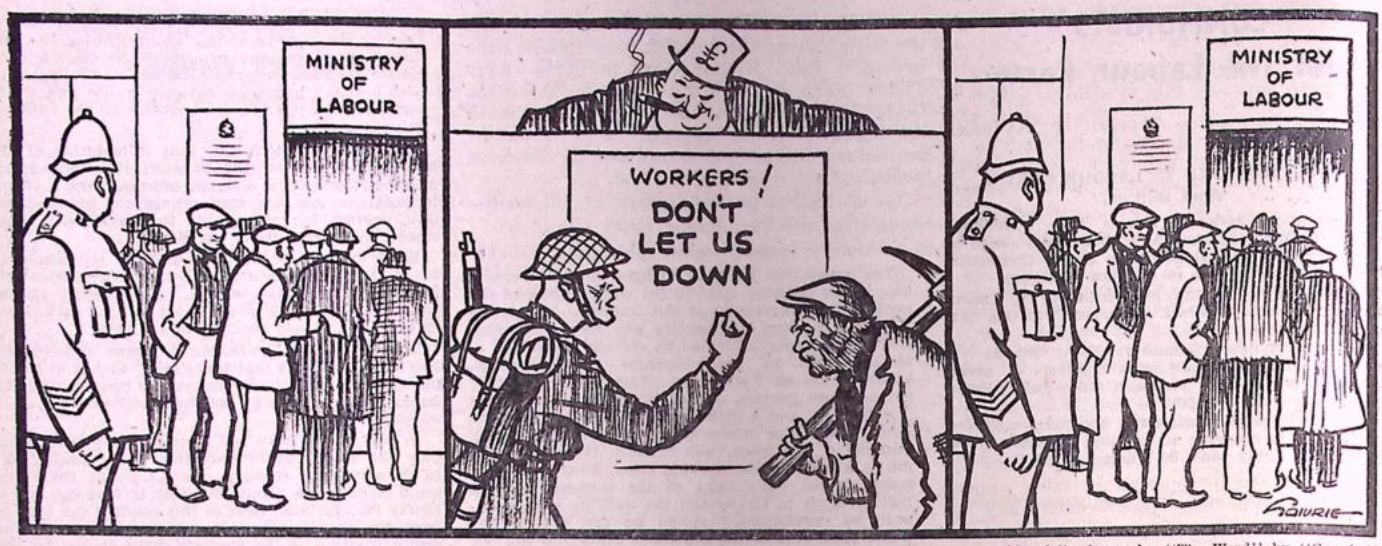
The central question is one which must be fearlessly explained to the workers; that they have to build up, however slowly and patiently, with whatever trouble and sacrifice it may involve, the organisation and leadership that can, by revolutionary action, lead to the conquest of power and the destruction of the whole apparatus of capitalist exploitation and the capitalist State. And our party is the only party which gives a clear lead on this position. . . .

Capitalism has a way out—a way out through wage cuts, the Means Test, tariffs, fascism, WAR! And we are in a war period now. This is the capitalist way out of the crisis, and any talk about the automatic collapse of capitalism, any talk about capitalism having no way out of the crisis, leads to fatalism and disorganising of the workers' fight. It leads to the "Let 'em starve" theory, the theory that the more you crush the workers, the more they will rise. And there was never a more non-revolutionary theory in all history. We have to learn how to help the workers' struggle in the daily fight against the capitalist offensive now. But we are met with the remark that "the workers are apathetic," that "the workers won't struggle," and in the next breath they call upon the workers to "wait until the next General Election." That is what hinders and sabotages the workers' fight. If disillusionment exists, and that disillusionment is not expressing itself in a revolutionary way, what is the reason? Is it the fault of the working class or of the leadership of the reformist labour movement of this country?

Week by week Brailsford and Wise advocate open capitalist policies, Dollan in "Forward" advocates the good old Labour Party way out. Take the recent Blackpool Conference of the I.L.P.: Cullen, speaking for the so-called revolutionary group in the I.L.P., says: "Make the policy revolutionary." Maxton and Brockway cry: "The policy is revolutionary." Dollan says: "Let's stick to the good old Labour Party's reformist policy and get Socialism through Parliament." Comrades, these are all leaders of the I.L.P. Leading where? Something for everybody, eh, but nothing for anybody but the capitalists. Comrades, this confusion is not accidental, not a result of stupidity, not a mistake. It is the deliberate policy of the I.L.P. It is consciously thought out, fostered and stimulated in order to confuse the struggle, to create doubt and hesitation in the minds of the workers, and it is the greatest crime that has ever been committed against the working-class movement that week by week this confusion can pour out its poison when one considers the situation with which the working class is faced to-day; wage cuts, the Means Test, tariffs, and now the entry of capitalism upon its war period. Therefore, comrades, with such a party there can be no talk of unity, no talk of anything so common, and there can be only war to the death.

What is the line of the Communist Party? We say that we know our task and, with all our mistakes, try to carry it out—to explain to the workers the real meaning of the crisis, that there is a crisis a thousand times more acute than is generally realised, a crisis in which the issue is revolution or starvation. . . .

We endeavour to build up the workers' fighting power in the factories, in the unions, at the Labour Exchanges, to participate in all of their economic struggles. We fight for the common solidarity of the British workers, Indian, Irish, Chinese, African, and Egyptian workers and peasants. We fight for the complete withdrawal of the troops from Shanghai and from all colonial countries. We stand for the complete independence of all colonial countries. We advance the demands of the workers, not as an end in themselves, but in order to strengthen the



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

BEFORE **DURING** **AFTER**

workers fight against capitalism and go forward to the conquest of power. We stand for revolutionary propaganda, not only amongst the workers, but amongst the armed forces, amongst the soldiers, sailors and airmen. And if the I.L.P. suggests that if force must be used, better let it be when a Labour Government has a majority, will the I.L.P.ers explain how you are going to get the forces to carry out the demands of a Labour Government unless you carry on the same revolutionary propaganda amongst the soldiers as you do amongst the miners and boilermakers? And anyhow, have not the two Labour Governments used the armed forces to shoot down defenceless colonial workers and used the police to baton strikers and imprisoned workers for conducting propaganda among the armed forces? We point out that the capitalist State is the supreme instrument for the exploitation and coercion of the working class at home and abroad.

Brockway made a somewhat conciliatory reply. Pollitt would have none of it. In his second speech he stressed the Communist Party opposition to the Labour Party and to a United Front with the I.L.P. and the Labour Party.

He blamed the Left Social Democracy in Italy for the triumph of Mussolini and the Left Social Democracy in Germany for the advances made by Hitler in Germany.

(To be concluded.)

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February 10—Councillor A. B. Mackay: "Housing—Land and Finance."

Please keep the dates in mind. You may forget the details, but remember EVERY SECOND SATURDAY.

TO OUR READERS.

Just a little necessary straight talk and explanation.

Very early in the war some of our contemporaries reduced their size and kept their price. They became almost unreadable. Others increased their price. Some adopted the double practice of reducing their size and increasing their price, **because of war-time necessity!**

We kept our size, refusing to carry trade or paid advertisements, and we refused to increase the price.

This meant we have struggled under the burden of a heavy monthly deficit. This is not fair to us, nor yet to the few Comrades who have supported us. Until now we have endeavoured to carry on without increasing the price, despite suggestions that we should do so. We are reluctant to do so even now, but circumstances compel us to take this step. We write and publish for and to the poor, and must expect loss.

Apart from the fact that, even if we sold every copy issued at twopence, instead of supplying a large quantity at trade rates, we should still be losing, we are faced with a further loss: Groups that we know have sold the papers and have even increased their orders, and bookshops that send in regular orders, owe us large sums. This is mean in view of the struggle we are making. But it is a fact. With reluctance we are cutting off supplies to these centres. We ask Comrades to become **individual** subscribers. Every Comrade who becomes a subscriber before March 1, will receive the paper at the present rate, post-free, every month for twelve months, for 3s. We say: **Send that Subscription—and Send NOW.**

The March issue will be increased to threepence (3d.). Postage will be one penny extra. The Annual Subscription from March onwards will be four shillings instead of three. The U.S.A. price will remain five cents.

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18—J. H. THORNTON, B.Sc.: "Some Objections to Secularism."
25—F. J. CORINA: "It's That Man Again!"
Mar. 4—JACK CLAYTON: "Faith Healing and Modern Knowledge."
11—OPEN DISCUSSION.
18—L. E. WOODHEAD: "Commonwealth; Principles and Aims."
25—H. L. SEARLE: "The Coming Decline of Man."
April 8—Mrs. C. E. M. REYNOLDS, M.A.: "Religion and Literature."
15—E. STOCKDALE: "This International Money Business."
22—HAROLD DAY: "Why I am an Atheist."
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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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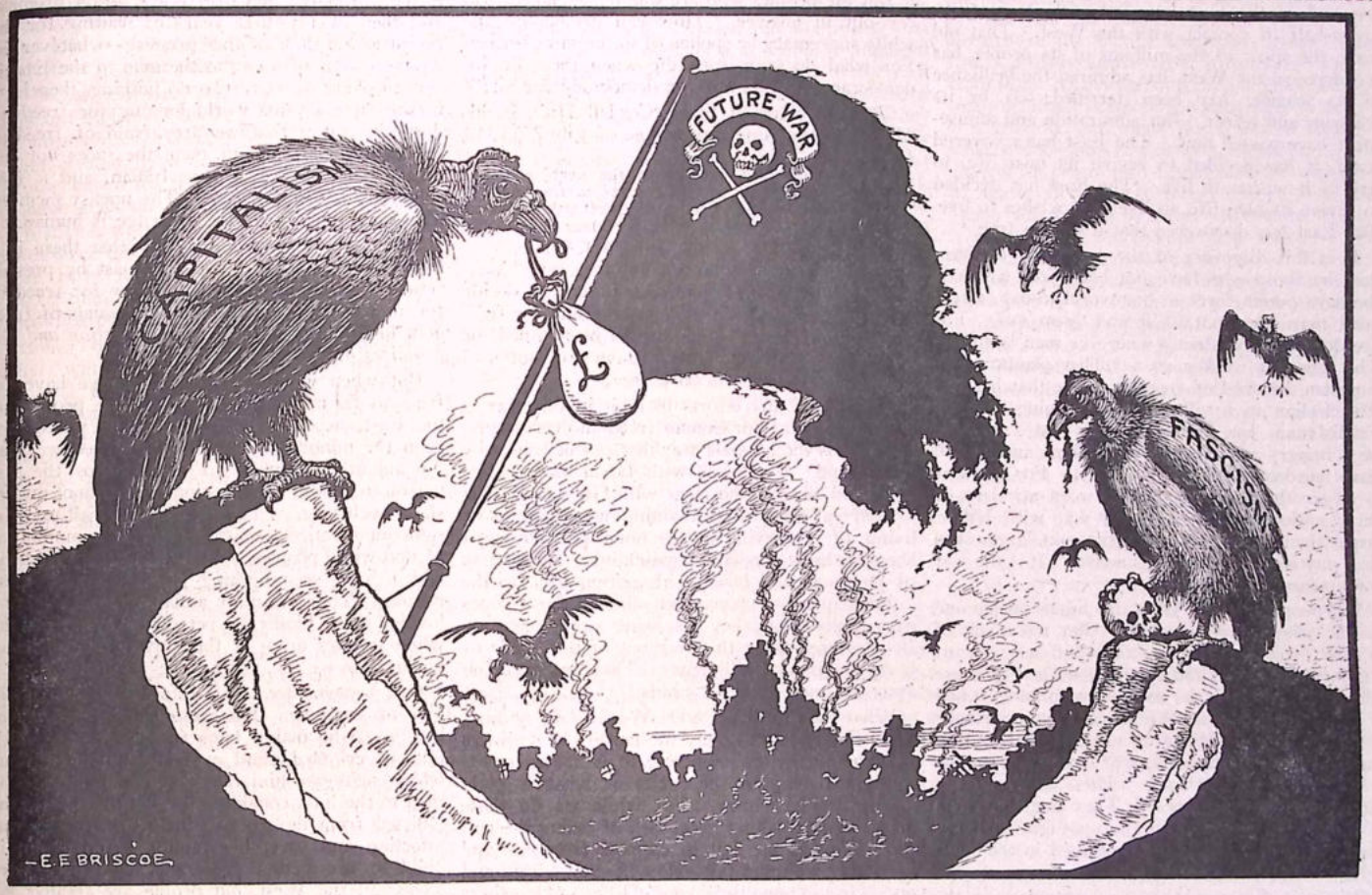

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

THE AFTERMATH OF MILITARY VICTORY

"War's a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings (Duces, Fuehrers, and Premiers) would not play at."

FREEDOM, EAST AND WEST

By PEARL S. BUCK

[This article was published in "Common Sense Magazine," U.S.A., in September, 1942. Pearl S. Buck is the author of "The Good Earth," of Movie Picture show fame, and a number of great books dealing with Asiatic conditions. The daughter of an American Missionary, she is the best posted American writer on the Orient of our time. In 1938 she was awarded the Nobel prize for literature. Her first husband was a Professor of Nanking University, and of this marriage there are two daughters. Her present husband is Richard J. Walsh. Pearl Buck is one of the ablest and most fearless outstanding writers in the English language. —Ed.]

A vast dim shape of peoples is now beginning to appear out of this war. It is so dim that it will not be seen by all, and the last people to see it, inevitably, will be those who are in the thick of the active waging of the war, the men who are commanding the battle, at home and abroad. These are the necessary "men of action," whose minds are too busy with the day's work to see beyond it. They are essential men, we cannot do without them, and yet we must not allow all our vision to be bound by the limitations of "men of action."

For the vast shape is there. It is not a ghost—it is the first appearance of a reality. And the reality is the world of to-morrow, beginning to take shape out of the world of to-day. It is not prophecy, it is not guess, it is what is already beginning to happen.

What is this shape? It is the shape of a world in which there is already a new East. The war began in the East, not in Europe, and the primary war is being fought in the East. When peace is made, whether it is made in our time or after it, *it will be made in the East.*

In the East, the war began in that part which is Japan. The seizure of Manchuria in 1931 was not the beginning of the war, though some have called it that. The war was begun in Japan long before that *and it was a civil war.* There were no military battles, unless one wishes to call the assassination of liberal ministers of state a battle. The war was between old Japan and new Japan —"old Japan" which is the old East, of which ancient Japan was a part, and "new Japan" which is the West. For Japan, though she became a power in so spectacularly short a time, did not become westernised. Her modernisation, so far as it went, was simply the modernisation of weapons of war, of ships, of techniques, in industries and education. Japan never deserved the common accusation of being a "copy-cat of the West." Never has there been a more independent resistant people than the Japanese. Everything brought in from the West by new Japan was at tremendous cost of struggle against it. It was only with reluctance and out of the bitter necessity of coping with the West that Japan modernised herself at all. In the process, there were inevitably individuals who were influenced by Western thinking and civilisation. Against these the old Japan fought with ferocity —and now has won. It is old Japan that wages war against the West to-day, old Japan, though fighting with bombers and warships. Her civil war is finished. Her people are unified for the duration. Old Japan has triumphed and is on the offensive against the West.

This triumph of the ancient East has had its inevitable effect upon other countries of Asia. The Pan-Asia of which Japan is dreaming will not come under her rule, but it will come about. It is the clearest part of to-morrow's vast dim shape. The military triumph of Japan against the West has made Pan-Asia something more than a dream. China, fighting beside the West against Japan, nevertheless has not lost as the white man has lost in Burma, in Malaya, in the Netherland East Indies, and even in the Philippines. For in those losses the East triumphed over the West and China is part of the East. China was fighting a local war against Japan, but

she was also in a larger war, and though she lost the smaller war she gained in the larger one. In so far as Japanese victory has pushed the West out of the East, it has been China's victory, too.

And it has been India's victory. When Japan drove the white man out of his empire in other places she loosened his hold upon India. The slackening of the imperial grasp is felt by millions of hearts hungry for freedom. It explains, more than anything else, what is happening at this moment in India, and what will happen tomorrow. There may be new war with new foes and strange new alliances.

For the triumph of old Japan has awakened the soul of the East, numbed with its century-and-a-half of contact with the West. That old East, the spirit of the millions of its people, has wondered at the West, has admired the brilliance of its science, has been terrified, too, by its weapons and terror. But admiration and amusement have passed now. The East has recovered itself, it has decided to revive its own life, to live as it wishes to live. The East has decided to revive its own life, to live as it wishes to live. The East has discovered that it can be free.

It is this discovery of the possibility of freedom by those who have not been free which is the most potent force in our world to-day. Great good may come out of it and great evil. For freedom is man's dream wherever man is found. The ignorant worker on a rubber plantation in Sumatra dreamed of freedom, slave that he was. The Indian in a village, never having seen an Englishman, has known he was not free, and he is hungry and thirsty for freedom, and he will have freedom though he die for it. For this war is larger than the struggle between any two or three nations, larger than our war with Hitler, larger than Japan's war of aggression, larger even than any war for national survival. It is the war for human freedom.

We peoples of the West are brave people and on the whole, honest people. But too many of us are merely men of action and as men of action, we see little and comprehend less of those things which cannot be handled or photographed or put into reports. We scorn the importance of the intangible. What we must see is that this war is not merely the active war now being fought in Europe and the Pacific. These are only the immediate thrusts of war. They are the parts of the whole upon which the spotlight is being fixed. The struggle is not contained in the spotlight.

Where is the struggle? The struggle is in the awakening peoples, all those peoples of the world, who sitting long in darkness, now rise to their feet at the sudden call of that word freedom.

In India last spring Madame Chiang Kai-shek, addressing a group of Indian women besought them to rouse their nation to the danger of the Japanese; and, to make her plea strike to their hearts as it came from her own, she told them with fearful realism of the tortures which the women and children of China suffered at the hands of the enemy. There was sympathy, there was sorrow, but at the end of the meeting an Indian got up and her voice rang over the room.

"Let no one imagine," she said clearly, "that it can make any possible difference to us whether it is the Japanese or the British who rule India."

An Englishman, a man of goodwill and integrity, hearing this was amazed, "Curiously irrelevant," he exclaimed, in telling of the incident, "in grating discord with the prevailing mood."

But he did not see the larger war and he could not understand that there comes a moment to human beings, after long endurance, when nothing is worth having if it is not freedom and nothing is more hateful than the lack of it.

It was another Englishman, Henry W. Nevinson, who said, "You know what freedom is when you have not got it." He was right—none who have always been free, can understand the terrible fascinating power of the hope of freedom, to those who are not free. But we must understand, we free peoples of the West, if we are to understand what is happening to-day in the East and why it is happening. We must not be controlled by those who are not able to understand. The Governor of Alabama, protesting against a federal contract which calls for no discrimination in labour on the grounds of colour or creed, says—

> **The State of Alabama is not willing to enter any contract in which this clause appears—I regard it as extremely unfortunate that this issue should be forced upon the southern people in a time when the very life of the Nation is at stake—There should be no attack on the long-established institutions of any section when our sons are engaged in a life and death struggle with the enemies of the democratic way of life. The Democratic party of Alabama has as its motto, "white supremacy."**
>
> —(Congressional Record, July 24, 1942).

But the peoples who are waging the larger war cry out, in answer, "How can democracy and white supremacy be spoken of in the same breath? For what do your sons die when they die for democracy, if it is not for democracy for all?"

The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in his address to the American people of July 23, 1942, said:—

> **It has been our purpose in the past—and will remain our purpose in the future—to use the full measure of our influence to support attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and are ready for it.**

And the peoples who are not free cry, "Who made you who are white, the judges to decide who are worthy of freedom, who ready for freedom? Is freedom something to be attained, or is it man's natural right? Have you not said yourselves that man is born free?

In spite of any efforts to limit it, this war is becoming a war for human freedom everywhere, and that is the greatest war that can be waged by humankind. The issue with Japan may be lost in it, and so may the issue with Germany. Our limited war aims of maintaining our standards of living, of preserving our sectional prejudices, of keeping the seas open, of maintaining our centres of power in the Orient, of getting back to the "status quo"—however we cling to these hopes of a limited war they are being swept from us. Peoples are taking this war out of the hands of governments and militarists. They are sweeping away the men of small minds.

What then shall we do? We may do nothing if we like except to deny the truth. It is always possible to deny the intangible, to refuse its inevitability, to cling to the limits of what is plain to the limited vision. But while we do these things we are taking great risk of losing the real war. For as we fail to express freedom—and inevitably we must fail—we will grow afraid and our fear will open the door to Hitler and to others like him. These will say, and to ready listeners, "Let all white peoples join together. We must stick together, we white people."

On the day when the white peoples agree to join together against the rest of the world, the shape in the East will spring clearly into the sight of all. We shall see it, the blindest and the most stupid of us. And Russia will be with the East, not the West, whether vanquished or victorious over Hitler now. Pan-Asia will not be a dream on that day. It will be a reality but it will not be Japan's Pan-Asia. It will be Pan-Asia, more than one-half of the world. You can see the shape, now.

If we go on as we are, taking cognisance only of the things which are happening on the battlefields, if we refuse to hear that great tocsin for Freedom that echoes in all the peoples who are not free, the day will come—it takes no prophet to declare it—when we shall have to fight for our own freedom against most fearful odds of revenge and bitterness—revenge for what is now history, and bitterness because in these days when we could all be saved, we do nothing.

For it is possible to do something. It is possible first to recognise the size of this war, to understand the power of the word Freedom and to use it. We hang back, we are afraid to speak out boldly and tell these hungering and thirsting peoples that they shall have freedom and have it now.

> **"It was much, no doubt," an Englishman associated with the Cripps Mission to India says, "to ask that, having waited so long to acquire the right to determine their national destiny, the Congress leaders should have waited a little longer; but now that its acquisition was assured them immediately after the war, provided only that the United Nations won it, and in view of the practical necessities of the present situation, was it too much to ask?"**

We must understand that it *was* too much to ask of people who fought bravely through the First World War, being under the impression, whether rightly or wrongly, given them consciously or unconsciously, that they would have the right to determine their national destiny afterward. Twenty-three years have passed, a generation in India, and they have not been given the right to determine their national destiny, the right, that is, with which every man is born. After a hundred and fifty years, and a promise, and then twenty-three years of waiting for the promise, and then another promise—whatever the western point of view, to the man in the East it was too long to wait. To do nothing, therefore, in the view of this world longing for freedom, does this mean that we are afraid of freedom for the peoples not our own, the races not our own? Do we fear a free Indian, and a free coloured man in America? The uneasy memory of what is past is in us. Revenge is human.

What we must now realise is that there is a chance for us to wipe out that past by present action. Swift and clear action now for freedom for all will make amends for the denials of freedom in the past. *But it must be action and not promises of "after the war."*

But when we have acted, when we have set free, so far as is in our power, the peoples of the East, need we be afraid? The white race is in the minority in the world. Need we fear the coloured peoples? I am perhaps the last person to answer the question for I cannot understand such fear. I have lived almost all my life, sometimes entirely solitary in great communities of non-white peoples, all the time nearly solitary, and I have seen nothing to fear among these peoples. They are more amiable, more laughter-loving, more kindly in personal ways, than the white peoples are. If they are not more benevolent than we are, at least they are equally so.

Our benevolence is of different kinds. I will give an example. The western man is benevolent when he makes laws for the insane which put the crippled mind or body into institutions which segregate him from the community. The man in the East considers it cruel to separate the afflicted from those most likely to give him real affection and care, his family. And again, if children are better protected from oppressive labour in the West, old people are treated far more humanely in the East. You may take your choice of benevolence, East and West, but there is no need to be afraid. There is no choice between colours and cruelty, either. East and West, Germans and Japanese, have run a neck-and-neck race in cruelty in this war.

Nothing but good to us will come out of an East that is free. Ruler and subject, governor and governed, must not be the human relations between East and West. Co-operation can be the relation, if we are willing to make it so. And we ought to give the great civilisation of the East their chance now, for they are based upon the primary importance of human relationships, a notion, strange enough to us, but which for all that, may hold the key to the future. Our own record for the last three centuries in the West is damning enough. There have been ten treaties, from the Treaty of Westphalia to the Treaty of Versailles, each to end war, each proclaiming fervently the brotherhood of man. All have failed because we would not practise what we preached.

"But it is more complex than that!" is the cry of the man who intends to do nothing. The simple necessity to-day, then, is to accept the fact that the real war is about freedom, and to declare that freedom is a natural right and that the peoples shall be free. And what is freedom? Simply that all shall be considered equal as human beings. There is to be no further subjection of peoples by peoples or races. That is what the East means by freedom. The West must mean it too.

WE NEED OUR PACIFISTS

By HAVELOCK ELLIS

(Written and published in 1938. Ellis lived 1859-1939)

I who am an old man with one foot in the grave have most of my life looked forward to the United States of the World. With that union of Mankind wars would cease and a true civilisation at last become possible. I would like once more to repeat that message which has never seemed so urgent as at this time of crisis.

The United States of Europe is the necessary step towards a wider Union. The historical phase of nationality is over. To speak any longer in terms of nationalities is to court inevitable disaster. So is also a direct fight against Fascism in defence of other principles of nationality.

When carrying on their negotiations it is time our diplomats ceased to harp upon the rights of nationalities. Czecho-Slovakia, an artificial State created by a few powerful and arrogant nations out of the chaos of the last war, is deemed to have such an individual national sanctity as to justify a world-wide war over the question of its defence or dismemberment. Germany has no more right to rule over all German-speaking people than we have to rule over all English-speaking people.

Bones of contention, Alsatian, Sudetan or other, will always exist so long as men go on thinking nationalistically. Such a country as Switzerland might well be torn to pieces between three powerful nations on account of its three different languages. Nations are among the most artificial creation of Man, totally arbitrary for the most part, for the old racial notions are now scientifically exploded.

That Europe is in a sore plight as the aftermath of nations having mistakenly jumped at each other's throat 24 years ago is no reason to continue piling catastrophe upon catastrophe in the name of a murderous gospel long out of date in the light of science and common sense. Neither is it anything but madness to blame Germans for behaving like hogs in a Europe where they have been treated like hogs after a war for which cooler judgment has long since led most thinking people to find wrongs fairly equal on both sides. Nor are hoggish dispositions so peculiar a phenomenon in Europe. He who sees the mote in his brother's eye does not see the beam in his own.

Some of us would die happier should we see the group of fellow-men to whom we belong ready to stand, even at this time of crisis, for an immediate proposal of total disarmament and an invitation to all other nations in the world to meet through their representatives, in view of promoting parallel total disarmament and of creating the United States of Europe.

No more patched-up maps of intensified nationalities, but the first draft of a new map, and the possibility of world-control of production, transport, and so on.

England seems well placed to take such a step with hope of success if its uncompromising pacifists are called forth to replace the type of worn-out and old-fashioned diplomats.

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Councillor Mrs. GERTRUDE CARLING.

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(2) Unconditional Surrender.

Chairman—Miss Annie D. Maxton, E.I.S.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

I have read during the past few weeks four small books or pamphlets each of which, in a very different way, can provide the intelligent reader with invaluable equipment in his fight against war and the pernicious delusions which infest the minds of the majority of his fellow-citizens.

"Death Pays a Dividend," by Fenner Brockway and Frederic Mullally, 3/6, Gollanz, is an able and fully documented exposure of the disgraceful part played by the international armament firms in producing wars for their own profit. The data given are so varied and so striking that the value of the book is not seriously impaired by the fact that the authors' analysis of the root cause of the trouble—the orthodox Socialists' bogey, Capitalism—and the remedies which they suggest (which include an International Police Force) are open to considerable criticism. As I have often pointed out, it is a dangerous half-truth to say that Capitalism is the cause of modern war which is highly inimical to many forms of Capitalism. The main cause of this war is not Capitalism, but Finance, yet the book is of especial value to those monetary reformers who so often fall into the error of supposing that Finance is the *only* cause of modern war. Though doubtless they are the favoured protégés of financiers who assist them with loans when they refuse money to more worthy enterprises, the armament-makers, planning and fomenting wars for their own profit, constitute a phenomenon of evil quite distinct from that of the financiers trying to crush a rival system which does not make the creation and issue of money subservient to the interests of money-lending.

"Don't Be Fooled Again," by Robert J. Scrutton, published by the St. George Book Co., Ltd., 24 St. George Street, Hanover Square, London, W.1, (price not known, but probably very moderate). Mr. Scrutton's new book contains a number of extremely challenging and thought-provoking observations, in addition to being an exposition of his plan for making Democracy work. Mr. Scrutton's organisation—the People's Common Law Parliament—has many enemies and may not be above criticism, as he himself would probably be one of the first to admit. At the same time, as far as I am aware, it is the only organisation in the world, and certainly in Britain, which is endeavouring to perform a task absolutely vital if wars and misgovernment are to be prevented and poverty is to be abolished. Many people in these times of distress are looking for a "new leader," but even if a new leader, a man of wisdom, honour and principle, did arise by way of contrast to the foolish or scoundrelly politicians who occupy positions of authority in almost every country in the world, there would be no guarantee that his wise rule would survive him and that he would not one day be succeeded in office by men of the old and inferior type. P.C.L.P. has a better plan. It suggests how *the electorate* can be organised and trained to form a wise judgment on important issues, local, national and international. It shows how the people can use the powers which they already possess, but of which most of them are ignorant, and, most important of all, it shows how they can, and should, direct and control the men whom their ignorance and apathy have allowed to become, not their servants, but their masters. P.C.L.P. has done more than merely make suggestions with regard to how true Democracy should function. In certain places it has actually got going and it has begun to secure definite results, and even if it does not provide everyone with a satisfactory answer to the common question, "What can we do?" it at leeast puts them well in the way of making their own experiments to discover the right answer for themselves.

"The Truth about Pearl Harbour," by John T. Flynn; 15E, 44th Street, New York City. This American pamphlet, very fully documented, contains the most thorough exposure I have yet read of the war-mongering duplicity of President Roosevelt's foreign policy. Having given a pledge to his people that he would not involve their country in war, yet being himself desperately anxious to do so, he lacked the courage and honesty to lay the whole matter and his feeling about it before the American nation and to resign if, after doing so and hearing his views, the majority would not support him. He therefore set himself, by every means he could devise, to goad the Axis Powers into a declaration of war on the U.S.A., these methods being carefully concealed by propaganda. The early part of the pamphlet contains a few interesting examples of the tactics employed in the case of Germany, but, as the title implies, the greater part of it is devoted to the tactics employed against Japan. I was already aware from information received from other American sources that Japan was perfectly willing to explore the possibility of arriving at a friendly settlement, but I had no idea as to what tremendous concessions, including the conclusion of peace with China and the withdrawal of nearly all Japanese forces sent in from 1937. Japan was willing to make. Roosevelt, however, it appears, had not the slightest desire for peace with Japan on any reasonable terms. He wanted war and was confident of an easy victory. He continued to pursue a policy which ended with a presentation to Japan of an ultimatum of so drastic a character as he well knew would make war inevitable. The pamphlet, however, clearly indicates that the President's skill in getting his country involved in war was by no means matched by his ability to conduct the war successfully in its early stages. By grossly under-estimating the strength of Japan and miscalculating the locality where the first attack would take place, he involved the U.S.A. in extremely heavy losses, but an attempt was made to conceal the blunder by putting the blame on Admiral Kimmel, Commander of the Pacific Fleet, and General Short, Commander of the army at Hawaii. These officers were relieved of their commands and ordered to remain silent pending Court-Martial, while Washington proceeded to create the impression that it would be harmful to the national safety even to discuss the subject during the war. It would appear, however, from the interesting data supplied by Mr. Flynn, that Admiral Kimmel and General Short were in no way to blame for the disaster at Pearl Harbour and did all that they could reasonably have been expected to do.

"Press Parade," by Hamilton Fyfe, published by Watts & Co., 1/6, is not a new book, and readers of *The Word* may have difficulty in obtaining copies unless it be through a public library, or through a dealer in second-hand books. Its interest lies in its author's devastating and interesting exposure of the kind of men who control our main propaganda agencies and the kind of methods which are employed. There can be little chance of a brave new world unless the people learn to distrust utterly and completely the organs of the Daily Press as long as their present ownership and control remain unchanged.

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For Subjects see Weekly Announcements.

Comrades wishing to help this campaign should get in touch with Group Secretary.

COMMUNISTS and The Labour Party

(*Concluded from page* 84)

Consider how "Communists" boast of the bloc vote in the Trades Unions to-day, and how the capitalist press boosts Pollitt's war propaganda from time to time, and then read these extracts from Pollitt's second speech in this debate (pages 17-21):

The strikes of the future can only be led by the workers developing their own leadership and organisation in complete defiance of the bureaucracy which controls the Trade Union Movement to-day.

Comrades, the Labour Party and I.L.P. are not lesser evils. They put forward this theory of the lesser evil to hold the masses back. The capitalist papers deliberately manufacture left wing Socialist heroes and make them national figures, to act as a barrier to the leftward moving masses, and preventing them joining the Communists, and retarding the growth of the Communist Party.

I speak in the name of our Party, conscious of the fundamental difference in principles which characterises the I.L.P. and the Communist Party. So far as coming together as the crisis deepens—we say in all seriousness that the principles for which the I.L.P. stand represent not a lesser evil for the working class, but an opportunist poisoning and a foul corruption of the workers' movement which it is our job to drive out of the working class.

Pollitt's third speech was a summary (pages 26-28).

Here is Pollitt's peroration:

Give your reply, not by speeches of unity, a false unity—(loud applause)—but by joining the Communist Party—(loud and prolonged applause)—and strengthening the Communist International, the leader of the World Revolution, and the freedom of the toiling millions of every country.

And where is the Communist International to-day? And what of that long and prolonged applause?

And here is Pollitt's glib and utterly false reply to a question (page 31):

Question to Pollitt: What is the Communist Party's attitude to pacifism?

Answer: The Communist Party believes that the advocacy of pacifism is the advocacy of principles of belief that more than anything else disorganise and disintegrate the workers' fight against capitalism. I can admire and understand the spirit which dominates some men to go to prison as conscientious objectors rather than take up arms in a capitalist war, but I believe that they are fundamentally wrong, and the Communist Party's attitude on this question is as follows: that those who are compelled to take up arms shall utilise that situation for the purpose of doing everything they possibly can to win support for the revolution and the turning of an imperialist war into a civil war by the widest number of workers possible, and that those who are in industry shall do everything that is humanly possible, by strikes and by sabotage to bring about, in conjunction with their comrades in the army, the defeat of their own country. With such a belief pacifism has no place and the advocacy of general pacifist beliefs and "No More War" propaganda is simply playing the fool with a serious situation.

Ask yourself: Is this man who puts their case forward in debate with Brockway, and made this answer to a question on war and pacifism, and now pleads for unity with the Labour Party, not one of the meanest and most contemptible time-serving political knaves of our time?

Of course, Willie Gallacher, M.P., follows him very closely. Let all genuine enquirers read chapter XVI of our work on *Socialism and Parliament*, Part I, dealing with "Communist Parliamentarism." Note the desire to exploit the Irish Catholic vote at Merthyr in 1934 by the "Communists." Read Gallacher's attack on "the wriggling" of Neil Maclean in 1921. (In one place an error makes the date January 20, 1941, when it should read 1921). Study Gallacher's "Communist" wrigglings on the subject of parliamentarism and how he won West Fife from Adamson, the Miner's Leader, in 1935. *Now sitting for Fife, he wants Labour Party support.* What a game! What a dirty game! And the "Communists" are prepared to get workers jailed, beaten-up on the streets, conscripted into war, made victims of violent strikes from left or right, so long as they can get into power.

The *Manchester Guardian*, for December 2, 1929, reported a speech made by Harry Pollitt at a Communist Party meeting:

Only through social revolution, only through armed insurrection, can the workers gain power.

The *Workers' Life*, December 9, 1929, published a report of a speech delivered by Willie Gallacher. He said:

They had talked of a Revolutionary Workers' Government, but did they realise what was implied? Would the organisation of the workers for the revolutionary government be a legal one? The task of fighting for a revolutionary government would be a task of bringing the workers out on to the streets against the armed forces of Capitalism.

The inaugural Conference of the C.P. voted by a small majority (100 to 85) in favour of seeking affiliation with the Labour Party.—*Communist*, August 5, 1920.

In 1921 the C.P. opposed the Labour Party's parliamentary candidates, the late J. R. MacDonald at Woolwich, and Morgan Jones at Caerphilly.—*Communist*, August 20, 1921.

In 1922, preaching the policy of the "United Front," the Communists gave "conditional" support to Labour Party candidates at the General Election, *Communist*, October 28, 1922. They pledged themselves, if accepted into the Labour Party, "to conform to the constitution," subject to the right of criticism of policy or tactics "in common with all affiliated bodies." *Communist*, June 10, 1922. In 1922 they supported Mr. MacDonald at Aberavon.

In the 1923 General Election "Communists" gave unconditional support to the Labour Party candidates. *Workers Weekly*, December 7, 1923. They did the same in 1924. *Workers Weekly*, October 17, 1924.

Late in 1926, after the General Strike, they still supported Labour candidates, "even if the latter are Right Wingers," and including an ex-Liberal, Commander Kenworthy, who still proclaimed his faith in Liberalism. See *Communism is Commonsense*. C.P.G.B. pamphlet published in July, 1926, and a Hull Election Leaflet issued by the Communists in November, 1926.

In 1928, *Communist Review*, February, 1928, Communists were still prepared to support all the Labour candidates. Moscow intervened and ordered a complete reversal of policy. *Workers Weekly*, February 24, 1928.

At the 1929 General Election they were willing to support Labour candidates who would accept certain "minimum working-class demands." *Sunday Worker*, April 14, 1929.

In 1938 and 1939 the official policy of the Communist Party was to support Labour candidates, but also to press for a Popular Front Government. On March 30, 1939, the *Daily Worker* published the following in bold headlines:

Communist Appeal to Attlee, Sinclair and Churchill—Urged to Defeat Cabinet and Form New Government.

It added:

In a swift and sensational move to get practical action to save the country in the rapidly deepening crisis, Harry Pollitt, on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain, yesterday addressed to Major Attlee, leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Winston Churchill, most prominent of the Conservative "rebels" an appeal that they shall "get together without another minute's delay."

Six months later when war broke out this was still the Communist policy, put forward with even greater insistence than before, since the Communist Party officially and wholeheartedly supported the war and urged the removal of the existing Government in order to make the prosecution of war more effective.

A month later, because the Russian Government late in August, 1939, made a pact of friendship and non-intervention with Hitler, the Communist Party decided to oppose the war. It explained that the earlier action of supporting it had been due to a failure to appreciate its imperialist nature. H. Pollitt and others made abject confessions of error.

In May, 1940, Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair actually joined the Churchill Government, thus carrying out what the Communists had urged in March of the previous year. The Labour Party, instead of receiving Communist blessing, was denounced in the *Daily Worker*, May 10, 1940, for associating with Churchill.

What a man to take under the wing of the Labour Party!

The workers were now urged to "fight against Labour participation in Churchill's new Government." *Daily Worker*, May 11, 1940.

In June, 1941, when Germany attacked Russia, the Communists reversed their policy and supported the war and the Churchill Government.

William Pearson impertinently asserts that the Communist Party can be trusted! With what?

OUR LETTER-BOX

LETTER BOX.

Dear Comrade,—May I draw your attention to two errors of fact, the one of minor importance only and the other considerably more dangerous, occurring in your editorial review of "Workers in Stalin's Russia," by M. L. Berneri, the first part of which was published in "The Word," Vol. VI, No. 6 (January, 1945)?

On page 63, in column 1, you relate: "On October 1, the Moscow Soviet elected a Bolshevik majority. A week later, Trotsky, regarded as a Bolshevik and acting as such in the closest alliance, was elected President of the Petrograd Soviet."

I would point out that in point of fact Trotsky, Lunarcharsky, Uritsky, Riazanov and their followers in the Mezhrayontsi, or Inter-District Organisation, were admitted into the ranks of the Bolsheviks at the August, 1917 (July, old style) Congress of that Party. Trotsky and Lunacharsky were arrested on August 12 (July 23) on similar charges to those made against Lenin and Zinoviev, the warrant for whose arrest was issued on August 10 (July 21). In October Trotsky was not merely regarded as a Bolshevik": he was one.

On the same page and in the same column you make a theoretical assertion unfounded on fact and therefore open to argument. "The Bolsheviks," you state, "by their uncompromising stand for Zimmerwald Pacifism, became the one party in Russia." I find it hard to imagine a more dangerous half-truth; for in your article you make no attempt to differentiate between the Right and Left Wings at Zimmerwald. The Right Wing, the "social-pacifists," as Lenin termed them, were mere muddle-headed emotionalists sucked from the salons of an indecisive centrism, the revolutionary content of whose internationalism had been long since emasculated by their prolonged flirtation with bourgeois-radical, humanistic, non-bloodletting Pacifists, who condemned the class war as strongly as they condemned war between nations. Lenin was the champion of the minority at Zimmerwald, the Zimmerwald Left, in whose policy and personnel was to be found the nucleus of the Third International. You state that on war issues you "stand with Lenin": if, however, you imagine that Lenin would have approved your all-out, uncritical and completely comradely alliance with men of the type of Rhys Davies and the Duke of Bedford, I suggest you re-read the works of Lenin. In so far as you oppose the cancer of Stalinism, more power to your elbow; in so far as you continue to dally with the day-dreams of an anachronistic anarchism, may you be damned.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN C. FAIRHEAD.

Woking, January 1, 1945.

[This is a most valuable letter and ought to lead to an informing correspondence. We do not think that the original writing is at all inconsistent with these corrections.—Ed.]

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—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

In an article which I read recently, a certain monetary reform organisation, which it would be unkind to name, but which until comparatively recently has been conspicuous for its exclusiveness and its hearty desire to destroy all rivals, is reported as having allied itself with another organisation with the aim of promoting a desirable common objective in the interests of individual freedom. The writer of the article wisely praises this growing tendency to co-operate. It is, indeed, both tragic and disgraceful that the various monetary reform movements and peace movements should be divided to the extent they are by jealousy, exclusiveness, suspicion and a total inability to realise that it is possible and often necessary for individuals and organisations who cannot see eye to eye on a number of issues to combine in the promotion of one until the aim in question has been achieved. Such temporary alliances need not involve any sacrifice of principle whatever, and they may make the whole difference between success and failure. Another aspect of this disunity was emphasised recently in a correspondence I had with a friend about a third person who is the object of much criticism, a good deal of which, at any rate, is, I fancy, undeserved. In the course of this correspondence I had occasion to remind my friend of the frequency with which I had been warned by diverse well-meaning persons against him, and he in his reply amused, but did not greatly surprise me, by referring to the number of occasions on which *he* had been warned against *me*, adding that these warnings are characteristic of reform movements! My friend is perfectly right, but I cannot help feeling that reform movements would achieve a great deal more if their members were not *quite* so keen on warning people against each other and were a bit more ready to co-operate in getting on with the job. Warnings, alas! are sometimes necessary, but too often they spring from minds inclined to a narrow outlook and an uncharitable judgment which bases its conclusions on wholly inadequate data.

When reading the other day a pamphlet by one of our more progressive economists, I was surprised to find, in view of the statements which are continually being made of Britain's dependence on imports, that the import and export trade in relation to the total production and business of the country, was in normal times only about ten per cent. I therefore consulted the Secretary of the Economic Reform Club who found that the figure, though an under-estimate, was a comparatively small one, the correct figures for the years 1936, 1937 and 1938 being somewhere in the region of fifteen per cent. It would appear, therefore, that in spite of our large population, the difficulty in making ourselves self-supporting in respect of goods not of a tropical origin, is not so serious as might be imagined. It is also clear evidence that the Government's undue pre-occupation with the post-war export trade is not justified and one may suspect that financial interests and not the interests of the country as a whole are behind it.

A correspondent tells me that he is informed that certain Masons are quitting Masonry in not inconsiderable numbers. I have never myself made a very careful examination of the Masonic question, but, as some readers of *The Word* will be aware, there are a certain number of people, some of them by no means unintelligent, who are convinced that the higher ranks of Masonry are controlled by very anti-social influences, of the nature of which the rank and file are for the most part unaware. Whether this view be justified or not, it seems certain that Continental Masonry—with which, it is only fair to add, British Masonry claims to have no connection—has often come under exceedingly evil influences, and I have heard stories from an eye-witness of some of the practices of the Grand Orient which can only be described as blood-curdling.

Peace News of January 19th records the unpleasant fact that the War Office forbade a number of German wounded to have any Christmas celebrations, although decorations and extra food were available and a number of German nurses on the hospital staff had arranged to sing carols to the wounded men. This exhibition of petty spite, lack of sportsmanship, or stupid red tape is matched by an announcement said to have been made by General Eisenhower that, as, and when, the Allies occupy Germany, churches will be permitted to reopen but they must keep out of politics. Anyone possessing an elementary knowledge of true religion is, of course, aware that Christianity must enter into *every* department of life and especially into a person's politics, as these so largely affect the welfare of his fellow-men and the success with which he can perform his duty to his neighbour. It was one of Hitler's most outstanding mistakes that he thought that religion could, and should, be kept in a water-tight compartment outside of politics, but he had considerably more excuse for his error than General Eisenhower, who comes from a land which has produced men of the spiritual calibre of Dr. Fosdick and Dr. Mott.

Another example of American military piety is provided by a prayer card which, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, has been issued by General Patton, who commands the United States Third Army. The prayer contains the following passages:—"Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech thee of Thy great goodness to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have had to contend. Grant us fair weather for battle." Christian readers of *The Word* will not need to be reminded that the only prayers of petition which have the remotest chance of being answered are those which are in "Christ's name," i.e., of the same kind that Our Lord would have offered if He had been in the place of the author or user of the prayer.

Further evidence of General Patton's qualifications as a writer of Christian prayers is provided by the expression of his opinions in the American publication *Life*.

> **"The way to fight Germans is to ram a bayonet into their belly buttons and rip 'em up and down . . . All you have to do with these Huns is to drive them up one hill and kick them down another all the way to Berlin."**

From the *Daily Mail* of 1/2/45:—

> **"Nothing can now stop us—we will soon be in Berlin. We are thirsting with the desire to see the Germans weeping and crying, screaming and howling, suffering hell and dying," said the Moscow Radio last night.**
>
> **"The hour of retribution has come and the German people are already in convulsions—they are already stewing in their own juice" continued Moscow.**
>
> **"There can be no mercy, no pity. We will see that Berlin pays for this."**

That's the way to make the workers of the world unite and set an example to quarrelling "Christian" nations!

I was considerably surprised recently to receive a letter from a soldier correspondent in Belgium, who is an aviculturist, who told me that birds of the parrot family, coming from three different continents, are still fairly easy to buy in the country and that proper parrot food, including millet and canary seed, the price of which in this country is almost above rubies, is quite easy to obtain. This news comes somewhat strangely from a country which is supposed to have been groaning under the heel of German misrule. A starving and oppressed people have usually neither the heart, the money, nor the facilities for tragedies of war has been the havoc wrought country, are the dealers able to supply them with the proper food. In Britain one of the minor trageedies of war has been the havoc wrought in the interesting hobby of bird-keeping which, intelligently and humanely conducted, can provide a delightful interest and relaxation, in the common enjoyment of which people of all classes can share and sometimes begin new friendships. Before the war there were in this country a great number of curious or beautiful breeds of domestic pigeons, fowls, canaries, etc., which were the product of years of careful thought and selection. The little budgerigar, comparatively recently domesticated, was appearing in an increasing number of new and beautiful colours. Fanciers with more means were engaged in preserving, by breeding them in captivity, rare and lovely foreign birds threatened with extinction in a wild state. Now, after more than five years' war-madness, little, I fear, can be left but animals of a purely utilitarian value and many of the fancy breeds and species must have vanished, in some cases for good, owing to lack of food and to owners being called up. Anti-war fanciers deserve much sympathy in the loss of their pets. Those who are pro-war are reaping but one instalment of the results of their own and their leaders' folly; other instalments are likely soon to follow outside the realm of bird-keeping.

Mr. Colin Darby, Senior Deputy Director of the Supply Ministry's Home Timber Production Department, is reported recently to have said that over one-hundred-million trees have been felled in Britain since the beginning of the war. (I am tempted to feel that a considerable portion of this handsome total has been compulsorily requisitioned from my own estate, and I dare say that there are a good many other people who feel much the same about theirs)!

Mr. Darby added that the outlook for the home-grown trade after the war was not a pleasant one. "But it was better for us to have cut our own throats than to have allowed the Germans to do it." What a typical Government spokesman's remark! "This animal is very vicious," as the Frenchman said, "when attacked it defends itself." We attacked Germany in defence of Poland, which, at the finish, we have entirely failed to defend; we resolutely rejected every suggestion for an honourable peace by negotiation; and then Mr. Darby mentions that we have squandered our timber resources in protecting ourselves against the wanton attack of a savage foe!

TO THE CONSCRIPTING FATHERS OF THE HILLS.

From "The Boise Valley Herald."

We are the failures of peacetime,
  Reliefers and W.P.A.
Our eyes have grown weary with watching
  For dawn of a happier day;
So if you need victims to Moloch,
  If you must have mantargets for guns,
If you have to send troopers to Britain,
  Send us there instead of our sons!

We left our own youth in the Argonne,
  We buried our strength in the Meuse,
We knew the red fields around Soissons,
  And remember the Marne—with a curse.
We envy our comrades who fell there
  To make the world safe—for the Huns,
We're veterans, trained in the fighting,
  Let us die instead of our sons!

We came back, the lorn and forgotten,
  We never again found the place
We lost by our years in the service,
  We had to fall back in the race.
You gave us your doles for subsistence
  When we asked you for ways to earn bread;
Now give us the last boon of freemen,
  Let us be the doomed and the dead!

You have wasted our years and our manhood,
  You have frittered us down to our doom,
And, then, having failed with our freedom,
  You are ready to save it—for whom?
So now, for the sake of our children,
  If you must send the fodder for guns,
Send men whom you've crushed into paupers,
  Let us die instead of our sons!

—ONE OF THE LOST LEGION.

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A VILLAGE EDITOR

Reference was made in these columns for September 1944, to the *Boise Valley Herald*, edited by our comrade, A. Cornell.

In its issue for October 26, 1944, our contemporary, in its 19th continuous instalment, concluded the series of essays from the Duke of Bedford's pen that it had published under the general heading , "Why Keep Blundering On?"

For the purpose of comment, the editor grouped the three booklets under one general head. The first of the booklets by our contemporary was *Peace and Reconstruction*, the speech that the Duke of Bedford had made in the House of Lords on June 2nd, 1942. The second was *Straight Speaking to a Militarist from a Pacifist*, and included the issues of July 13th through August 24th. The third was *Why Blunder On?*

On November 16, 1944, the *Boise Valley Herald* reproduced The Duke of Bedford's leaflet, *Where Have We Got To?*

Summarising the import of *Why Blunder On?* in his leader on October 26, 1944, Editor A. Cornell writes :—

In answering the question "Why Blunder On?" the Duke of Bedford makes no pretence at offering a system that will be a complete Utopia but endeavours to offer that which, if adopted, will be a truly safe first-step forward. Although he does not say so, Bedford no doubt knows that what he is proposing is dynamic enough that the powers that rule will submit to the changes suggested only when and if they see they are powerless to halt and frustrate—and we use the term "frustrate" advisedly for when rulers are faced with an awakened and determined people, their strategy is to "manufacture" "inevitabilities"—as they have done in precipitating America into three wars, in our own lifetime—to which the common people, habitually are easy victims and suffering victims, too.

But what we have in mind here is to give what emphasis we can to Bedford's comments on the freedom of the Press.

In the measure that the Press as a part or as a whole, while pretending to be "free" is subservient to sordid standards, and commercial interests, its fruits are the exact opposite to the fruits of a Press that is free in fact as well as in name. This is to say that instead of nourishing and promoting human progress, such a Press sabotages human progress. As Bedford points out, an accusation, an attack, may be made in good faith or it may be made fraudulently. Every fraud wears the mask of piety. Because of the essential help that a publication gets via the mail service, society is vitally interested in whether or not a published statement is made in good faith or as a deceptive and sordid design. Within the limits of the space it occupies it is seldom that a statement with more profound civic and human implications is ever made than is couched in Bedford's paragraphs 113 to 122, inclusive.

In his issue for August 24, 1944, Cornell wrote :—

This is the ninth issue of this paper in which the Duke-of-Bedford comment has appeared . . . We are publishing these Bedford articles because they are from the pen of a man of character, because only a person of high character will face war hysteria such as Bedford faces. . . . This is a period in which totalitarian fuehrers and their stooges are red eyed after the few who exercise their civic rights.

In his issue for July 20, 1944, Editor Cornell recalled his refusal to regiment "to win the war against the depression under the famous emblem of the 'blue eagle'," but "exercised his right as an American citizen to caricature that hallowed bird and the great fuehrer who was dealing and doping that reign of ballyhoo out as a remedy" for economic and industrial ills.

Cornell adds that the "nationally ballyhooed plan did not fail" because he, as one village editor in one lone Idaho paper caricatured it and its hallowed bird. But he did happen "to have enough understanding" not to be "fooled nor cowed nor otherwise made to stand hitched." In this spirit he justifies the reproduction of the Duke of Bedford's comments.

We quote Cornell's leader in part :—

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TOUCHES THE SPOT

Looked at from the viewpoint of the ordinary person, it would seem that an Idaho Village editor is going far afield to give such extended space to the comments of a member of the British House of Lords, at a time when so much is being said and done close at home, as we are devoting to the comments of the Duke of Bedford. We have no fear, however, that the thoughtful reader will come to see that, from the standpoint of this paper's opposition to violence as a course of procedure in either abating a misunderstanding or solving social problems, that there is more reason than madness in the course we are pursuing. . . .

There never was official power that was not bowed and kowtowed to by the wise and the prudent.

The Duke of Bedford makes timely comment on this crisis from various angles but he especially touches the spot in which the truly Big Boys of the world are interested, when he says the big objective of this war is to put the Axis back on the debt-making, interest-exacting money standard. That is the thing that above all else puts the spot light on the demand for "unconditional surrender." It is truly fortunate for the whole world that the British House of Lords has a member who is putting emphasis on this particular point. We wonder how many of Candidate Roosevelt's men Fridays can make an alibi for the part he has played in the international money-manipulating racket?

A. CORNELL
(Editor, "Boise Valley Herald," Idaho, U.S.A.

IRVING W. CORNELL.

BOYD B. CORNELL.

A Socialist Anti-Militarist Editor and two of his Anti-War sons.

Cornell directs attention to the Duke's citation of Fenner Brockway's depicture of the need to organise a system of international exchange, and comments that the Duke of Bedford is "proposing a most revolutionary departure from all past and present policies." Cornell heads this comment with the question: "*Can Enlightened Politics Be Adopted?*"

The Duke of Bedford's friendly reference to Fenner Brockway reminds Cornell that Edward Holton James refers to Brockway in his "*I Tell Everything*" series of factual articles on India that James published originally in Switzerland in 1931. James wrote a magnificent book, *Trial Before Pilate*. He is also the author of *Crossroads in Europe* and *Jesus for the Jews*.

"*I Tell Everything* began in the *Boise Valley Herald* on Thursday, April 29, 1943, and gave way to the Bedford articles. This is a curious fact since James first became acquainted with us following our trial for Indian sedition in 1909. At that time he knew Shyamaji Krishnavarma and was resident in Paris and entered into correspondence with the late Sir Walter Strickland, B.A., who knew all the leading Indian Nationalists and was most intimate with Krishnavarma.

James went to India to investigate conditions because Viscount Simon, then Sir John Simon, declared that America needed a more realistic understanding of Indian conditions.

From September 3, 1942, down to March 2, 1943, the 2nd class matter privilege enjoyed by the *Boise Valley Herald* was revoked by U.S. Postmaster-General Frank Walker on the charge of sedition—opposition to World War II.

On Thursday, September 3, 1942 United States Postmaster-General Walker charged, in a statement at Washington, that the *Boise Valley Herald* had printed matter held by the Post Office and Justice Departments to be seditious ,and stated that he had ordered the publishers to show cause, under the Espionage Act, why their second-class mail privilege should not be revoked. Walker added that he had ordered the postmaster at Middleton not to accept any copies of the *Boise Valley Herald* for mail until the department in Washington had ruled on their mailability.

The Postmaster-General acted on the recommendation of Attorney-General Biddle. In a letter to Walker, the latter said :—

"Basically oriented in opposition to all wars on religious and moral grounds, this publication, nevertheless, in my opinion, has exceeded the permissible limits of free speech. It has engaged over a period of time in a sustained and comprehensive attack upon the participation of the United States in the present war."

The *Boise Valley Herald*, continued the Attorney-General, had

"labelled the selective service act obscene and unconstitutional and applauded those who refused to comply with it."

In a press interview, members of the U.S. Attorney's office stated that A. Cornell, of Middleton, editor and publisher of the *Boise Valley Herald*, was father of Boyd and Clark Cornell, who served nine months in the Federal Prison Camp at Kooskia, for violation of the *Selective Service Act* of 1940. They recalled that Cornell senior appeared at the trial of his sons in 1941. What else did these State Attorneys expect a father to do?

The Attorney-General explained to the press :

"Since December 7, 1941, this publication, the "Boise Valley Herald" has expressed sympathy for the Japanese and their aims and objectives, blaming the aggressor nations less than the United States for the attack on Pearl Harbor."

Since proceedings were pending, according to his own statement, and that of the Postmaster-General, the Attorney-General had no right, either personally or through the medium of his assistants, to make these statements to the press. Further, they were not true.

The *Idaho Daily Statesman*, polling opinion in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, sought the opinion of A. Cornell. This journal published his reserved, mild, but clear statement of view in its issue for December 7, 1941. It was as follows :—

"I don't approve of the way our leaders have been handling the situation. If handled differently, this thing would not have happened. I would not be in favour of declaring war until all the facts are in and the provocation behind Japan's act is fully understood.

In response to the same enquiry, Irving Cornell, also connected with the *Boise Valley Herald*, said :—

Both nations have been fostering the war spirt so long that it is hard to go any other way, but I should not favour a declaration of war even now. We ought to remember and respect Japan's right in the Pacific . . .

The Postmaster-General only served the notice on our comrade Cornell on Monday, September 7, 1942, *after the press had been informed of his action.*

Postmaster George West delivered the registered package from the Assistant Postmaster-General of Washington, D.C., at the *Boise Valley Herald* printing office.

The indictment consisted of 117 typewritten pages, made up of quotations from every issue of the *Boise Valley Herald* beginning with January 15, 1942, and concluding with August 20, 1942.

The cited matter was alleged to be seditious and was written by 23 persons, all of whom were named. Twelve of the pilloried writers were said to have written one-seditious article; 5 wrote two; one wrote four; another one, six; and another, eight. This was highest, except for A. Cornell himself. He was accused of writing fifty-nine seditious articles.

Cornell replied to this complaint in typical, fearless fashion. He summarised the indictment in the *Boise Valley Herald*, under the excellent title, "*Rogues' Gallery—Revised to August 20.*" He listed the names of the offending writers and published the photographs of several. He then commented on the libelled matter in the following fearless, truly democratic fashion, thereby maintaining the best traditions of the immortal Richard Carlile and Thomas Jefferson :—

"This matter as cited as seditious, if published in pamphlet form, will be valuable to writers who wish to avoid the pains and penalties of the law, as a hand-book of forms of what 'not' to write for publication, valuable alike for editors and writers. If there are enough orders come in at 10c. each to justify publication in pamphlet form, an effort will be made to publish a handy pamphlet edition of them. Do not send the pay; merely a postcard, stating how many pamphlets you will take, in case the edition happens to be published."

In a nation-wide statement to the press, Comrade Cornell quoted the definition of a newspaper published by Jos. Pulitzer, one-time editor and publisher of the *New York World*. This classic definition was reproduced in our columns for September 1944, Vol. VI., No. 2, page 23.

Cornell added :—

As publishers of the "Boise Valley Herald," the Cornell family have adhered to the editorial standards of Journalism as once so tellingly set forth by Joseph Pulitzer, editor and publisher of the "New York World." . . .

This ideal cannot be followed by making it secondary to commercial interests, or to political or social advancement. Since the Bill of Rights was not predicated either upon making men commercially prosperous or upon insuring that those in positions of official power should be preserved from the publicly expressed opinions of the common citizen, it is sure to become a dead letter in the exact measure that the ideal is made secondary to the sordid aims —and every aim is sordid to the degree it suppresses an ideal—implied by Mr. Pulitzer's brief statement.

The Bill of Rights must be preserved, in the same way it was gained, not by winning military victories that add to the power of those in positions to award patronage favours, but by the struggle and devotion of those who had the toughness of spirit to stand with the minority; and take punishment with the few rather than to be submissive to the lures either of easy money or of obscene preferment, or even to the threat of bodily harm.

In a very bold air-letter to the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City, Cornell defined his position with clarity. Commenting on Attorney-General Biddle's complaint, "exceeded the limits of free speech," our fellow-editor said :—

A splendid topic for an editorial, this, allowing the public servant to put a limit on the "free speech" of the citizen master.

Cornell concluded :—

In following our journalistic course, we have been a thorn in the side of local officials (public servants) and now it happens to be national officials (public servants). In one's weaker moments he is tempted to trim and appease and thus inflate obscene power. In my opinion, the aggregate of this very thing is the key of our present national crisis. To reverse that key, and put the civic conscience—of the master —at work frustrating the expediency of the servant, requires toughness of spirit in those who are the spear-head—and every community should have a spear-head—but there is no village in the nation that is under greater obligation for its paper to do its part in reversing the key and saving America, in the only way America will ever be saved, than is Middleton, Idaho. Any war whose winning depends upon the summary blacking out of the instruments of nonconformist expression will make a mighty bad smudge on the pages of our national history.

The Attorney-General's indictment of our comrade, A. Cornell, for attending the Federal Court at Boise when his sons were charged and convicted for resisting registration as conscripts, and his reference to their nine months' imprisonment for this offence, serves to recall their stand.

Tuesday, November 26, 1940, Deputy United States Marshal, E. F. Prater, came down from Boise with a warrant for the arrest of Clark M. Cornell and Boyd B. Cornell, brothers, for refusing to register as per the requirements of the Selective Service (Conscription) Act on October 16th, or subsequently.

The two prisoners were released on bond (750 dollars each) that same day. They appeared in Court for arraignment on Thursday, November 28, the arraignment was put off until Monday, December 2.

The indictment was returned November 7 by the Federal grand jury sitting at Moscow, Idaho, on evidence supplied by Middleton's registrar, Mrs. Eiffel Shaffer and Sheriff A. A. Moline.

Clark and Boyd Cornell were 30 years of age and 24, respectively, at the time of their indictment. Clark was married and had a son. He operated a farm near Middleton. Boyd assisted his father in the publishing of the *Boise Valley Herald*.

On Saturday, December 7, 1940, at 10 a.m., the brothers pleaded "not guilty" in the Federal District Court at Boise to charges of failure to register, after Judge C.C. Cavannah had overruled their motions to quash the indictment, on the ground that it was a peace-time encroachment on war-time powers.

In his opinion, denying the motion to quash the indictment, Judge Cavannah stated that, "prior to the middle of the 18th century, a declaration of war was necessary" to create the emergency that gave Congress the power to compel military service of a citizen in case of need, "but since, the formal declarations of war have fallen into disuse." The necessary emergency could exist now, in peace-time.

Which is a sorry picture of progressive civilisation.

Judge Cavannah's opinion was in line with the decision given by the Supreme Court, January 7, 1918, approving the Conscription Act passed in 1917.

Monday, February 10, 1941, a jury was selected to try Boyd B. Cornell in the Federal Court House at Boise; and next day, another jury was selected to try Clark M. Cornell. The charge was the same in both instances: refusing to register in land and naval forces of the United States. A verdict of guilty was returned in both instances.

After their conviction, but pending sentence, the Cornells issued a statement to the press in which they said :—

Our conviction by Federal Court has not changed our minds about our resistance to the draft act. We disobeyed it because it was born as a war measure and to-day we can see still better that it was designed to prepare us for a foreign war. And we oppose and hate war—there is no guilt in having a different opinion from the official set-up. Our desire for a jury trial was not to prove our lack of guilt, but to have a public trial of the conscription law, itself.

Writing in the *Boise Valley Herald* for Thursday, February 13, 1941, whilst awaiting sentence, Boyd Clark boldly wrote as follows :—

This is more or less a farewell letter to friends of my brother Clark and myself. But in the meantime I wish they would remember this:—

We are of a generation which is inheriting the hates and prejudices of times and events of the past; we are inheriting the war, the unbearable debt, the poverty of a defunct capitalistic economy.

But with all this we are also inheriting the hopes of the future, the almost unbelievable possibilities of modern science and invention; and above all the philosophy of PRODUCTION FOR USE and not for profit, which put into force would avail the workers of the world a standard of living and culture higher than they can at present imagine.

What I am getting at is this:—The young men and women of our generation and of generations to come are the one hope. We have all to gain and nothing to lose. I won't believe that our highest service to our fellow man is in the role of killer. I have too many friends of foreign birth or parentage to believe that the workers of all lands, by co-operation, would not be more useful to each other alive than dead; and I for one refuse to be a party to murder—deliberate and ruthless—to guarantee special privilege and the right to exploit to any group. And so I ask my frinds who see merit in this reasoning to talk it, read it, write it at every opportunity.

I, Boyd Cornell, have been found guilty of feloniously refusing to register in the land and naval forces of the United States as provided for by the so-called Selective Service and Training Act (Conscription) of 1940.

While the law as to legal composition may be unassailable and defy attack from accepted legal interpretation, it nevertheless is one of the most vicious attacks on human rights and liberties ever forced into the statute books of any governing body.

To refute the charge of felonious intent on my part, I believe I have only to prove that I gambled and at the greatest kind of odds, too, my freedom, my rights as a citizen and placed in jeopardy what little property I have been able to accumulate as a protest against the ruthless and arbitrary forces of what is becoming increasingly apparent from day to day is a dictatorship of entrenched wealth to fortify its position and retain its license to exploit natural resources and the inherent wealth of labour. In the United States this power is seized in the name of defense; in the so-called aggressor nations, it is justified by like forces as the "right to live." Wherever it is found it is "Fascism." It is the attempt of special privileged ones now in control of governments everywhere to make the individual the servant of the state rather than the state the servant of the individual to guarantee all men their inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and which as rights are dependent upon the conscience of the individual.

Editor A. Cornell answered the Governmental withdrawal of 2nd class mailing privileges by publishing at top of each issue of his paper the first Amendment to the Constitution, and an excerpt from the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Milligan case, 4 *Wall* 2 (1866).

Amendment I—Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances

The Supreme Court ruling in the Milligan case was :—

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, EQUALLY in WAR and PEACE, and covers with its shield of protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by wit of man than any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy and despotism. But the theory of necessity on which it is based is false, for the government within the Constitution has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence.

For ninety days, Editor Cornell went to considerable expense and trouble to make surreptitious—"boot-leg"—mailings of the *Boise Valley Herald* in his struggle to frustrate the unjust and tyrannical order debarring him from enjoying his common mailing rights. He sent his paper as first-class mail from 25 different post offices in all. He made his conduct known to the authorities by frequent editorial allusion. At last the American Civil Liberties Union, that had been agitating Cornell's rights, but without success, received a letter from the Solicitor of the Post Office Department that meant that Cornell could mail his publication third class, taking responsibility for any violation of the law. The letter read :—

Post Office Department,
Office of the Solicitor,
Washington, Dec. 7, 1942.

Mr Arthur Garfield Hays,
General Counsel,
American Civil Liberties Union,
New York.

My Dear Mr. Hays,

In reply to your letter of the 1st instant with respect to "The Boise Valley Herald" you are advised that the postmaster at Middleton, Idaho, has been instructed not to withhold from dispatch current mailings to this publication. He, however, has been instructed to request the publishers to furnish copies for submission to the Department.

The acceptance of the mailings for dispatch is no indication that the Department has reached a conclusion that this is a mailable publication or that certain issues in themselves are mailable, and should any violation of the law result from the deposit of this matter in the mails, the person who mailed or caused the matter to be mailed will have to bear full responsibility therefor.

Very truly yours,
VINCENT M. MILES.

Cornell published this letter in his issue for December 17, 1942, followed by a bold comment, headed "The Way to Challenge Power Is To Defy It."

Declaring that he took his stand by Amendment I. of the Constitution, and was prepared to challenge the power that was usurped by office-

holding Cæsars, Cornell declared that, in this way, he was prepared to light a candle of resistance. He recalled how the stand of William Lloyd Garrison led to Garrison being dragged "through the streets of Boston with a rope round his neck."

Cornell describes what followed :—

Wendell Phillips was a young lawyer whose attention was attracted from his office-work to what the well dressed mob was doing. Phillips was not scared at what the mob was doing. Phillips was not scared at what the mob might do to him bodily or to his business. Instead of being fearful for his bodily safety and prudent for his professional interests, Phillips was electrified with the outrage of the thing and he flung himself into the defence of that victim. The power of his eloquence was heightened by the dignity of his manhood—"prudent" men have no dignity of manhood. On that day an opponent of slavery was brought into action whose powers as an arouser of public sentiment out-shone the candle power of Garrison something as a multiple-wat electric bulb outshines those of a tallow dip. Phillips' masterful pleading aroused into action the Stowe family and Henry Ward Beecher and John Greenleaf Whittier and maybe even had something to do with the part played by Abraham Lincoln. Yet, while these were gifted in powers of popular appeal, the character of the manhood of such pioneers as Lovejoy and Garrison was not outmatched by any of them. It took outstanding character, not outstanding talent, to light the first candles of agitation.

And so our Comrade Cornell rejoices in being "a village editor" and by the challenges of integrity "lighting a candle."

Defining what his paper struggled for, Cornell says :—

Constant and realistic recognition of the fact that we are in the midst of the period of transition from private capitalism to social collectivism. We stand for political Constitutional democracy and ultimate Social Ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution. We do not vision our part as being above the struggle, but as an immediate and vital part of it which means that we must be tough in taking bad treatment.

On Thursday, December 14, 1944, the *Boise Valley Herald* issued Number One of its 36th year. Until June 14, 1928, our contemporary was known as *The Middleton Herald*. To that date, for 1820 consecutive weeks, our contemporary had preserved a faithful record of the three events of major importance in the career of the ordinary citizen living in Boise Valley, and it had reached out and dealt with political events of world importance. Whilst remaining a local paper, as regards events of family interest in the district of publication, by its fearlessness and progressiveness, the *Boise Valley Herald* has been lifted to the heights of world journalism. It is one of the most useful and most readable papers published in the English-speaking world and should be read and circulated by radical and libertarian thinkers and good citizens of the world in every corner of the world where the English language is spoken.

Defining his position, "village-editor" Cornell wrote to us as follows one day last fall :—

My inspiration has been to publish a truly model Village Paper (I mean model in the sense that its editor and publisher is neither bought nor browbeat). It seems to me that social, political and commercial expediency as it manifests itself in the Pulpit and Press is the curse of this generation. A Village Editor can do but little but the little that he can do is just as important to be done as that which applies to more far-flung realms of activity. "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness." And I know of no quote that is more timely than this at this moment.

Australian Socialist Monthly.

The Socialist League was formed in Melbourne on July 14th, 1944, not as a Party in the accepted sense, but as a liaison association, in which all Socialists of all organisations can co-operate for Socialism.

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POWER WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

Our contemporary, the *Catholic Herald*, in its issue reproduces an editorial, bearing the above heading, from the columns of the London Left-Wing Labour weekly, *The Tribune*, with approval.

The *Catholic Herald* introduces the reproduction with the following wise and timely commentary :—

This paper has always cherished the hope that when it comes to clear moral fundamentals Catholics will find themselves at one with millions of others from whom they may widely differ in religion, politics and social views. Only if this proves to be the case is there much hope for the world.

We are delighted to run across a striking example of this happening.

The Socialist weekly, "Tribune," is very suspicious of Catholics, and this paper disagrees very heartily with most of what "Tribune" advocates. Yet times are such that we find this Left-wing organ printing a leading article under the above title each sentence of which might have appeared in this column.

The sentiments, in fact, are so well expressed and the article (we trust) so significant of how honest men are thrown back on to moral fundamentals in a gangster world that we are reproducing the greater part of it. Some brief omissions from the original are due to space. There is in fact not a sentence or even an emphasis in the "Tribune" article which we would wish to alter.

The Tribune editorial, as thus abridged, reads as follows :—

By the time this appears in print the much heralded conference between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill may be in session. . . .

We feel bound to say that there is nothing in the situation surrounding the conference which justifies optimism for the future. From the first the three Great Powers have insisted that the problems of future security depend upon whether they can reach agreement among themselves.

Of the three Great Powers, Britain was the most foolish in accepting that logic, for she is the weakest of the three. It is in her interest, as it is in the interests of all mankind, that the power of principle should be considered at least equally with the principle of power. Had she done that the smaller nations would have been brought into consultation in the first instance, and the argument shifted on to a plane more suited to her condition and more congenial for civilised discussion.

As it is, Britain has accepted a test from which she cannot hope to emerge the victor. Even in terms of old-fashioned power politics her decision was wrong, and she will pay for it by a declining influence in world affairs.

In the days when he was a supporter of the League of Nations Mr. Churchill held that it was in the long-term interests of Great Britain to assert the principles of international co-operation because the British Commonwealth is a congeries of nations so situated that it is incapable of defence in a world swayed by power politics alone. He showed more wisdom then than he is displaying now. Now he has allowed himself to sit down to a game in which his opponents hold the winning cards.

The absence of representatives from the smaller nations at this particular Conference will prove the decisive factor in the peace settlement. It is they who have the most interest in asserting fidelity to principle in the making of the peace. When they were left outside the conference door principles were left outside also, as will soon be most bitterly clear.

The two concrete tests for the conference are, of course, Poland and Germany. If these are to be decided by a naked use of power stripped of all principle, then both are doomed and with them all hope of permanent peace. Russia may have a case for the rectification of her western boundary at the expense of Poland. Her case is historical, although history is an extremely bad guide in these matters. Few nations can agree about the date when injustice began.

A better guide would be provided by the wishes of the populations concerned, and Russia should have been contented to accept that principle. However, apparently she is not, and so we must assume that Poland will lose a large portion of her eastern territory to Russia. Having done that, Russia, then, for some queer reason, thinks that Poland should be compensated by absorbing German territory down to the Oder. What is the logic of that? It is just that Poland should lose some territory to Russia. Where is the need for compensation? Where is her grievance if she loses what ought not to belong to her? There is no discernible principle at work in that, and so we are compelled to look for the explanation elsewhere.

In our view it is to be found in the need to provide the Lublin Committee with something to bolster up its prestige with the Polish people. The Lublin Committee is a creature of Russia and from all the evidence it has no popular basis among the Poles. It is hoped to provide this by stoking up unhealthy Polish nationalism at the expense of a large territory which is 100 per cent. German, and which Poland cannot hope to digest or hold without the military backing of her powerful Eastern neighbour. The truth compels us to state that the only conclusion from all this is that the Soviet Union wishes to carve up Eastern Germany in order to maintain her own Quisling Government in Poland.

That, of course, is naked power politics, and it is not made less so because it is practised by the Soviet Union. On the contrary it is made worse because millions of people all over the world look to the Soviet Union to give a civilised lead and not join in the jungle fight with the capitalist Powers. Furthermore, our Communist friends, in defending it, deprive themselves of the right to complain of British behaviour in Greece. It is painful beyond expression that the Soviet Union is not following up the success of the Red Army by assuming the moral leadership of the world, a leadership which is now vacant.

If we set aside the claims of nations wishing to make themselves strong at the expense of other nations, there is no difficulty in applying a consistent principle, although its application may vary in its incidents in different places. Czechoslovakia, for instance, in stead of a wholesale expulsion of millions of her German-speaking citizens, should try to solve the problem of the Sudeten Germans by allowing them freely to decide whether they want to remain or go to Germany. If they wish to go to Germany, then they should receive compensation for the loss of their possessions. In most other instances the people and the territory should remain in the nation chosen. If the guiding principle is always the desire of the individual men and women affected, it should be possible to bring about a European settlement placid and strong. Experience has shown beyond all doubt that nations suffer from political indigestion if they try to assimilate unwilling minorities. It should surely be possible this time to avoid the same silly mistake without, on the other hand, falling into the opposite and monstrous mistake of compulsorily expelling millions of human beings from their native soil.

The economic rehabilitation of Europe will be rendered possible only if the political framework is so arranged as to leave no deep and self perpetuating resentments. The long-term solution must be sought in the economic integration of Europe. But the short-term point of departure for it is wisdom, sanity and a sense of pity in the post-war settlement. We would be easier in our minds if we could believe any of these will find a place at this Conference.

All of which is good Socialism, sound democracy, and commonsense.

U.S.M. COMRADE SENTENCED.

Alex. Lang, a member of the U.S.M. in the United States, was convicted and sentenced to three yeears of imprisonment in a Federal Penitentiary, week ending January 27, 1945, for his refusal to serve in the armed forces. The judge denied to him the right to claim conscientious objection as a Socialist. Lang was active in distribution of the *Word*, and in unifying the Socialist Movement in U.S.A. During 1944 he acted as manager of the New York *Call* Book Service, and made it a thriving and useful institution. He helped to organise the Institute for Socialist Research. Now for his refusal to identify Socialism with the wholesale murder of war he has been sent to three yeears of loneliness, abuse and petty secret tyranny.

Comrade Lang fought Nazism and Fascism for many years whilst the American capitalist class was flirting with German-Italian Dictatorship. For this struggle against Fascism he was ridiculed and denied employment by the very class who now have sent him to jail for refusing to murder the victims of their one-time dictator friends. Comrade Lang has been sentenced for his love of human freedom and for his loyalty to the greatest religious command : "Thou shalt not kill."

Socialist comrades all over the world are with you, Alec, in spirit, and we will work with you and for the triumph of peace and commonweal throughout the world, now and forever. In your prison cell, may the inspiration of Eugene Debs be with you. Glory and honour to you in your witnessing under suffering and humiliation.

Lang joins those other Socialists in jail, whose principles, so staunchly expressed, stand as an indictment of war and capitalism.

WORD BOUND VOLUME, for three years: May 1939 to July 1942 inclusive. Green Cloth 12/6. Post Free 13/6.

THIS DRAFT IS DESPOTISM

Delivered in the United States House of Representatives, December 9, 1814.

By DANIEL WEBSTER

[The Draft Act of October, 16, 1940, was an official repudiation of the belief long held by America that the power granted to Congress by the people in the nation's fundamental law or written constitution was enough to preserve the United States as a nation. This belief opposed the spirit of liberty to the tyranny of arbitrary gavernment.

Daniel Webster made his great speech in opposition to a proposal for universal military conscription. At the time that it was made the stage was set well for conscription. The city of Washington had been burned by a temporarily victorious British Army. Two wars against Britain had been fought by that generation. Canada was a logical part of the United States. Military strategists argued that it was a menace of hostility. Thus everything favoured the campaign for conscription and conquest. Webster's great speech arrested the militarist policy of conscription and invasion. One of the greatest, and one of the most timely and most useful speeches ever delivered in the history of the United States, Daniel Webster's speech was suppressed, and blacked-out of the "Congressional Record" for nearly one hundred years.

Born at Salisbury, N.H., January 18, 1782, Daniel Webster died on October 24, 1852, at Marshfield, Mass. A farmer's son, he became one of the greatest advocates, and most famous orators, in the United States. He was admitted to the Bar in 1805 and was sent to Congress in 1813. He settled in Boston as an Advocate and made his name by his distinguished pleading and conduct in the Dartmouth College case. His speech at the bi-centenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers was one of the greatest orations in the English language, and was a speech of liberty. But the man grew timid and conservative. He enjoyed office and sacrificed his conscience and his talents to the idea of a career. Yet he failed to be nominated for President.

His attitude towards slavery was cowardly, although he avowed himself opposed to slavery. His anti-militarism was definite. He opposed war with England in 1844, and with Mexico in 1845. He had to repel a charge of corruption in 1846.

He became representative for Massachusetts in December, 1823, and a Senator a year later.—Ed.]

Mr Chairman: After the best reflection which I have been able to bestow on the subject of the bill before you, I am of the opinion that its principles are not warranted by any provision of the Constitution. . . . This bill . . . is an attempt to exercise the power of forcing free men of this country into the ranks of the army for the general purposes of the war, under colour of a military service. . . . The services of the men to be raised under this Act are not limited to those cases in which alone this Government is entitled to the aid of the militia of the states. These cases are particularly stated in the Constitution, "*To repel invasion, suppress insurrection or execute the laws.*" (Article I, Sec. VIII, No. 14.) But this bill has no limitation in this respect. The usual mode of legislating on this subject is abandoned. *The only section which would have confined the service of the militia proposed to be raised within the United States has been stricken out.*

This, then, Sir, is a bill for calling out the militia not according to its existing organisation but by draft from new created classes; *not merely for the purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection or executing the laws but for the general objects of war*—for defending ourselves or invading others as may be thought expedient, not for a sudden emergency or for a short time but for long stated periods. . . . What is this, Sir, but raising a standing army out of the militia by draft, and to be recruited by draft, in like manner, as often as occasions require?

It is discussion, Sir, of the last importance. That measures of this nature should be debated at all in the councils of a free government is a cause of dismay. The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered and despotism embraced in its worst form.

I have risen on this occasion with anxious and painful emotions to add my admonitions to what has been said by others. Admonition and remonstrance, I am aware, are not acceptable strains. They are duties of unpleasant performance. But they are, in my judgment, the duties which the condition of a failing State imposes. They are duties which sink deep in his conscience who believes it probable that they may be the last services which he may be able to render to the Government of his country. On the issue of this discussion, I believe the fate of this Government may rest. Its duration is incompatible, in my opinion, with the existence of the measures in contemplation. A crisis has at last arrived, to which the course of things has long tended, and which may be decisive upon the happiness of present and of future generations. If there be anything important in the concerns of men, the considerations which fill the present critical hour are important.

It is time for Congress to examine and decide for itself. It has taken things on trust long enough. It has followed executive recommendation till there remains no hope of finding safety in that path. What is there, Sir, that makes it the duty of this people now to grant new confidence to the administration and to surrender their most important rights to its discretion?

Let us examine the nature and extent of the power which is assumed by the various military measures before us. In the present want of men and money, the Secretary of War has proposed to Congress a military conscription. For the conquest of Canada the people will not enlist, and if they would, the Treasury is exhausted and they could not be paid. *Conscription is chosen as the most promising instrument both of overcoming reluctance to the service and of subduing the difficulties which arise from the deficiencies of the Exchequer.* The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take one out of twenty-five men, and any part or the whole of the rest, whenever its occasions require. Persons thus taken by force and put into an army may be compelled to serve there during the war or for life. They may be put on any service at home or abroad, for defence or for invasion, according to the will and pleasure of Government. This power does not grow out of any invasion of the country, or even out of a state of war. It belongs to Government at all times in peace as well as war, and is to be exercised under all circumstances according to its mere discretion. This, Sir, is the amount of the principle contended for by the Secretary of War.

NO MAGNA CARTA TO BE SLAVES.

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free Government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, Sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libelled, foully libelled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure and their own blood a Magna Carta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden which now for the first time comes forth with a tremendous and baleful aspect to trample down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life or even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous Government may require it?

Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free Government and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free Government. It is an attempt to show, by proof and argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism and that we have a right to chains and bondage, grimly secured to us and our children by the provisions of our Government.

It has been the labour of other men at other times to mitigate and reform the powers of government by construction; to support the rights of personal security by every species of favourable and benign interpretation, and thus to infuse a free spirit into governments not friendly in their general structure and formation to public liberty. The supporters of the measures before us act on the opposite principle. It is their task to raise arbitrary powers by construction out of a plain written charter of national liberty. *It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects of a mild, free and limited Government, and to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises and conclusions that Government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort and degree of misery than has been exercised by any civilised Government, with a single exception, in modern times. . . .*

A free constitution of government is to be construed upon free principles and every branch of its provisions is to receive such an interpretation as is full of its general spirit. No means are to be taken by implication, which would strike us absurdly if expressed. And what would have been more abused than for this Constitution to have said that to secure the great blessings of liberty it gave to Government an uncontrolled power of military conscription? Yet such is the absurdity which it is made to exhibit under the commentary of the Secretary of War.

But it is said that it might happen that an army would not be raised by voluntary enlistment, in which case the power to raise an army would be granted in vain, unless they might be raised by compulsion. *If this reasoning could prove anything it would equally show that whenever the legitimate powers of the Constitution should be so badly administered as to cease to answer the great ends intended by them, such new powers may be assumed or usurped, as an existing administration may deem expedient.* This is a result of his own reasoning to which the secretary does not profess to go. But it is a true result. For if it is to be assumed that all powers were granted, which might by possibility become necessary, and that Government itself is the judge of this possible necessity, then the powers of Government are precisely what it chooses they should be.

IF CONSCRIPTION, THEN CONFISCATION.

Apply the same reasoning to any other power granted to Congress and test its accuracy by the result. Congress has power to borrow money. How is it to exercise this power? Is it confined to voluntary loans? There is no express limitation to that effect, and in the language of the Secretary (of War) it might happen, indeed, it has happened, that persons could not be found willing to lend. Money might be borrowed then in any other mode. In other words, Congress might resort to a forced loan. It might take the money of any man by force, and give him in exchange Exchequer notes or certificates of stock. Would this be quite constitutional? Sir, it is entirely within the reasoning of the secretary, and it is a result of his argument, outraging the rights of indiviiduals in a far less degree than the practical consequences which he himself draws from it. A compulsory loan is not to be compared, in point of enormity, with a compulsory military service.

If the Secretary of War has proved the right of Congress to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the militia into the regular army, he will at any time be able to prove quite clearly that Congress has power to create a dictator. The arguments which have helped him in one case will equally aid him in the other. The same

reason of a supposed or possible State necessity which is urged now may be repeated then with equal pertinency and effect.

Sir, in granting Congress the power to raise armies, the people have granted all the means which are ordinary and usual, and which are consistent with the liberties and security of the people themselves, and they have granted *no others*. To talk about the "unlimited power of the Government over the means to execute its authority is to hold a language which is true only in regard to despotisms. The tyranny of arbitrary government consists as much *in its means* as *in its ends*, and it would be a ridiculous and absurd constitution which should be less cautious to guard against abuses in the one case than in the other. All the means and instruments which a free Government exercises, as well as the ends and objects which it pursues, are to partake of its own essential character, and to be conformed to its genuine spirit. *A free Government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction, a free Government without adequate provisions for personal security is an absurdity, a free Government with an uncontrolled power of military conscription is a solecism* (absurdity) *at once the most ridiculous and abominable that ever entered into the head of man.* . . .

In my opinion, Sir, the sentiments of the free population of this country are greatly mistaken here. The nation is not yet in a temper to submit to conscription. The people have too fresh and strong a feeling of the blessings of civil liberty to be willing thus to surrender it. You may talk to them as much as you please of the victory and glory to be obtained in the enemy's provinces. They will hold those objects in light estimation if the means be a forced military service. You may sing to them the song of Canada conquests in all its variety, but they will not be charmed out of the remembrances of their substantial interests and true happiness. Similar pretences, they know, are the graves in which the liberties of other nations have been buried and they will take warning.

Laws, Sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad like the fabled serpents' teeth, they will spring up into armed men. A military force cannot be raised in this manner but by means of a military force. If the administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it ventures on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail, and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our government.

All American Readers of "The Word" and members of The United Socialist Movement should read and circulate

THE CALL

HERMAN SINGER, Editor.

Published Weekly by the Socialist Party, U.S.A., at at 303 4th Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

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HELP US FIGHT IT!

Humanism and International Education

[As comrades know we are a member of the Humanist Society of Friends. The following article is a kind of blue print, outlining the programme and practical activity of the Pacific International University, sponsored by the Humanists in U.S.A. In a later issue we shall publish pictures of the University; an educational study by our colleague, Professor Lowell H. Coate; and an essay on the Humanist Philosophy of Higher Education by Professor J. Herschel Coffin, Ph.D., Director of Curriculum of the Pacific International University. The present essay is only an introduction to a full discussion of this urgent subject, which concerns every citizen of the world. Although the Humanist University is established in U.S.A., and a special appeal is made to all our American readers to rally to its aid, and so extend its influence, there exists a no less urgent need to humanise University education in Britain and even to establish Universities along the lines of the United States pioneer institution.—Ed.]

A MODERN NECESSITY

Pacific International University, chartered under the state laws of California, is founded to meet a necessity which has grown out of the trends of the modern world. The common interests of human survival demand that man shall conquer the expanding frontier of human relations, as he has already conquered the geographical frontier and as he continues to master the scientific frontier of technological power.

The Second World War has compelled humanity at last to realise that governmental policies of nationalistic states enforced by arms and by economic pressures, in the spirit of cultural and racial superiority, can no longer be relied upon to secure culture or to preserve civilisation. The specific necessity is to discover a different approach to the solution of the interests and issues which are involved.

Genuine education, elevated to the international and inter-racial level, holds the promise of an effective solution to these world problems. International education is therefore the new approach which is here proposed. Even the dream of a world government of free peoples cannot be realised apart from the common understandings and mutual confidence which education with an international viewpoint is able to supply.

DEDICATION

Pacific International University therefore has dedicated itself to the task of laying the foundation for this world understanding. More specifically, this task is to pioneer in opening up the new frontier of world education.

In the service of all mankind, this University holds tenaciously to the following guide lines:

1. Rigorous scientific objectivity and the scientific method.
2. Broad humanitarianism, with a concern for the welfare of all men everywhere without prejudice of race, colour or religion.
3. Appreciation of all peoples, with warm regard for the special excellencies of their cultures.
4. A common search for the good life, men and women as fellow-humans irrespective of nation or race or religion serving as its Board of Trustees, its Faculty and its Student Body.
5. Co-operative and democratic spirit and practice, students, teachers and management participating in the various activities and policies.
6. A central interest in the Americas and the Orient, ultimately to spread throughout the world, striving to unite the peoples of the various continents and islands in an intellectual and cultural brotherhood.
7. The eventual establishment of Humanist Universities, with like dedication in all lands, serving all people and all individuals equally, regardless of place of birth or settlement.

A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

The founders of Pacific International University are convinced that even education cannot achieve this common understanding so long as it continues in the prevailing pattern of the Western world. They believe that if, during the past century, educational institutions had been dedicated to world understanding and co-operation, both the first and the present world conflict might have been avoided. But they further believe that the perpetuation of our present segmented curricula, and the competitive nationalism which present educational methods foster, will inevitably tend to precipitate continued and even more devastating conflicts.

An entirely different educational approach is demanded if education is to become the solvent of human conflict situations. The new philosophy of international education advocated may be indicated in the following statement of principles:—

1. For the intellectualistic, "ivory tower" ideal of "scholarship," substitute the goal of healthy, mature personality on the one hand; and the goal of a healthy, mature social order on the other hand.
2. Join the practical with the theoretical in a work-study plan.
3. Synthesize the useful arts, the liberal arts and the fine arts, into the art of living.
4. Substitute the life-situation technique for the departmentalised subject-matter technique. That is, study the basic life situations which are:
   - The vocational situation;
   - The avocational situation;
   - The family life situation;
   - The community life situation;
   - The philosophy of life situation, underlying all these.
5. Individualise each person's educational program.
6. Correlate the individual's many informal educational experiences with the formal.
7. Substitute progress reports for the competitive grading system.
8. Establish an international centre for co-operative living where these principles may be taught and practised.

The United States has representatives of all nations, races, religions and classes in its midst, claiming citizenship. This is true of the entire English-speaking world, but particularly true of the United States. Humanists, therefore, in America seek to apply this new educational Humanist approach to resolving internal conflicts as between racial, economic, cultural, religious and social groups. In this way, transforming society and affecting radical or revolutionary change pacifically and usefully.

Humanists have, further, in the Southern California area social laboratory in which this new educational philosophy may be tested and perfected. Its validity can be established in a highly cosmopolitan environment, prior to being applied throughout the Pacific basin and, then, throughout the world.

LOCATION AND SIZE

A ready-made site for Pacific International University was available on the campus of Chapman College at 766 North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles. Here, in an ideal location, were the necessary buildings for classrooms, auditorium, laboratories, libraries, gymnasium, dining facilities and living quarters. This commodious campus occupied a full city block of more than five acres across the boulevard from the Los Angeles City College, which is a unit of the Los Angeles Public School system.

Chapman College faces Vermont Avenue and lies between Los Angeles and Hollywood, where the transportation facilities centre for both. It is but a few short blocks from the College to the beautiful Barnsdall Park with its Art Museum, and just beyond lies the 3000-acre Griffith Park with its classical Greek Theatre, the Observatory and Planetarium, and its extensive Recreational Centre. It is less than an hour's drive to the near-by mountains and beaches. Nowhere in all the world is there a better natural

setting for an international education centre, surrounded as it is with world-famous cultural, artistic, scenic, entertainment and recreational institutions and facilities.

The College has sufficient dormitory rooms and other essential equipment comfortably to accommodate 500 resident students, with classroom space for an additional 500. One of the dormitories resembles an apartment building, being so planned that it can serve as an "International House" and thus provide living quarters for students of many races and nationalities.

As in the case of all educational institutions, Pacific International University welcomes gifts and contributions from its friends.

WORLD SITUATION AND EDUCATION

The world situation is ripe for this new educational movement; the philosophy of education has been formulated; the blue-print for a new type of educational institution is ready; and the equipment is at hand. Humanists dare not by-pass this strategic opportunity and this solemn obligation. They accept the challenge for "the building of a new world education and a new civilisation."

Pacific International University,
Los Angeles, California.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Our valued Freethought contemporary, *The Truth Seeker*, of New York, in its issue for December 1944, published the following paragraph:—

The Duke of Bedford, it should be known, on taking his seat in the English House of Lords, Dec. 3, 1941, did not take the oath of office, but affirmed, being the first member of that body ever to do so.

This is a somewhat postponed reference to the Duke's action, but it certainly places the fact on record. And it is an important fact in the history of libertarian struggle. Our British Freethought and Rationalist contemporaries made no reference to the Duke's stand.

The Peace News, New York, in its issue for September 1944, in its "Peace Students' Bookshelf," under the heading, "World Disarmament Imperative," published a two-column summary of the Duke of Bedford's pamphlet on *Total Disarmament*.

Our contemporary introduces its summary and quotations with the following comment:—

Just as we had selected a number of interesting and significant pamphlets published by American organisations for review in these columns, a copy of the article by the Duke of Bedford on universal disarmament, recently published in pamphlet form, was received from overseas. From time to time we have found ourselves in sharp disagreement with certain attitudes expressed in the speeches and articles of the noble Duke. The subject matter of this article is so pertinent and the argument for world peace through disarmament so convincingly presented, however, we are devoting the entire "Peace Students Bookshelf" in this issue to the following quotations from the pamphlet.

The *Daily Record*, Glasgow, for Monday, February 12, 1945, published the following report of the Duke of Bedford's main address in Glasgow on Sunday, February 11:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD ON RUSSIA.

"There exists the grave danger of a future war with Russia," said the Duke of Bedford, addressing in Glasgow yesterday, the Union of Democratic Control.

"We went to war to protect Poland," he said, "but now we must allow the Russians to seize more of that country than Hitler demanded, and tolerate the Quisling Polish Government of Communists."

The Duke of Bedford described the U.S.S.R. as "the only country which does not admit the Red Cross or any other international body."

WAR:
I Think I'll Sit This One Out

By MILTON S. MAYER

(Assistant to the President, University of Chicago)

[Mr. Mayer contributed this article to the "Saturday Evening Post," October 7, 1939.—Ed.]

Justice alone knows liberty, equality and fraternity, and justice is a human virtue arising from man's human capacity to reason. We cannot make sense out of justice by looking at the moon or taking dope or building battleships. We can make sense out of justice by using our reason to discover why justice, like wisdom, is better than rubies.

It is sensible military tactics to recognise the enemy before you shoot. The common enemy is the animality in man, and not the men here and there who are behaving like animals at the moment. Neither science nor prayer nor force will save us. What will save us is the reason that enables men, in ancient Israel or modern America, to choose between guns and butter, and to choose well. When we have produced men of reason, we shall have a world of reason, and the Hitlers will disappear. As long as we produce men of force we shall have a world of force, and Hitlers, whoever wins the wars, will carry the day.

Society may make many demands on me, as long as it keeps me out of the cave. It may take my property. It may take my life. But when it puts me back into the cave I must say, politely but firmly, to hell with society. My ancestors were cannibals without benefit of parliaments.

My friends conclude that I can't be "reasoned with," and they agree to gang up on me with one last "*ad Hominem*" appeal.

"What good can you do in jail?" they ask. "A Debs, yes. But whoever heard of Mayer? Who cares if Mayer opposes the war?"

And my answer is that Mayer is indeed inconsequential, but a thousand Mayers, a million Mayers, ten million Mayers, may prove to be too many to ignore. And if there are only a hundred Mayers this time, their example may produce a thousand Mayers next time. That will mean a lot of wars before the Mayers are heard, but I can wait.

And if there is only one Mayer, his case against this war remains the same. That one Mayer will have to take his kicking around like the man he claims to be, and he may not get a chance to open his mouth, much less build a better world. But he will have taken his stand, not because he thinks God or the big battalions are with him but because he can take no other. And he will have to say, with William the Silent, that it is not necessary to hope in order to undertake, nor to succeed in order to persevere.

THE STUDY CIRCLE.
(Founded by ROBERT SHANKS)

For the discussion of the Principles and Problems of National and International Life in the light of the Teaching of Jesus :: ::

100 West Regent Street, Glasgow.
Sunday mornings - - at 11.15

Opportunity for Questions and Discussion will be given after the Address at each Meeting.

GLASGOW FABIAN SOCIETY.

Secretary—Helen M. Yuille, 25 Stamperland Ave., Clarkston, Glasgow. Telephone—Giffnock 3429.

MEETINGS IN 1945.

March 10, 24.—For Speakers and Subjects see Weekly Announcements.

Meetings will be held FORTNIGHTLY on Saturdays in the Geneva Room, Green's Playhouse, at 7 p.m.

Please keep the dates in mind. You may forget the details, but remember EVERY SECOND SATURDAY.

SHAKESPEARE ON WAR

BY C. H. NORMAN

Every time that St. George's Day comes round, which is the same date as the alleged birthday of Shakespeare, certain public men indulge in displaying their familiarity with several well-known passages from "King John" and "Henry the Fifth." But, in fact, Shakespeare had little opinion of the ways and deeds of the powerful as presented in his historical plays.

On the subject of war, nothing could be more direct than this analysis of the lot of the ordinary soldier in all campaigns, in all ages: "Boult: What would you have me do? Go to the wars, would you? Where a man may serve seven years for the loss of a leg, and have not money enough in the end to buy him a wooden one?" (Pericles, Act IV: Scene VI.)

Then there is the scene in the Third Part of Henry the Sixth, where the son who had killed his father at Towton Field, and the father who had killed his son pass across the stage in the presence of the king, leading the latter to indulge in some melancholy reflections. (Henry the Sixth, Part III, Act II: Scene V.)

In Henry V, Act I: Scene II, Shakespeare exposes, through the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the shallowness of the excuses for the war of aggression contemplated against France, which Henry, hypocrite that he was, was seeking religious sanction for.

Another interesting passage is in Scene I, Act IV, Part 2, of Henry the Fourth, where the Archbishop of York declares: "A peace is of the nature of a conquest: For then both parties are nobly subdued: And neither party loser."

Another instructive scene is the one between Timon and Alcibiades ("Timon of Athens," Act IV, Scene 3); also, in "Troilus and Cressida," Scene 8, Act V, where the cowardly brutality of a famous classic "hero" is exposed.)

Typical examples of Shakespeare's unrelenting analysis of the ferocity and cowardice of the militarists of the Wars of the Roses period are found in the description of the murder of the young Earl of Rutland by young Clifford (Scene III, Act I, Part III, Henry the Sixth), in Scene V, in the Second Act, where Clifford himself is killed; in the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, Scene V, Act I, Part III of Henry the Sixth; in Scene VI, Act III, of Richard the Third; and in the truly remarkable scene in Act IV, Scene IV, of the same play, in the closing words of Henry Bolingbroke (afterwards Henry the Fourth); in King Richard the Second, Act V, Scene VI; and, finally, in the speech of the Duke of Buckingham on the scaffold in Act II, Scene I, of Henry the Eighth. There is also the famous graveyard scene (rarely given in full) in Hamlet, Act V, Scene I.

It is not without significance that the two most quoted patriotic speeches are put by Shakespeare

(A) In the mouth of the Bastard Faulconbridge, a mere go-between of that ruffian, King John, whose conduct in reference to the incitement to the murder of Prince Arthur is plainly laid before the reader, Faulconbridge being represented at the end as the one loyal apologist and supporter of King John. Incidentally, the passage is filled with historical untruths, as England "did lie under the proud foot of the conqueror" under the Romans, the Danes, the Saxons and the Normans; and in all her major wars, England has looked to the assistance of powerful states like France, the Germanic Powers, Russia and the United States, besides others.

(B) In the mouth of Henry the Fifth, who was a thorough rascal, whose misgovernment has still left its mark on the realm, and whose deeds, compared with his words, mark him as one of the greatest hypocrites, next to Elizabeth, who ever sat on the English throne.

One thing clear, above all things, is that Shakespeare had a proper valuation of the "religious" outlook of the Archbishops, bishops, cardinals, and the like, who appear in his pages. The quota-

tion given above is the only sentiment that might properly be described as Christian which falls from clerical lips in the whole of the plays.

A close comparison of the speech of Henry the Fifth before Agincourt, of the speeches of Henry of Richmond and Richard the Third before the Battle of Bosworth, of the speech of Mark Antony, after the murder of Cæsar, with the Noodles Oration of Sydney Smith, would rather suggest that Shakespeare regarded the utterances of these personages as of the same character as those satirised by Sydney Smith in "The Noodle's Oration," which are so often indulged in by those politicians and statesmen whose knowledge of the ideas of Shakespeare is apparently limited to the two well-known patriotic effusions of the Bastard Faulconbridge and Henry the Fifth.

CONVICT 9653

Our pamphlet *Convict* 9653 is well printed and deserves a wide circulation. It tells the story of the United States great Socialist Anti-Militarist, America's Vision Maker, Eugene Victor Debs. It is sold at the popular price of 2d and can be ordered through the post for 3d. Socialist and Pacifist groups should order in quantities. A dozen copies will be sent, post free, for 1s 6d.

Ernest A. Davies, in the *Daily Herald*, London, for June 7, 1923, described Eugene Debs' great meeting in the huge hall of Madison Square Gardens, New York, in April of that year.

Describing his treatment by the United States Government, Debs said :—

They thought they had me in prison; but they had not. They thought they had suppressed me, but they had not.

They took from me my citizenship of the United States, but they did not rob me of my citizenship, for I am a citizen of the world.

He recalled the names of Washington, and the immortals, Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. He told his audience of John Brown of Harpers' Ferry. And he added :—

You are teaching your children to-day to revere the names of these men, these "agitators," these "demagogues," these "disturbers of the peace," these "traitors" of a century ago, while all the respectable majority who called them such sleep in forgotten graves. The world does not know they lived.

And he concluded, powerfully, dreamily, and with his soul stirred with his vision of the world to come—on earth :—

I see a world where thrones are trembling and kings are dust. A world where slavery has ceased and the name of masters has been forgotten. A world where all is art, beauty and joy, where war and hate have ceased.

Workers unite, rid yourself of your chains, and take possession of that world.

At Atlanta Prison, Debs, no longer, but merely a number, Convict 9653, was asked his religion. He replied :—

I have no preference—I have a religion of my own.

Father Byrne, the Catholic chaplain, testified :—

I have learned since that he not only has a religion but he has a religion which he lives in every act.

Debs regarded his gaol as a monastery and his cell as a cubicle of meditation—a genuine monk's cell. He explained himself on a visit from a comrade :—

One never does really know one's own soul until the world in which one functions is suddenly taken away.

In prison, Debs wanted to serve society's unfortunates. In prison garb, he ministered in the hospital to the most loathsome cases of suffering.

Sam Orr was a negro "lifer" and unmanageable. Naturally, the authorities put him for months in a dungeon on bread and water which he shared with rats. They hung him by the wrists, chained and flogged him. They deprived him of water, but even thirst did not break him. Fellow-Convict 9653 talked to Sam Orr with such effect that his release on parole was secured.

Attorney Castleton described the influence of Debs on Orr :—

DEBS VISITED IN PRISON.

Eugene V. Debs (centre), wearing prison clothes, with members of the Socialist delegation who went to Atlanta Prison, Georgia, to inform him he had been nominated as Socialist candidate for the United States Presidency.

Debs just loved Orr, understood him, sensed his errors and frustration. He made Orr realise the depth of his sympathy and understanding. Slowly Orr responded. He flowered. Debs is a modern St. Francis.

Prisons are the obseene concentration camps erected by the reputed good for the better victimisation of the alleged evil. Often it is but the persecution of the unfortunate by the fortunate, of the sorry miserable failures of conventionalism by the sorry miserable pompous braggart successfuls of conventionalism. The successfuls threw Debs, the protestant, the prophet, the unsuccessful into their concentration camp. The greatness of the man worked miracles. He purified the atmosphere. In the hospital, unclean words ceased from utterance—without so much as a word against the practice being said by him. The man was respected and his rebel purity and impassioned humanist cleanness of soul and understanding were obvious. His personality defined and urged morality.

Asked to explain, he said quietly :—

All I have tried to do is to break down some of the bars that imprison the soul.

Debs in prison was a study in victory over environment. His radiant happiness in suffering and service was a spectacle of light shining in dark places. The spirituality of the man explained his definition of Socialism.

Debs said :—

If Socialism were a scheme to make every one rich, it wouldn't appeal to me at all. I wouldn't give one ounce of my energy to turn the United States into a nation of Rockefellers. Socialism is not meant to make every one rich, but is an opportunity to make every one function. It sets all free to serve.

Convict 9653 is a booklet that ought to be circulated widely by the Socialist movement.

American comrades can secure the pamphlet, "Convict 9653," from David Berkingoff, 315 East 209 Street, Bronx 67, New York. Price, 5 cents. Postage extra.

With this issue our paper becomes 3d. The annual subscription becomes 4s.0d., post free. We regret the change but we must overcome our debts. Our comrade, Frank Burgess, of Birmingham, has sent us £10, and a letter of encouragement, urging us to open a deficit fund with this donation. The letter will appear in the next issue and the fund opened. **The paper and work must go on.**

U.S.M. MEETING

GUY ALDRED speaks at the Central Halls, Bath Street,

On SUNDAY, MARCH 4,

PEACE NOW—AND FOR EVER.

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

Make this Meeting a Success!

I ACCUSE CHRISTENDOM

By Rev. EDIS FAIRBAIRN

Christian Community Minister, Windermere, Ontario, Canada.

"To Maintain Courage by Sharing Conviction."

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of having bungled a great opportunity.
It, in effect, rediscovered the scriptures,
and particularly the Gospels;
but instead of prosecuting the campaign
for the Kingdom of God on earth,
it took refuge in theology, ecclesiology and mysticism.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of maintaining a half-faith in the Incarnation.
It fervently believes that God became man in Christ,
but not that Christ was incarnate in a nation,
a social order, and a historical situation.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of piously hankering after a "timeless" religion;
meaning by that one independent of mundane factors
and situations like nationalism, war, and economics,
and the other actualities of life;
when it is perfectly obvious
that we know absolutely nothing about God
save as He reveals Himself
under conditions of time, space, and circumstance;
and we have no dealings with Him,
except by meeting Him where He works.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of turning aside from the social righteousness
of the Sermon on the Mount,
to the salvation and sanctification of the individual,
and of seeing in the service of God
only the obligation to get other persons
interested in their own salvation and sanctification.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of the sin of patronising Jesus Christ
instead of obeying Him.
It has spiritualised His teachings,
interpreting, distorting, or ignoring them,
until it has made it possible
for allegedly Christian nations
to render lip-service to Jesus
While actually worshipping the twin foes of Jesus,
Mars and Mammon.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of being wiser and more spiritual than God,
when it complains with unctuous complacency
that of course it is not up to the Church
to provide a blue-print for a Christian Social Order,
and thus implicitly snubs Jehovah,
who chose to use for the revelation of Himself,
a nation, a people, a concrete social unit,
giving them a law
which was first and foremost a blue-print
of a definite kind of social structure,
and only incidentally a set of rules
for sacrificial worship.

I accuse evangelical Christendom to-day
of timidity and oblique vision.
It ought to have dished communism
before that ever got started,
by insisting long ago, and asserting ever since,
that persons are more precious than property.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of taking pride, complacent, pious pride
(as though it were the summit of religious achievement)
in making "law-abiding citizens,"
when it ought to have created
law-making and law-changing citizens.

I accuse evangelical Christendom
of thus betraying the essence of the Gospel,
without excuse of ignorance,
for the reason,
thrust down deep into the subconscious
that it was reluctant
to soil its lily-white hands,
or to sully its sentimental spirituality,
by grappling with the nasty, dirty,
sordid, messy, tiresome, dangerous task,
of getting God's will done on earth
socially, economically, and internationally.

BEDFORD NEWS-LETTER

Edited by the Duke of Bedford.

Published Fortnightly.

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Printed in Great Britain

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 4s. 0d.

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THE MINERS

Ye're heroes, aye, ye're heroes,
When workin' doon the mine.
They slap yer back an' praise ye,
Ye're gallant lads an' fine,
Toilin' there among the damp
Where nane o' them wid daur,
Ye're heroes, aye, ye're heroes,
When gettin' coals for war.

They humour ye, an' praise ye,
As ye keep the bunkers fu',
An' the convoys bring the foodstuffs
That they ration out to you;
Or the troopships tak' yer brithers
To the battlefields afaur,
Ye're heroes, aye, ye're heroes,
When gettin' coals for war.

They'll promise ye high heaven
As the furnace flames ye feed,
In a world that's mad wi' murder,
Truth is sacrificed to greed;
As the factories belch their smoke-clouds
An' their profits daily soar,
Ye're heroes, aye, ye're heroes,
When gettin' coals for war.

It was yince a different story—
Dae ye mind their hunnish tricks?
They battoned ye in "Twenty-One,"
Ye were jailed in "Twenty-Six."
Did they aid ye in the "Thirties"
As yer miseries did increase?
Ye were traitors, rogues, an' workshies
In the pipin' days o' peace.

They flatter to deceive ye,
Their creed is aye the same;
Watch them when the victory's won,
They'll try the same auld game.
Forget their rosy promises—
Remind them if ye daur,
An' see how they treat the heroes
Who produced the coals for war.

JAMES MITCHELL.

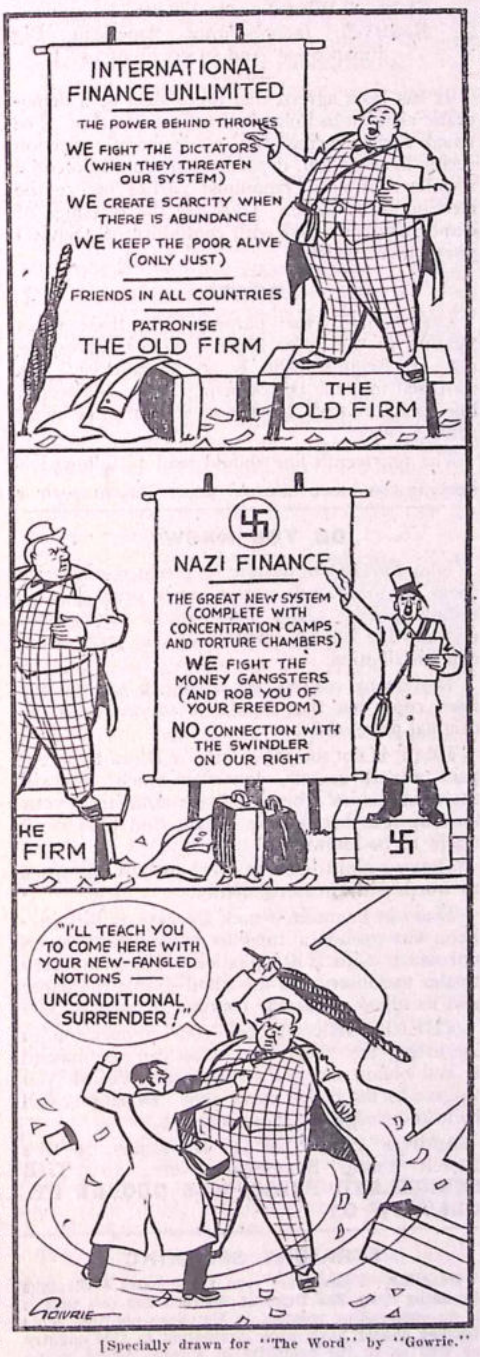
NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

"The airman with his bomb does indirectly and in a great degree irresponsibly what he could never face doing directly and responsibly. No unperverted man could work at close quarters and with his own hands inflict the kind of injury on women and children which any bomb of any airman may produce."
—"Science, Wisdom and War" (Peace News pamphlet).

One of the main causes of war, and indeed of other grave evils as well, is the unwillingness of the ordinary person to think and to face up to *all* that a certain course of action in which he personally may be implicated, involves. He prefers to live in a cloud-cuckoo-land of thought-shirking, unimaginative unreality, and it is one of the main functions of propaganda to keep him in such a state. As Captain Mumford has pointed out, there is no difference between throwing a number of babies upon a fire and throwing fire upon a number of babies, and only propaganda and unwillingneess to think prevent the identity of the two actions from being realised.

"The only channel for moving goods is money, therefore the dams across the channels which prevent the free flow of goods are financial."
—STUART CHASE.

It is rarely that an economist as well known as Mr. Stuart Chase talks so much good sense. The financial powers usually take good care to see that real economists blush unseen and waste their sweetness on the desert air!



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

THE UPSTART

It is stated that between the years 1909 and 1918 American industry produced 390 billion dollars worth of goods for consumption, but only distributed 260 billion dollars of purchasing power in the form of wages, salaries, profits and dividends; also that during the years 1927 and 1928 Australian factories produced 416 million pounds worth of goods but distributed only 130 million pounds in wages, salaries and dividends. In both cases the difference between the value of the goods produced and the amount of purchasing power distributed in a form available for buying consumable goods represents either goods which had to be exported without bringing in any corresponding value of imports, or goods which had to be destroyed because, though probably desired, they could not find purchasers at prices fair to the producers. The main causes of this shortage of consumer purchasing power are the indirect results of investment and of increasing mechanisation, which the present financial system does not allow to be made good in any sensible fashion.

A war indemnity of some hundred million dollars or more has been imposed by Russia upon Hungary. The currency in which the amount of the indemnity is expressed is curious and apparently significant, seeing that Hungary has no dollars, nor has she the right of creating them. It looks uncommonly like a typical racket by money-creating and money-lending American financiers. It would not be surprising if the latter, by a stroke of the pen, created dollars to the amount of the indemnity demanded of Hungary by Russia, and lent it to the Hungarian Government. American citizens would then be put to work to make goods to the value of the indemnity for export to Russia; while Hungary would be expected to export to America goods only to the value of the interest on the loan. The plan would bring in a nice little tribute to the American financiers, but would be bad for the American nation since the latter would toil to produce for export to Russia goods to the *full* value of the indemnity but all that would come back in return would be Hungarian goods to the value of the *interest* on the indemnity loan—a very much smaller amount. The American financiers are probably hoping to get away with their plot quite easily because of the ignorance of the American public of matters relating to finance, and because of the extent to which they, like the British public, are still hypnotised by the foolish and out-of-date notion that, in an age of labour-destroying inventions and discoveries, the performance of paid work alone entitles an ordinary person to receive an income wherewith to buy goods to satisfy his needs. American citizens engaged in manufacturing the goods for export to Russia will be earning wages by reason of their employment, and this fact, the financiers reckon, will be enough to keep the general public quiet, and indeed convinced that the financiers are rendering a most useful service to their country! It may also be the intention of the financiers to get Hungary into a position of unrepayable debt to the U.S.A., if they can.

A Hull coroner, replying to the question of a woman, "Why do they have to have wars and upset people's lives?" said, "You must blame the politicians. The higher they are, the worse they are." After affirming that most M.P.s had no interest in their constituencies, he added, "Things will have to be altered after this. They will have to get their orders from the electors. The electors are never consulted: they are treated with contempt." "Janus," of the *Spectator*, who seems much offended by these sensible remarks, writes: "A little course of Burke on this subject wouldn't hurt the Hull coroner." And a little common sense and honest facing of realities wouldn't hurt "Janus"!

We learn that to prevent fraternisation between members of the occupying army and the German population after the war, military camps are to be established outside the large towns, as "self-contained communities." Except when on duty, the soldiers and airmen will be restricted to these camps. They will be sent during duty hours into the towns to police the administration and population, but will not be allowed in the towns at other times. Entertainments and social amenities will be provided within the camps, which will include large A.T.S. contingents. It is proposed that this administration shall continue for 25 years and that it shall then be tempered off during a period of another 50 years! An officer's comment on this wonderful scheme—"Just b—— daft"—seems entirely adequate.

On January 8th, Lord Cranborne said in the House of Lords, "'If after this war there are set up dictatorships all over Europe, whether of the Right or of the Left, then we may have beaten Hitler but we shall have lost the war." Well, the dictatorships *are* springing up like mushrooms, as the Government spokesman in the House of Lords should be able to see if he is not entirely blinded by wishful thinking. Those who cannot accept truth when it is put before them and take sound advice, are more likely to live to see their fears realised than their hopes.

According to the report of a Jugoslav officer mentioned in *The Catholic Herald*, General Tito is maintaining a private concentration camp, with the appropriate attendant atrocity programme, even over here at Leigh-on-Sea. After he had been arrested by one of General Tito's minions, the officer, on several occasions, heard cries and shouts and the sounds of men being beaten.

A friend whose family have been living in Belgium during the war learns that economic conditions are now much worse there than they were under the Germans. This only confirms reports which are constantly coming in from the liberated or conquered countries. UNRRA seems to be in a complete mess and the paper money issued by the Allies in Italy with the Four Freedoms written on it is commonly seen with "Freedom from Want" crossed out by an angry hand. Surely the American Government, at any rate, with ample economic resources and a very large quantity of shipping, could do a bit more to prevent the Allies from making themselves even more unpopular in Europe than the Axis?

In a recent speech at Manchester, Mr. Herbert Morrison said that democratic governments "must be ready to maintain civil liberties and the freedom of the Press, and to deal firmly and in a realistic spirit with really dangerous, subversive plotters, high and low." In other words, they must maintain civil liberties by imprisoning under a form of Regulation 18B all those whom they, being judges in their own case, choose to consider "subversive plotters," and all publications must be suppressed on a similar principle.

Mr. Winston Churchill's past views on the same subject are also interesting, especially as it is possible that he has not changed them. Lord Riddell, in his "Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After," writes, in June 1920: "I told Winston of Lenin's speech in which he said that the day of pure democracy was finished and that freedom of speech and freedom of the Press were its two chief characteristics. "Why should these things be allowed," he went on, "why should a government which is doing what it believes to be right allow itself to be criticised? It would not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are much more fatal things than guns, and, as to the freedom of the Press, why should any man be allowed to buy a printing-press and disseminate pernicious opinions calculated to embarrass the government?"

It is reported that half of the 15,600 Canadian soldiers who were recently warned for overseas service failed to return from embarkation leave. It begins to look as if young men in Canada were at last having some doubts about the likelihood of this war for freedom and democracy achieving its professed aims!

"Peace News" states that the War Office have denied that they issued any order forbidding Christmas celebrations for German prisoners in hospital. In these days when our rulers so constantly say and do things of which one had hoped English gentlemen were incapable, it is quite a refreshing change to learn at least of one caddish action of which they have been accused unfairly.

Conference mottoes of the Big Three:—
Churchill—"What I have I hold"!
Stalin—"What I want I'll get"!
Roosevelt (representing American Big Finance)—"And so say all of us"!

It has been agreed that there shall be a democratic election in Poland with a secret ballot. The usual Soviet recipe for a democratic election seems to be to kill, deport, or intern all potential members of anti-Communist parties before the election takes place. Thus are the blessings of democracy combined with continuity of (Soviet) government policy!

ERRATA.

Last month, the paragraph in these notes relating to the letter from a soldier correspondent in Belgium who is an aviculturist, was confused in some issues owing to the fourteenth line being omitted, and the seventeenth line being printed twice.

The fourteenth line should read as follows:

keeping the more unusual pets; nor, in such a

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STRAIGHT SPEAKING

Dear Sir,—I have just read the booklet "Straight Speaking" by The Duke of Bedford and feel that it is an outstanding treatise on European politics. This booklet should have wide circulation in this country as well as in the countries of Europe, which would counteract propaganda which flows so freely over our radio stations and also emanates from some of our influential newspapers and politicians.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) CATHERINE BRUNER.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Jan. 18, 1945.

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A SOLDIER'S PROTEST

The following severe and unanswerable censure of our statesmen, our clerics, our politicians, our public men and interests, whose conspiracy for greed and power gave us war, was published in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, November 18, 1944:—

IN BURMA.

The parents of a Thornhill soldier serving in Burma have received the following verses from their son:

I am sitting here and thinking
Of things I left behind,
And I'd like to put in writing
What is running through my mind;
We've dug a million ditches
And have cleared ten miles of ground,
We have filled a million sand bags
And strewn them all around,
But there is one consolation,
Gather round me while I tell,
When we die we'll go to heaven
For we've done our stretch in hell.

We've built a million cookhouses
For the cooks to burn our beans,
We've done a million weary guards,
We have cleaned the camp latrines,
We've washed a million dixies,
Opened millions of tins of beans,
And killed a million mosquitos
That stuck to us like pins,
But when our work on earth is ended
Then our friends on earth will tell,
"When they died they went to heaven,
For they'd done their stretch in hell."

When the final call is sounded,
When we lay aside life's cares,
When we stand our last inspection
On those shining golden stairs,
The angels they will welcome us;
Their golden harps they'll play;
And the tune that they'll be playing
Is "No more parades to-day."
It is there we'll hear St. Peter
Say to us with a yell,
"Take seats, lads from the Jungle,
"You have done your stretch in hell."

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WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

"When the war is over"—
That blessed phrase sublime!
So useful to the people
Who want to bide their time.

When the war is over
Everyone must build.
But what if all the builders
And architects are killed?

When the war is over
We'll have a brave new world.
But what if all the brave ones
Are in the furnace hurled?

When the war is over
We'll all be right as rain.
But when the earth is scorched with fire
When will it yield again?

When the war is over
Youth must take command.
But what if all the youth to-day
Are lost to war's demand?

When the war is over
We'll teach the Huns again.
But what if all the teachers
Are in the battle slain?

Perhaps the politicians
Will step into the breach.
But what if, when they're ready,
There's no one left to teach?

The builders and the architects
Are building to destroy.
The brave are at the battle front,
In youth there is no joy.

Teachers busy teaching
Men in schools of battle.
Statesmen putting off the day
With endless idle prattle.

Children sent to nurseries,
Mothers making guns,
Fathers sent out killing
Other mothers' sons.

Would it not be better,
Instead of "going to it,"
To stop the war and do it now
While yet we've men to do it?

MADELAINE J. MOORE.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST C.O.

C.O. TRIBUNAL GRANTS UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

SIR A. C. BLACK, K.C.

Sheriff Principal of Lanarkshire; Chairman of Glasgow and S.W. of Scotland Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal; M.A., LL.B., Glasgow University; Assistant Editor Encyclopaedia of the Laws of Scotland, 1926-34.

[Reproduced from a Glasgow Newspaper sketch, probably "Evening Times"]

Since December 1939, we have published, in these columns, several reports of the cases heard by the Glasgow Tribunal. For a time this functioned as S.W. Scotland No. 1 Tribunal, but it seems to function for the whole of S.W. Scotland again. The Glasgow No. 2 Tribunal passed out of existence with the death of its chairman. Down to December 31, 1944, out of a total of 1310 cases heard, the No. 2 Tribunal had allowed only 11 unconditional exemptions, or .8 per cent. Its percentage of unconditional exeemptions was the lowest of all the Tribunals in Great Britain. To the same date, the Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal, out of a total of 2842 cases, had allowed 525 exemptions, or 14.9 per cent. Its percentage of unconditional exemptions was the highest of all the Tribunals in Great Britain. At least, the Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal proved itself capable of giving unconditional exemption if it considered such exemption met the circumstances of the case.

Our December 1939 summary of the Tribunal's decisions was a very full study of the opening cases. We reviewed the composition of the Tribunal and published an analysis of the ordinary press reports. The account read a little hot and a little cold. We criticised the chairman, Sheriff-Principal Sir A. Campbell Black, K.C., for variation of mood, whilst acknowleaging his readiness to put aside prejudice in many cases. We cited seven cases in which the Tribunal, under his direction, granted unconditional exemption in rapid succession. Against these decisions, we instanced nine of rejection without qualification, when the objectors, in our opinion, ought to have been granted such exemption. How the persons named have reacted since we do not know. Some of the persons refused exemption by the Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal have suffered imprisonment and been exempted, either conditionally or unconditionally, since. Those who have given in have justified their rejection for exemption, in the last analysis, is a matter of one's own conscience and does not rest on the opinion of any external Tribunal. Even some of the persons exempted at these early sittings of the Tribunal have, by their later conduct and war commentaries, proven themselves unworthy of the exemption granted and enjoyed. The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. Unless persons are inspired by a clear pacifist conviction, or a definite opposition to the war of the moment, and are uncompromising in their attitude regardless of consequence, they are not entitled to enjoy exemption.

Conscription is wrong, thoroughly wrong in itself, and not wrong merely from the standpoint that it involves killing. But it could *not* be imposed without general popular consent. Opposition to it represents a minority challenge at a period of what is deemed, popularly, to be one of grave national crisis. Rightly or wrongly, the majority view is one of feeling or passion, almost instinct, and not of reason. The minority may be completely right. Time might prove them to be patriots of outstanding worth, using the word "patriotism" in its highest and true sense. But the fact has no bearing on the feeling of the time. At such a period, fair aand impartial consideration of the right to object, and willingness to record decisions of absolute exemption, represent a very high standard of impartial judgment. It is an act of judicial toleration that preserves the balance and sanity of public life and contributes to post-war harmony and progress. The institution of the conscience Tribunal is not a small concession to minority opinion. It is a vindication of the constitutional right of the citizen and places the right of obedience to conscience above loyalty to the State. Errors may occur, but the maintenance of the principle is a matter of vital importance to civilisation. It places integrity above clamour and gives it judicial status.

In 1939 we had suffered or enjoyed—however you view such experience—no personal experience of the Glasgow Tribunal. Despite our reluctance to appear before Tribunals, we have appeared before the Glasgow Tribunal several times since then, and understand its method of approach. Our approach to most questions is quite different from that of most members of the Tribunal, but each appearance has convinced us of the courtesy and fairness of the Tribunal. By which we do not mean to say that we endorse all its conclusions. Many comrades, including those whose claims have been rejected, have given us their impressions of this Tribunal. The general impression is favourable. We would say that the Glasgow Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal is the fairest and most impartial in Great Britain. It has dealt fairly and impartially, showing equal courtesy and consideration, with Catholic cases and with Atheist cases. It has granted exemption without regard to any consideration of status, politics, or religion. It has refused exemption to Town Councillors and to applicants for whom M.P.'s and Town Councillors spoke. It has granted exemption to Anarchists who appeared before it, without support or plea from any person of political or social status. An obvious working-man, most direct in his speech, has appeared alone and spoken the simple truth that was in him. No finesse of address. No tact. No diplomacy. The Tribunal has heard him with courtesy and granted him unconditional exemption. It has considered that, in such an instance, consideration and courtesy had to be discharged by the Tribunal, in much the same way as King Charles II. removed his hat in the presence of William Penn.

It is not easy to be judicial. Judges have prejudices and fixed opinions. On November 14, 1944, Sir Archibald Campbell Black addressed a meeting of the Women's Help Committee in the City Chambers, Glasgow, in which he criticised the "false and insidious philosophies" of B.B.C. speakers, and suggested that they were the root cause of delinquency.

We think that he is quite wrong in this statement. In our view, the "philosophies" of the B.B.C. do not help the problem, but they are not the cause of the problem. Indeed, they are parallel with the problem and arise from the same root. The B.B.C. "philosophies" are all part of the general delinquency.

We believe in moral law and we hold that it must operate in society, or civilisation must fall. But we believe that that moral law must operate from and through the individual. It cannot be imposed from without, neither by the Church nor yet by the State. That is why we place so much importance on the right of conscience. We hold that it is impossible to uphold war and conditions of war without spreading the appalling evil of delinquency. War is delinquency and spreads delinquency through the body politic like an epidemic. It is the disease of violence and force: savagery made perfect through civilisation to the challenge of civilisation. Conscience is the challenge offered by the spirit of civilisation to this scientific mechanisation of the past.

Among the Glasgow Tribunal cases reported in these columns are those of our colleague, J. T. Caldwell, who appeared before the Tribunal on October 21, 1940, and November 4, 1942; Annesley Aldred, January 28, 1941; William Dick, June 12, 1942; Miss C. Bertolini, November 17, 1942; Miss Maria Bertolini, July 15, 1943. In all these cases unconditional exemption was granted. Each case revealed great understanding and freedom from prejudice on the part of the Tribunal.

The Glasgow Tribunal once more revealed its freedom from bias in the case of Miss Johanna Ritchie Haining, of 63 Ashley Street, Glasgow, which was heard on Thursday, March 8, 1945.

In her application to be registered as a conscientious objector, Comrade Haining wrote:—

I am asking to be registered as a conscientious objector. I am opposed to war on moral and humanitarian grounds. My convictions proceed from definite principles and it is easy to explain my background. My father and mother have held Anarchist views since before my birth and I was reared in an atmosphere of discussion. For a number of years, my mother acted as resident housekeeper at 13 Burnbank Gardens, which was made into an Anarchist Headquarters for 16 years by Mr. Guy Aldred, who is known for his very definite views. Mr. Aldred has promised to speak for me before the Tribunal since he has known me all my life. Although I have a brother who is serving in the Army, I retain my anti-war views. I object to helping war and although I may feel timid at times, my attitude is quite clear and definite.

If my case is heard by the Tribunal, I am prepared to explain the background and basis of my views more clearly.

The case was 174, and was entered on the Cause List as Sheet No. 8, Line No. 4. The Tribunal consisted of the chairman and four members, two of whom were women. The evidence obtained at the hearing was summarised as follows:—

Age 27. Engaged in a Printing Works. Statement read and handed in. Has no religious beliefs. Wrong to kill anyone. Letter from Mr. Guy Aldred received by post. Mr. Guy Aldred spoke on applicant's behalf.

The statement read and handed in by Miss Haining was as follows:—

I do not think there is much I can add. My mother brought me up in an atmosphere of Pacifism and instilled into me the wrongs and horrors of War, but had I never had that teaching I could not be otherwise than I am, a strong opponent of injustices and cruelties, and war which is the most senseless of all.

I am as sorry for the suffering of the German mother as I would be for my own and I think the German people are no more responsible for what their governments do, than we are, for what our government is doing now.

I could never assist in making weapons of war for destroying people. To me, the bombing of a city, no matter where that city might be, is wrong. I do not think in terms of countries but of people.

It is true that my brother and sister did not respond to my mother's teachings in all things but we are not all built alike.

I have read a little of Tolstoy but I feel that I do not need to read books to know that war is wrong. I am sorry if I have not made myself clear. I am very sensitive of saying anything in public but my mind is perfectly clear on one thing. I will not, in any way, help the war.

The letter that Aldred sent to the Tribunal emphasised the fact that her father was an Individualist Anarchist, opposed to war and violence, and that her mother had been a Communist Anarchist since 1910.

Miss Haining was questioned as to her Atheist views and the relation of Atheism and Materialism to conscience and the claim for conscientious objection. She was questioned closely but treated with great courtesy.

Defending the right of an Atheist to be a conscientious objector, Aldred stated that he was an Atheist and that he believed in integrity and the supremacy of conscience. He recalled the views advanced before a meeting of the Faculty of Procurators at Glasgow by the former Sheriff-Substitute of Lanark (1927-39), Mr. George Wilton Wilton, K.C.

The unanimous decision of the Tribunal was—

(a) That the applicant, shall, without conditions, be registered in the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

In recording this decision, the Glasgow Tribunal tends, once more, to challenge the view that, in its war against Nazism, the British Govermental Administration has adopted, without

qualification, the machinery and methods of a Fascist dictatorship. The decision is of great importance; for the granting of such complete exemption to a person who avows that she has no religious belief, and is practically an Anarchist, is not merely a humanitarian concession to one who is in a small minority. It is a recognition by the Government that the individual citizen may, without a belief in God or the future life, feel a higher loyalty to his own private philosophy of life than to the State as such. In that there is much significance, as, despite the situation of emergency, and the claim of the State to be supreme above the individual, a Court, established by the State, records its view of the integrity and conscientious vision of an avowed enemy of the State—an Anarchist. The propaganda value of this to the Allied cause may be said to be beyond estimate. And this may be true. Or it may not be true. But it is of inestimable value to mankind itself, an example of tolerance and understanding to be remembered and to be emulated in the years of social crisis that must succeed the war years.

By such decisions as that given in the Haining case, the Glasgow Tribunal sows good seed—the seed of patience and understanding, of harmony, non-coercion, and individual responsibility. Its chairman and members are to be congratulated on their wisdom. The results will be good.

It is doubtful whether Trade Unionism can change its fundamental strategy without a complete revolution, both in leadership and in methods of organisation—a revolution which will, of course, be stoutly fought by the present leaders and by a not inconsiderable section of the Trade Union rank and file.—G. D. H. Cole, in "Great Britain in the Post-War World" (page 154).

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The Crimea Conference Debate

By The Duke of Bedford

Most human beings including those who, like average Members of Parliament or Dictators, are in a low category from the standpoint either of morality or intelligence, are a curious mixture of good and evil, sense and folly. This came out rather markedly in the House of Commons Debate on the Crimea Conference. Mr. Arthur Greenwood who in 1939 appears to have had as large a share in driving the country into war as any member of the Labour Party, achieved a high level of intelligence which, though not maintained throughout his speech, was, nevertheless, something better than one would have anticipated. He said that he hoped that depriving the German people in peace-time of an opportunity of obtaining war potential would not mean impoverishing the German people. "Not this country" he said "nor any country in the world could profit by the more or less permanent impoverishment of sixty to eighty million European people. It would be foolish economically and it would be bad from the broad humanitarian point of view." He went on to say that the Big Three must not in any event regard themselves as the overlords of Europe; also that he did not think that they ought to determine the fate of the smaller nations which do not possess either their economic resources or their military power. The value of a nation to human life, culture and civilisation is not measured by its size, but by its quality. Mr. Greenwood also insisted on the need for fair treatment for Poland and on the desirability of making available for all peoples what economic resources there are in the world, without any political considerations whatever. This last admirable aim, however, would have been more reassuring if it had come from a Member who, while having been given ample opportunities for understanding the fundamentals of monetary reform, had not, so far, failed to identity himself with monetary reformers.

Sir William Beveridge, though the author of a very lamentable plan for social insurance which makes no effort to challenge the fundamental evils of the monetary system but promises to rivet upon the nation many new shackles of bureaucratic tyranny, said, by way of contrast, many wise and enlightened things when dealing with the international situation. He pointed out that the fact that Russia has liberated Poland is not any reason why she should have any part of the country she has liberated, adding that it is essential for us to see that the Polish Government is one chosen to please the Poles and not one chosen to please either Soviet Russia or ourselves. He condemned the partitioning of Germany, saying that the partitioning of a country by force is futile and he suggested that a Technical Committee should advise at what stage of production it was necessary to stop Germany from turning what may be useful goods into destructive munitions, adding that he hoped that interference would only prove necessary at a very late stage of production indeed. (Incidentally, if the world could ever achieve that degree of sanity which favoured total disarmament, the advice of such a Technical Committee would be useful for the protection of all countries against their neighbours.) Sir William went on to point out that you cannot extirpate Nazism, or anything else, by suppression. You can only do so by providing something to replace it. Education, he said, involves the co-operation of the pupil and you cannot educate someone who does not wish to be educated. It was also pointed out in the course of the speech that we have to substitute an alternative to war for the settling of all disputes between nations and not merely in regard to Germany and Japan. The Great Powers must convince the other nations that when they speak of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations they mean that the rights of a nation shall not depend in any way on the strength of its arms, otherwise every nation will have to arm again and armaments will breed war.

It is imperative, he said, that besides agreeing with our friends we should stick to principle in international affairs. If it happens that one cannot both stick to one's friends and stick to principle, one must stick to principle because principles do not change, but friends, even if they appear at the moment to be unreasonable, may change and become reasonable. Opportunism, appeasement, self-regarding policies, power-politics all lead to the grave of all our hopes.

Captain Alan Graham made a very unfortunate start, but did better towards the end of his speech. He said that our basic purposes for which we went to war were to promote our national and imperial security and to maintain our belief that the State exists for the individual. If our real aim had been to promote our national and imperial security—and no doubt some warmongers had this idea in view—then it was an extremely selfish one. Our action in declaring war was also stupid, for Germany was not in any way threatening our national or imperial security. All that was threatened was the Prudential Insurance Company's interests in Polish mines and the interests of money-creating financiers of the City who feared that Germany's policy of making money subservient to production might spread to other countries. As for the State existing for the individual, it is becoming daily more apparent that in a hundred different ways the individual in this country is being treated as though he existed for the State and will be so treated even when the war has ended if our bureaucrats are allowed to have their way.

Captain Graham did, however, considerably better when he got on to the question of Poland and the rights of freedom, present and future, of the Polish people. Speaking of the free and unfettered elections promised at Yalta, he asked what sort of a chance they had. He pointed out that the Polish Provisional Government, appointed by Moscow, is at this moment so controlling the country that no independent opinion is allowed at all. All wireless receivers have been confiscated and broadcasts can only be heard at places controlled by the Provisional Government. The Lublin Minister of Education has informed the professors of Cracow University that the Rectors and Deans of Faculties will not be elected as formerly, but appointed by the Government. Professors, writers and scientists are forced to sign declarations denouncing the Polish Government in London as traitors and, if they refuse, they are arrested, imprisoned or murdered. The present Lublin Commander in Chief, under whom the soldiers of the Underground Army are forced to serve, was imprisoned for five years in pre-war Poland on the charge of embezzling money alotted for the purchase of gas masks. Since 1939 more than two million Poles have been forcibly deported to Russia and Siberia and the actual rulers of present-day Poland are the Russian Secret Police. Captain Graham went to say that if we found ourselves obliged to consent to our Polish allies being robbed of their homes, we should find them a home in the Empire. This, incidentally, is the most important practical way of helping the victims of any political persecution, whether the persecutors be Axis, Russian or of any other nationality. It is not an easy way, since unfortunate people are often neither pleasant, desirable nor reasonably grateful people, but it remains a way involving infinitely less sacrifice from the benefactor nation than going to war on their account and some of its most serious difficulties would be removed by the adoption of a sane financial system which related the income of a country's inhabitants to goods produced and imported and not merely to wages, salaries and employment.

They who menace our freedom of thought and speech are tampering with something more powerful than gunpowder.—Moncure Conway.

The ends pre-exist in the means.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

How to Abolish Anti-Semitism

By George W. Hartmann

The world to-day is one vast sea of hate. Racial, religious, class, national, and political hatreds hurt us all and prevent mankind from achieving the happiness that science would seem to make possible for the first time in history.

Anti-Semitism is one persistent and nasty illustration of the way in which bad social conditions produce bitterness and hostility between different parts of the human family. If we want to cure this state of affairs we must be willing to attack the problem at its roots and not just "paint the pimple" of an unlovely disease of modern society. Anti-Jewish feeling is real and it does no good to deny its existence. Fundamentally, it is similar to anti-Negro sentiments among many whites, or dislike for Orientals among people reared in an Occidental civilization.

The fact that some people are different from others is no reason for injuring them. In fact, many human differences (like those between the sexes) are positively evaluated. Differences between people should make for enrichment and not for bitterness. Unfortunately, some politicians have discovered that they can deflect criticism of their unsavoury schemes and simultaneously maintain the unity of one group better, temporarily at least, if they can direct hostility to some real or imaginary enemy. This is known to psychologists as the scapegoating mechanism, since it channelizes the irritation of the in-group against a convenient out-group and away from those really responsible for the trouble. The results are bad for both those who are discriminated against and those who do the discriminating, but until the comman man understands its causes, it will continue to weaken the fabric of community life. Most anti-Semites are unfortunate individuals who have been badly thwarted in their reasonable ambitions; they must be patiently helped to find more rational outlets for their sense of defeat.

Christians can learn to have sympathetic insight into the situation of the Jewish masses by simply practising what Jesus preached. This is hard—but it must be done. Americans must also learn that hate is not a constructive emotion, for it hinders the solution of grave social problems rather than helping them. We cannot use other nations as scapegoats without doing harm to ourselves in the process.

If we really mean business about creating better race relations in America, we should set aside some of the funds now being spent on death and destruction for the purpose of experimenting with new and improved ways of establishing attitudes of understanding and appreciation for all groups, no matter what their origin or tradition. For example, if a sample set of committees *before* an intense programme of re-education show 60 per cent. anti-Jewish feelings and *after* it has been operative show no more than 40 per cent. anti-Semitism (as measured by certain tests of belief and conduct), we can be thankful for that 20 per cent. gain. This method has been successful on a small scale, but there is no reason why it should not be adopted far and wide if we are honestly searching for a true social democracy.

In addition to such vital experiments in applied psychology, the following five-point programme practically guarantees the end of anti-Semitism and all other types of bad race relations:—

1. End this war now. So long as people are boiling and seething with hate for the Germans or Japanese, some of this anger is bound to spill over upon domestic minorities like the Jews and Negroes.

2. Re-organize our major social institutions with the direct intention of reducing the amount of fear and emotional disturbance from which all insecure people suffer.

3. Make a sustained and definite educational effort to weaken uncritical national loyalties as interpreted by some unwise leaders who say one can't be a good American unless one hates somebody else. Common sense tells one that love for one's wife does not require one to hate one's mother.

4. Increase popular knowledge of the psychology of race differences. Diffusing the results of research in the field of comparative or cultural anthropology usually has the effect of demonstrating that the actual differences between races are quite small and of relatively little practical importance.

5. Create a universal joint co-operative effort by all members of the human family, including the Germans and Japanese, to abolish the real natural enemies of mankind, viz., poverty, vice, crime, ignorance, disease, and the ever-present threat of war.

Until such a clear-cut plan like this one is adopted and vigorously put into effect, we must expect to have anti-Semitism and other hurtful forms of discrimination because we have not been ready to pay the price in thought and effort required to remove the conditions which produce them. We have the necessary technical knowledge to create a better state of affairs; all that is lacking is the will to put it to work.

Civil Aviation and World Unity

A Manifesto for Discussion

Issued by the World Airways Joint Committee, promoted by World Unity Movement.

FIRST PRINCIPLES

Frontiers cannot be drawn across the skies. Whatever political and economic barriers men have contrived to erect between countries, the air is common to them all and is indivisible. Aviation must, therefore, be planned in terms of world co-operation.

The spectacular growth which this generation has witnessed in air travel has been overshadowed by preparations for war. The airplane is identified in the public mind, particularly in the minds of the young, with the warplane.

Yet air transport should, by its very nature, make for world unity. It brings people together and increases their inter-dependence. Its true function is that of a world-wide service ministering to the common needs of men and women. Henceforth, the use and development of aviation must be directed towards peace and prosperity, not war and domination.

The essential step, then, in freeing aviation from its artificial and anti-social subservience to the dictates of fear, force and greed, is to urge upon both peoples and governments the adoption of constructive policies inspired by a world vision.

HOW WORLD AIRWAYS WOULD WORK

The following scheme outlines an air policy designed to promote human wellbeing everywhere, and is consistent with the organisation of a good peace:—

(1) The fundamental aim indicated above should be laid down in the preamble of any formal international agreement completed for the purposes specified below.

(2) The ownership and control of the planes and other equipment in use on all world or supranational air routes should be vested in a world airways organisation, consisting of representatives of all the peoples, chosen in such a way as would not subject the organisation to any strongly nationalistic or sectional interest.

(3) Regional organisation of airways should be encouraged, especially, no doubt, during the early stages, within the general framework of the World Airways Organisation, as would best serve the particular needs of travel and trade in such regions as Europe, the Americas, the USSR and Asia, and others.

(4) The Organisation should be empowered to purchase outright or to acquire by long-term leases from the states concerned the main landing grounds and other territorial centres needed for its operations, and these areas would be exempt, under conditions to be agreed, from state sovereignty.

(5) The Organisation should be financed by means of an international investment trust, established under its sole authority, along the lines of a public corporation, whose capital should be publicly subscribed and carry a low maximum rate of interest. The chief object of these measures would be to make possible cheap and efficient services, not monetary profits to investors. By means of the fund thus created, the Organisation would buy, as circumstances demanded, from governments or from private manufacturers, the planes and other equipment needed, and all such transactions would be given full publicity.

(6) The personnel—pilots, engineers, managers, mechanics and others—should be selected on grounds of their technical qualifications and general fitness from all nations, without discrimination on ideological, racial or other similar grounds, but in such a way as not to overweight the representation of any one nation; and they should be free, for the period of their service, from the obligations of national allegience.

INDISPENSABLE TO WORLD PEACE

There are no insuperable administrative and technical difficulties in the operation of a World Airways Organisation. Schemes like the above have been proposed by various governments and other competent authorities for over ten years. France, Spain and Sweden, for example, promoted such a plan in 1933, and a similar scheme is at present being advocated by Australia and New Zealand.

It is not claimed that the foregoing proposals are sufficient by themselves to ensure peace among men; or even that they cover more than a few of the factors involved in air development.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, intimately related problems connected with world transport, in general, and with the future of military aviation in particular, have been omitted. It is clear, however, from the experience of the Disarmament Conferences, that the reconstruction of civil aviation along these lines will enormously simplify air disarmament.

Now is the time to act. Only by such bold and radical policies can mankind hope to escape the unspeakable iniquity of a third world war.

If you are in agreement with this statement you can assist in realising these aims:—

(1) By inviting any of your local organisations to discuss the statement and to urge their members to give it active, individual support;

(2) By securing a reference to the matter in the correspondence columns of your local newspaper;

(3) By making the manifesto the basis of discussion in study and discussion groups.

For further information write to F. Bowles, M.P., at the House of Commons, or to Hilda Barry, Hon. Secretary, World Airways Joint Committee, 20 Buckingham St., Strand, London, W.C.2.

JOHN MACLEAN

— by —

GUY A. ALDRED

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LOOKING BACKWARD

Glasgow Corporation Graft

SOME PEEPS BEHIND THE SCENES

[November will witness the end of co-opted members of our Municipal Councils, and the resumption of elections. On the one side, the Conservatives are organising a caucus control of candidates in the interests of finance and reaction, open, avowed, and unashamed. On the other side, the Labour Party, nominally in the name of Socialism, is organising a caucus control. Apart from questions of Socialist theory, there is a corruption of power which makes it more and more impossible for the independent and social-service-minded citizen to play his part in politics, national or local. We expect no good from the Conservatives but we are concerned with the Labour movement; and we object to its ideals being controlled and dominated by the interests of a caucus or by the capitalist considerations of graft. Since we are told that, without surrender to a Labour caucus, a Socialist can have no place in public life, we make no apology for the following factual studies of careerism. For this "Socialist" careerism has not been killed by the war but is flourishing and being connived at actively at the present moment. The Labour movement is wanting still in spokesmen worthy of its great purpose, leaders of integrity.—Ed.].

All men can be criminals if tempted. All men can be heroes if inspired.—G. K. Chesterton.

I. EDINBURGH HIGH COURT, 1941.

On Thursday, September 25, 1941, three "Labour" Glasgow Town Councillors were found guilty of graft and sentenced to terms of imprisonment at the Edinburgh High Court, after a trial, lasting two and a half days.

The accused were:—Bailie Thomas Wilson, "Socialist," convener of the Corporation Gas Committee. Sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.

Ex-Bailie Alexander Ritchie, "Socialist," subconvener of the Committee. Sentenced to 18 months.

Bailie Joseph Taylor, I.L.P. member of the Committee. Also sentenced to 18 months.

The indictment alleged that they solicited from Arthur Henry Lymn, chairman of Gas Chambers and Coke Ovens, Ltd., an inducement or reward for undertaking to use their influence to procure acceptance of a tender for reconstruction work at Provan Gas Works, and, further, that they received from Lymn by the hands of Ex-Bailie Hugh Campbell, £100, and by the hands of Councillor William Miller Duncan Anderson £25, £50 and £50 respectively.

The jury of seven, which contained five women, took 70 minutes to reach their conclusion.

They found that Wilson and Ritchie were guilty of soliciting a bribe, while acting in conjunction with Hugh Campbell, and receiving a portion of the bribe of £100.

The charge that they had corruptly received money from the hands of Councillor William Anderson, of Glasgow, was found not proven.

By a majority of six to one, the jury found the first two charges against Taylor not proven, but found him guilty of receiving money by the hands of Anderson.

The chief witness for the Crown was Ex-Bailie Hugh Campbell, formerly a member of the Licensing Bench, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in June at the Glasgow High Court on pleading guilty to receive £120 for undertaking to use his influence to procure a renewal of the Beresford Hotel licence.

None of the accused entered the witness-box to deny the allegations made on oath by Campbell.

On Wednesday, September 24, Campbell was in the witness-box for two hours.

Following upon a question by the Solicitor-General, Sir T. D. King Murray, the following dialogue ensued:—

Campbell—While we were in Portsmouth ex-Bailie Ritchie remarked: "Here we are walking round with an order for a quarter of a million in our pockets and there seems to be nothing doing."

Counsel—What did you take that to mean?

Campbell—With my experience of the corporation I assumed it was Ritchie's intention or hope that something in the way of a bribe or present might be obtained from the placing of the contract.

Campbell described how, after the visit to Portsmouth, he met the Chairman of the Gas Chambers Co., Mr. Lynn, at dinner. During the dinner, Campbell told Lynn the gist of Ritchie's remarks.

Counsel—Did you say anything about being satisfied or not satisfied with the work of the company at Portsmouth?

Campbell—I conveyed to Mr. Lymn that so far as I and other members of the deputation were concerned we were fairly satisfied that the company would likely get the order.

Counsel—Did you mention any difficulties in the way?

Campbell—The principal difficulty was the remark made by Ritchie.

Lymn suggested that Campbell have breakfast with him next day. He told Ritchie, Taylor, and Wilson of this arrangement. Ritchie suggested he should ask Mr. Lymn to make payment to the deputation of £2,000, and in return the deputation would recommend the firm for the contract. When the contract had gone through the £2,000 was to be divided among Taylor, Ritchie, Wilson and himself, in the proportion of £200 to Wilson and £600 to the others.

Campbell had breakfast alone with Lymn, and returned to the Strand Palace Hotel, which was the headquarters of the deputation. He conveyed to his colleagues what had transpired.

Counsel—What did transpire?

Campbell When Mr. Lymn understood the deputation were soliciting gifts he refused to have anything whatever to do with the proposal.

Counsel—Did you try to persuade him to give money?

Campbell—I think so. Particularly when we were visiting the work on Friday.

Referring to a visit to Brentford, where the Gas Chambers Co. had an installation, Campbell said that Lymn had the impression then that if his firm did not make a present to the deputation the work would pass them. "I made that quite plain to Mr. Lymn," added Campbell.

After leaving Brentford, the deputation had lunch, and the talk with Lymn was continued. Lymn was of the impression that he was being outbidded and would not get the job unless he bribed the deputation.

Lymn took Campbell aside and told him when he got back to London he would collect £100 as a gift to the deputation, apart from what should be done later. Lymn indicated that probably £2,000 could be divided, but that would be arranged by Mr. McNair in Glasgow.

Campbell added:

"While I was in Mr. Lymn's office he gave me £100 in small notes of £1 and 10/-. I was alone with Mr. Lymn.

"I returned to the hotel and, in one of the bedrooms occupied by one of the deputation, I gave Ritchie £50 and he understood he had to give half to Wilson.

"I also gave Taylor £25 and the balance I retained.

"I told them that probably £2,000 would come along later, but nothing would happen until the firm had definitely got the contract.

"I returned to Glasgow and saw McNair. I told him what had transpired in London. He told me he had been expecting me to call. I assumed some member of the company had informed him.

"When I told him about the money, he smiled and said he would have nothing to do with it."

In due course, Lymn's Company's tender was accepted.

While being cross-examined by Mr. D. P. Blades, K.C., for Taylor, Campbell exclaimed:—

"One of the men sitting there in the dock knows more about corruption than either you or I. That's Bailie Ritchie. Do you want any more?"

In passing sentence, Lord Fleming said:—

"Within a period of a few months, this is the third case which has come before this court in which members of the Town Council of Glasgow have been involved."

Thomas Wilson, referred to throughout the trial as "Old Tom," was 71. He entered the Town Council as a Socialist in 1935 and became a Magistrate in 1940. He was serving on four committees—housing, public assistance, transport, and gas at the time of his arrest. He seldom raised his voice in debate.

Addressing him, Lord Fleming said:—

"You have been found guilty of a very grave offence against public morality and good Government. It is impossible for me to pass a lenient sentence in your case, but I will make it less than otherwise might have been the case on account of your age and the medical certificate which I have here. Your medical condition, of course, will receive the due attention it requires in prison."

The sentence on Wilson proved to be a death sentence. Twelve days later, he died in Edinburgh Infirmary. He was removed from the prison to the Infirmary on Saturday and died on Monday, October 6.

Advising the jury in the case of Bailie Wilson, Lord Fleming dealt with the evidence of a witness, Gillespie, who was entirely disinterested as regards the corruption. According to that evidence, Bailie Ritchie was more directly associated with the solicitation of the bribe than Wilson.

The jury would remember particularly the expression used by Ritchie at Portsmouth, *"Here we are with a contract worth a quarter of a million pounds in our pockets, and there is nothing doing."*

Dealing with the conversation alleged by the witness, Gillespie, to have passed between himself and Councillor Ritchie in a Glasgow restaurant, Lord Fleming said to the jury:—"You may consider the Latin phrase, *'In vino veritas,'* which means that wine often brings out the truth."

Ritchie, said Gillespie, was under the influence of drink, and told Gillespie that he had been to London on a deputation, and had been given a present of £100.

This is the second time Ritchie has been in the dock on charges under the Public Bodies (Corrupt Practices) Act. He was acquitted in February, 1933, of a charge of accepting a bribe. Ritchie is 56 years of age, and has been a member of Glasgow Town Council for 15 years. He fought in the last war and has the Mons Medal. For years he was lecturer in the Labour College. He entered public life through the medium of the Communist Party, under the patronage of William Gallacher, now "Communist" M.P.!

Joseph Taylor entered Glasgow Town Council in 1930, as the I.L.P. representative of Parkhead Ward. He was frequently suspended during Council "uproars" over the unemployed. The unemployed did not benefit but Taylor's reputation was advanced. He hit the headlines in 1933, when he defied the Lord Provost and read a letter that the Lord Provost had refused permission to be read. In 1937 he made another scene by walking out of the Town Council Chambers with the city's heavy, gold-gilt mace as a protest. He declined in 1938 to be a magistrate, but in 1940 he took a seat on the Bench.

Lord Provost, Sir Patrick Dollan, said to a *Daily Express* interviewer, immediately after the trial, that there was no need to waste any time on investigation. We agree that Capitalist society is corrupt and from that angle we might repeat this statement. From the standpoint of uncovering details we do not agree. There is much to be explained in connection with the Glasgow Corporation administration. We are not much concerned with sensational graft revelations, but we propose to introduce our readers to a few peeps behind the scenes, and to expose the hypocrisy of municipal life and the zeal for municipal "Socialism."

GLASGOW FABIAN SOCIETY.

Secretary—Helen M. Yuille, 25 Stamperland Ave., Clarkston, Glasgow. Telephone—Giffnock 3429.

MEETINGS IN 1945.

7th and 21st APRIL

Meetings will be held FORTNIGHTLY on Saturdays in the Geneva Room, Green's Playhouse, at 7 p.m.

Please keep the dates in mind. You may forget the details, but remember EVERY SECOND SATURDAY.

The Future of Trade Unionism

By GEORGE ROSE

[The following interesting essay, calling for discussion by the entire working-class movement, was published in the "Hairdressers' Weekly Journal, London, a year ago. The essay was divided over three issues, January 8, January 22, and February 5, 1944. We reproduce it to stimulate thought and understanding among comrades. Discussion is invited. Wherever workers assemble, and especially at Union meetings and conferences, the issues raised in this essay should be discussed.—Ed.]

I. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER

The article "Trade Unionism and the Future," which appeared in these columns four weeks ago, has drawn correspondence which raises controversial issues, and on that account I have undertaken to deal with them personally. It is fitting at the present time that these issues should be considered, and I appeal to those interested to be indulgent as well as patient whilst I say my say, for these issues will take more than one article to deal with.

Casting a mental eye over the contemporary scene I am greatly perturbed by the course the whole Labour movement seems to be taking. But unlike one comrade (Joseph Judd), I do not believe it is impossible to switch this course into channels likely to assist the emancipation of the whole working class. There is no denying that the class collaboration being indulged in by the prominent T.U. leaders not only constitutes a serious threat to the future welfare of the workers, but is a menace even to the possibility of revolutionary effort for social change.

There is shortly to be a meeting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to consider whether or not the T.U.C. will support a gigantic capitalist scheme to reconstruct the world after the war on a basis of a network of international cartels, put forward by the World Trade Alliance Association. The monopolists behind this organisation include Sir Edgar Jones, Lord Davidson (former Chairman of the Conservative Party), and A. A. Kilner, of Courtaulds.

Now, whilst this is most surprising, it is even more amazing that there should be working-class leaders ready to support the scheme. I understand those include J. Brown, General Secretary, Iron and Steel Trades; Chas. Dukes, Secretary, General and Municipal Workers; Arthur Deakin, Acting Secretary, Transport and General Workers' Union; Andrew Naesmith, Secretary, Weavers Amalgamation; and George Bell, Secretary, General Federation of Labour.

I also understand the business was recently discussed by the National Council of Labour, where it was suggested the Co-operative Movement would back the scheme, but I am pleased to say that they (the Co-operatives) have since rejected any idea of entertaining it at all, and rightly described it as "organisation of this character representing Big Business."

So far, so good. There is still the lamentable fact that there is a group in the T.U.C. ready to hand over the workers to the big bosses, and that these have already made an attempt to get the T.U.C. to endorse the scheme. Trade Unionists everywhere must be made conscious of the danger attaching to any arrangement of this kind, and I appeal to our members to draw the subject to the notice of every Trade Unionist with whom they come into contact.

It is my firm conviction if any such arrangement is tolerated by the organised workers of Britain, that Trade Unionism would be doomed to extinction. In view of all the wonderful pioneer work of the past, and the achievements in various directions, this would be a tragedy of the first magnitude, and would effectively prevent the T.U. movement from being used at all by the workers for the creation of a free society in which the unions of to-day can become the craft guilds to-morrow, effectively serving the workers in peace and in liberty.

Whether the Unions can be converted to this end or not, one thing is certain: they must steer clear of such entanglements as this. That the big bosses, both here and in America should be scheming to ensure that the profiteering system will continue after the war is perfectly natural, but it is also natural for the workers to refuse to be parties to any arrangement to that end.

What I propose doing in these articles is to indicate what I consider the workers should do if they cannot secure betterment under the system—to fight at least determinedly against all efforts of the ruling classes more firmly to fasten the shackles of the wages system about them, and to show how the course of the struggle is bound to reveal the inherent weaknesses of the system, and compel the workers to the realisation that the system has outlived its usefulness, and therefore ought to be abolished, and that finally the Trade Unions can be made the revolutionary instrument to that end.

What part will the State machine play in all this? It can only play one part. The State machine is deliberately fashioned to serve the industrial system. The big industrialists have not the smallest objection to the wage-workers playing in the political game so long as they play according to the rules already laid down. *They must not alter these rules.* If any attempt is made to do so, or even threatened, the counter revolution will rear its ugly head, as it has already done in Italy, Germany and Spain.

My Comrade Judd believes the fallacious notion that it is the House of Commons which controls the State machine, whereas in the final analysis it is the financiers and big industrialists. Surely he is not so foolish as to believe, for example, that the present war could go on even for a month, without the consent and support of these worthies? Is he so innocent that he believes all the millions of pounds stated in the War Savings comes from the pockets of barbers, milkmen, dockers or road-sweepers? Does he not know that the Prudential alone took part in more that 1,000 War Savings Weeks?

Ramsay MacDonald wrote a book called *The Wages Fund*. It was published in 1910, and I read it. One paragraph impressed me so much that I memorised it. It ran:

"Even though a Labour Party acceded to power, and seriously attempted to ameliorate the lot of the common people, their efforts would be negatived by the power of finance."

Those words are terribly true, and the career of Ramsay stands condemned out of his own mouth.

Oh, yes, definite reforms do sometimes pass through Parliament, but they will be perfectly harmless like our Craft's Sunday Closing Bill, so far as the big bugs are concerned, and will not threaten in any way the continuance of the profit-making system. Yet obviously any real improvement in the lot of the masses would not only seriously affect the profits of the few, but would most probably make the masses ambitious of still further improvement.

It was dear old James Connolly, that potential Lenin of old Ireland, whom the State murdered, who once observed, "Who has economic control has also political control."

II. SOCIALISM NOT PARLIAMENTARISM

Professor Levy, in an article in the *Spectator*, December 10th, 1943, says:—

The British working-class population has always been the strongest opponent of monopoly. This is easily explainable. The purchasing power of working-class incomes depends upon the cheap prices more vitally than that of any other group in the community. Cheap prices, however, are usually considered to be safeguarded by the levelling influence of unrestricted competition. It was this consideration which always prompted Labour Leaders to oppose cartels and trusts as a matter of principle.

This may have been true in the past, but is it still true? G. D. H. Cole evidently does not think so. In his book "Great Britain in the Post-War World" he says (pages 73-74):—

Trade Unionism, even while most of its leaders continue to profess lip-service to Socialism, becomes insensibly an ally of the restrictive policies of monopoly capitalism. It is, indeed, difficult to avoid this; for it is of the essence of a bargaining Trade Unionism to take the short view and to make the best immediate bargains that it can; and clearly the best short-run bargains are to be struck by doing what the capitalists want and not by threatening them with supersession.

Here is more food for thought for the average Trade Unionist. And the more he thinks about it the sooner will he be compelled to decide whether or not he is going to permit his "leaders" to bargain him away into perpetual slavery, or whether he is going to prepare with like-minded fellow-workers to bring about the social revolution.

This reveals the real point of social struggle. There is a possibility that on the political field there may be measures passed through Parliament restricting the ramifications of monopolies. This has been done in America already, and with what result? Has it stopped them? Most decidedly not. Periodically there are all sorts of "exposures," and often by Congress Committees set up specially to investigate. What is the result? Either nil or a fine, and the monopolist can laugh and start all over again.

Nothing can stop monopoly. It is the inevitable outcome of capitalism, and the interests of monopolists lie in the direction of the deliberate creation of a shortage of commodities, for this shortage means high prices.

Often the monopolists will bribe the employees with high wages and decent working conditions. This is to the detriment of the rest of the working class by reason of higher prices, but later operates even against the better-paid workers, who also must meet a continually rising cost of living. This is what is known as "the vicious spiral," and this also is a direct outcome of the economic system.

Obviously the true interests of the common people everywhere is the creation of plenty. And never in the long and painful history of man has this been more possible than it is to-day. But before it becomes really possible the people must have free access to the land and all the means and instruments of production and distribution. And that means Socialism.

Now I contend that Socialism can never be secured through Parliament. Mere nationalisation is not Socialism, which calls for socialism—*i.e.*, common ownership and control—and by the time this is secured the workers must be ready to organise and run industry themselves; that is if they want Socialism and not State Capitalism. The latter could only result in a complete loss of liberty, and must lead to an even worse form of slavery than provided by the present system, and would still leave the workers faced with their historic task of freeing themselves and all mankind.

At the moment I can conceive of no other institutions than the Trade Unions as being the best working-class medium for the creation of the craft and industrial guilds of to-morrow, and it is my firm conviction that it is the duty of every Socialist to help educate his fellows to this end.

In my estimation of our period of development the time has passed to bother about Parliament. Parliamentarism can only suit the financiers and the monopolists. They would greatly enjoy the working-class continuing to hope for something from it. It is like the proverbial carrot being dangled before the donkey's nose. It has worked a long time now—too long. From a working-class point of view it has been an expensive waste of time, and it has resulted in the loss to our class of many of our most brainy men—men who, if they had never embarked upon Parliamentary careers, would have been splendid evangelists for the cause of Socialism.

It is perfectly true that I have, myself, advocated 100 per cent organisation among employers (which could easily become another form of monopoly), and also higher prices. Further than this, in 1933, I placed before the Craft a plan "for the economic uplift of the Hairdressing Trade." But I can lay claim to two useful things in all this. I was aiming at getting our Craft up to the level of other professions, where it rightfully belongs, and, in the Rose Plan, I put forward machinery which I

claim could have easily been turned into a Co-operative Craft Guild in the event of the dawn of Socialism. In this connection it has to be remembered that the majority of our employers are also practising hairdressers, and as such must take their place in equality with us when the great day comes, as come it will, I emphatically insist. And I feel certain that when it does come, even the employer of to-day will be considerably better off than he is now.

Talking about the Rose Plan, I was greatly intrigued by our friend Stevens' proposals in the *Journal* of January 8th. They looked very like additions to my own plan, of which he seems to be ignorant. I must send him a copy.

And why do I insist that Socialism is inevitable? The answer is that the only alternative is a drift towards a worse barbarism than the world has yet known, and mad as humanity is in the mass at the moment, I cannot believe it is as mad as all that, and the natural reaction from nationalist totalitarianism is surely international libertarianism.

III. TRADES UNIONS CENTRES OF WORKING CLASS RESISTANCE.

Our Comrade Judd is still unconvinced. If he remains so after this answer to a lengthy letter, I am afraid we shall have to agree to differ, and leave it at that, at least for the time being, for at the moment we can spare no more space.

Judd thinks the State machine was "evolved" by Capitalism, and not *deliberately fashioned* by the ruling class to serve their own ends. All right, Comrade, have it your way. That will do for me just as well. He thinks that machine, plus the secret ballot, gives us democracy. He forgets the inequalities of the constituencies; one, for example, the fact that it is possible for one candidate to be elected with 2,000 votes, whilst in another constituency a man can be defeated with 20,000 votes. And can he not see there can be no real democracy without economic equality?

Our Comrade urges that before we can have Socialism "the material conditions must be ripe; that is to say, the problem of producing food, clothing and shelter has been solved. Capitalism is solving that problem." It seems to me Capitalism has long since solved that problem. Capitalism continues to struggle along to-day by creating deliberate scarcity. That is why I contend it has already outlived its usefulness. He argues correctly that we cannot have Socialism until the majority of the people are Socialists, because it involves the co-operation of the people themselves, and later points out that the membership of the unions are chiefly Labourites, Liberals, Tories, "Communists," and even Fascists, with only a few Socialists. He fails to realise that these will some day become Socialists from necessity, equally with those outside the Unions. Our task is to help them to understand. It is necessary for us to have a knowledge of dialectical materialism, and all the teachings of Marx and Engels, and better still, if we also have studied the teachings of Bakunin, Morris and Kropotkin. But we only waste our time and the ordinary person's time if we talk in scientific terms that the people cannot understand.

He makes a tremendous mistake if he supposes the only real Socialists are those who belong to his own particular political Party. There are good Socialists in some other organisations. And my own opinion is that for every one of these inside a Trade Union there are at least six unattached of varying degrees of knowledge and development, and although I know Socialists are still in the minority, they are definitely a very large minority, and wield a greater influence than might be supposed. Since our friend agrees we want a majority to get Socialism, why cannot he conceive the probability of getting a majority in the Trade Unions, and through that majority converting what is admittedly now only bargaining machinery into revolutionary machinery, and, finally, into constructive craft guilds with the job of laying the foundations of the new society.

It may interest our members to learn that my friend of nearly forty years standing, Guy Aldred, also takes the view that Comrade Judd takes about Trade Unions. He regards them as part of the system and believes they will die with the system. This is one of the very few things I cannot agree with Aldred about. My reason is that it seems to me some organisation of the workers must take over the respective industries when the change-over comes, and why shouldn't it be the Trade Unions? Why scrap the Unions for new organisations when they are quite capable of being converted?

It is perfectly true that the Unions as they exist to-day would be quite hopeless from a Socialist standpoint, but then what the Unions are is due to the mental backwardness of the majority of the membership, for these are the mere card-holders who do not attend meetings, and take little interest in their own affairs, and who almost invariably vote, when it comes to electing officers, for men whose names are known to them, whilst newer and more earnest men who might represent the crowd much better remain known only to those who are actively interested. Even to these latter some will be little known, owing to the ban placed upon them by the T.U. papers.

Such are the obstacles, but economic circumstances will force the apathetic to rouse themselves. And it can be truthfully asserted this is happening even now, for I find by experience a growing interest in current affairs which raises the hopes of an old stager to a higher level than I have experienced for many years.

Judd says about the State machine that it "is so powerfully centralised and entrenched, that to put forward the idea that Trade Unions can smash that machine is mere wishful thinking."

Well, what does he suppose a Socialist political Party with a parliamentary majority can do with it? Does he imagine that they can proceed to legislate the ruling class out of existence? If so, he has much to learn. At best they could only "nationalise" this, that or the other, and even that they could only do on terms of enormous compensation, or by offering stockholders guarantees of annual "interest" as high as or higher than they had previously realised.

I may be wrong, but it seems to me that the natural thing to happen when the psychological moment arrives for the social change-over, would be for the T.U.C. to declare itself the authority for that change-over in exactly the same way as the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants' Council did in Russia The one great difference must be that it will be the individual Unions that will take over the respective industries in the interests of the community, with the result we shall indulge in as much decentralisation as possible, and the T.U.C. itself will act only as a co-ordinating institution.

But, as I have said before, we cannot determine for posterity what they will do, but there is no harm in discussing what it would be best for them to do, for our discussions now are bound to have an influence on the future. Of one thing I am certain, and that is that sending good Socialist working-men to Parliament is a wicked waste of time and money, and serves only to give them careers at our expense, and results in the ultimate loss of men who would otherwise be excellent evangelists for the Socialist cause. Men like Fred Jowett (who died on his 80th birthday) who have come through a Parliamentary career unsullied are few and far between.

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JESUS AND HUMANISM

STUDY CIRCLE ADDRESS IMPRESSIONS

Guy Aldred addressed an audience of about a hundred at the second Sunday morning meeting on the Study Circle's February calendar. He chose a very fitting subject for the occasion and one which he has studied well and deeply. "Jesus and Humanism" was the title.

Aldred remarked at the offset that the subject was too vast to do justice to within the time allotted to him.

He sketched the background of his subject bringing in Erasmus, the brilliant Dutch scholar and his connection with the early Humanist movement. Then he came back and dealt with Jesus and the New Testament. Many Freethinkers with whom he came in contact, he said, argued that Jesus was a myth. He disagreed with this and showed that the teaching and actions of Jesus make a very consistent whole; he was a revolutionary with a distinct human ethic.

He was opposed to the traditional morality of his day and spoke to the people in spontaneous, simple and powerfully sincere language. Unlike most of our so-called revolutionaries, Jesus did not appeal to the passions of his audiences and consistently opposed racialism while preaching the philosophy of the Brotherhood of Man.

Aldred explained how he, when young, was advised to study 18th century theological literature which he contended merely served to cramp the human mind in mysticism. He showed that we ought not to fuss over what started the world or what now sustains it. "Let us rediscover the true teachings and humanist message of Jesus and throw it out in our own lives for the reconstruction of a better society."

The early Christians were not wrong, the speaker thought. Freethinkers and the Church did not understand them. They were healthy vital people inspired by the genuine revolutionary fervour of Jesus, the living man, not the deity or myth-man of post-mortem creation, and they were wonderful agitators. Their greatness as agitators proceeded from their integrity.

To-day, the heretics and humanists in the modern Christian world should follow their excellent example and express complete contempt for racial differences; complete contempt for State subservience and complete contempt for Caesarism.

Aldred ended his address by stating that he believed there was in the Humanist philosophy a basis of understanding for unity and co-operation despite our own personal ideas of God, two Gods, three Gods or no God at all. The question or questions of Theism ought not to divide mankind into rival factions or cults any longer.

We would do well to study the message propounded by the human and humane Jesus, a message that advocated the assertion of human rights and personality within a sane, just system of society, where power for evil wielded by politicians, statesmen and diplomats would be gone for ever.

In the discussion the speaker was allowed to come to grips with the humanist message of Jesus in relation to Socialism and politics.

One contributor doubted the authenticy of Jesus and disclaimed any originality in his teachings, while pointing out that Bhudda had anticipated that message 500 years before. He remarked on Jesus' lack of economic understanding and contended that he could find no inspiration from Jesus and was compelled to leave him entirely out of his life as a guiding factor.

In reply, Aldred argued it was difficult to find where originality began and cited scientific discoveries which were claimed from different parts of the world at the same time.

He contended that Jesus was much superior to Bhudda in that Jesus made his actions compatible with his words. "Action," Aldred said "lends originality and truth to words."

Regarding the question of Jesus' economics the speaker had examined them in the light of his own understanding of Communism and found them sound indeed, and simple. He quoted the parable of the vineyard to support that.

On the point of whether we could take inspiration or guidance from Jesus, Aldred claimed that if Jesus had failed it was not because of his teachings but because we—Atheists, Christians, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists alike—had failed fully to appreciate those teachings which argued, clearly and powerfully, a sound humanist ethic and economic wisdom.

Guy Aldred's address was a dignified challenge on the one hand to the bigoted Freethinker who shuts his mind to the Humanist message of Jesus because he was identified with the God idea, and on the other hand to the dull orthodox professing Christian, who assumes that a mere formal declaration of faith in Christ and God is sufficient to establish the Kingdom of Heaven, or Good, upon earth.

I imagined that it came as a surprise to many in that audience, with its notable absence of young people, to hear such a beautiful worded picture of, and tribute to, the life of Jesus evolved in such clear accents by a militant Atheist and revolutionary Socialist.

HUGH LAMBERT.

WAR COMMENTARY CASE

[" The War Commentary " case came into Court first on Friday, March 9. Reports of the first day's hearing appeared in the " Daily Mirror " and " War Commentary " (Stop Press Edition) on March 10. The accused were represented by a solicitor. We arranged to receive a full report from the Press Association for publication so that the facts could be put before our readers. Below we publish the report of the second Police Court hearing, on Friday, March 16.—Ed.]

Four on Documents Charge

" Press Association " Report

The documents case in which a woman and three men are charged with being in possession or control of documents, dissemination of which would be likely to cause disaffection among persons in the services again came before Mr. Ivan Snell at Marylebone, on Friday, March 16.

The defendants are described as Dr. John Christopher Hewetson, 32, of Willow Road, Hampstead, casualty officer at Paddington Hospital; Vernon Richards, 29, civil engineer, at Eton Place, and Philip Richard Sansom, 28, commercial artist, Camden Studios, Camden Street, N.W.1.

Mr. Anthony Hawke (prosecuting) stated at the previous hearing that Mr. Richards was the registered proprietor of a printing business in Whitechapel, High Street, called Express Printers. Mrs. Richards was, he supposed, the manageress. Dr. Hewetson carried on a publishing business at Belsize Road, Hampstead, called Freedom Press, which published and Express printers printed, a paper called " War Commentary," described as the official organ of the Anarchist Movement.

Mr. Hawke contended that an article in " War Commentary " indicated that any person who had a rifle should hold on to it to enforce any opinion which he might hold on the rest of the community. " It seems to be issued for the purpose of causing disaffection," he commented.

Among those who watched to-day's proceedings was Colonel de Chair, Deputy Assistant Commissioner, No. 2 District, Metropolitan Police.

Ernest George Ovenden, managing clerk of a firm of solicitors for the trustees of the Eyre Estate, said that Dr. Hewetson was the tenant of the upper part of the house at Belsize Road, which was part of the Estate. No rent had been paid since Michaelmas, 1944.

" A cheque was sent, but I returned it," Mr. Ovenden said.

Asked why, Mr. Ovenden said the cheque was drawn by " V. Richards." It was discovered that there had been a breach of covenant.

Mr. Gerald Rutledge, defending, asked, " What was the breach of covenant? "

Mr. Ovenden: " The use of the premises for business."

Detective Inspector Hoare, of New Scotland Yard, gave evidence of searching the premises at Willow Road, on December 12, and finding a considerable number of documents. " Dr. Hewetson opened the door," the Inspector said.

The Inspector handed in a complete copy of a circular letter, dated October 25, 1944, and a second copy completed only on one side which, he said, he found on the premises. He also conducted a search at the Camden Studio premises. Among the documents there were 19 completed copies of the circular and 14 empty envelopes addressed to members of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Rutledge: " When you made the search on December 12 was it specifically for the purpose of finding the copies of ' War Commentary ' and the circular letter " ?—" That was the main object, but it was not the only point."

" What else were you looking for? "—" Anything that might have any bearing on the case."

" I am instructed that you took away a considerable amount of private literature of Dr. Hewetson's, consisting of notes of private patients," said Mr. Rutledge.

Inspector Hoare: " Probably a few among the stuff taken. I saw Dr. Hewetson and told him I wished to do the search with as little inconvenience as possible to him and he seemed perfectly satisfied."

" Did you think you were putting him to a great deal of inconvenience by taking these notes? "—" No, because it would have meant keeping him up all night to look through his papers."

Detective Inspector William Whitehead, of New Scotland Yard, said Mr. and Mrs. Richards and other people were present during the search. He asked Richards what was his connection with Freedom Press, and he replied: " As you saw when you came in, we all help here, but I call myself the Secretary."

He found a list of 95 names of members of the forces, with their Units. Of the 95, 77 were in the fighting services, and the remainder in non-combatant corps.

Sansom was asked about documents found at his address and replied, said Inspector Whitehead: " It is obvious if you found them that I took them there. I have duplicated similar letters for the Freedom Press, though I cannot identify these particular ones I used to do a certain amount of despatching for the Freedom Press, and probably these are a few of the circular letters which were left over."

When the evidence for the Prosecution was concluded Mr. Rutledge submitted that there was no case to answer by the defendants, particularly Mrs. Richards who, he said, was at most an employee. Whatever documents were sent out from the Freedom Press was sent under contract to subscribers of " War Commentary."

Mr. Snell decided that there was a case to go for trial, and ordered a formal week's remand prior to committal to the Old Bailey.

Mr. Rutledge said that all the defendants pleaded Not Guilty and reserved their defence.

Mr. and Mrs. Richards and Dr. Hewetson were again allowed bail, each on their own recognisances of £100 and one surety of £100.

Applying for bail for Sansom, Mr. Rutledge stated that an application was made before a Judge in Chambers this morning and no order was made, it being left to Mr. Snell to decide.

The Magistrate asked if the police would be satisfied if a proposed surety was prepared to put himself in a position to have £500 estreated if Sansom did not appear. Inspector Whitehead said the police would be satisfied.

A young man who said he was prepared to stand bail affirmed when standing surety. He gave his name as Simon John Watson Taylor, with an address at Petty France, S.W.1, and described himself as a professional actor.

Mr. Rutledge told the magistrate that Sansom would stay with Dr. Hewetson.

Vernon Richards; Marie Louis Richards; John Christopher Hewetson; and Philip Richard Sansom, were at Marylebone Police Court, London, on Friday, March 23, sent for trial at the Old Bailey on charges under the defence regulations of conspiring together, and with others, at 27 Belsize-road, Hampstead, and elsewhere to endeavour to seduce from their duties persons in the Forces and to cause disaffection among them likely to lead to breaches of duty and with having in their possession, or control, a circular letter the dissemination of copies of which among persons in His Majesty's service would contravene the defence regulations.

Dr. Hewetson and Mr. and Mrs. Richards were also sent for trial on a charge of endeavouring to cause disaffection among persons in His Majecty's service.

All were allowed bail in one surety in £100, except Sansom, whose bail was fixed at £500.

BOOK REVIEWS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, has recently produced two short pamphlets of outstanding merit. " Were we to blame too?" by Frank Hancock, 1d, contains many admirable quotations. Only one adverse criticism can be made. It should have appeared five years ago!

" Towards Understanding Japan," 1d, is most informative and very balanced. The author is not a pacifist, and the only weak spot in the pamphlet is his professed belief in the desirability of inflicting a complete defeat on Japan to ensure that the military party shall so lose face that it will never come back. He overlooks the fact that, the present Allied leaders being the kind of men they are, the complete defeat of Japan will be followed by terms so harsh and unstatesmanlike that, if they are not altered, the rise of a new military party to throw off an intolerable burden will be absolutely certain.

" Christian Values and the Settlement of the Minorities Problem," by Karlin Capper-Johnson, a 6d. pamphlet issued by the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, contains a thoughtful criticism of the barbarous and stupid proposal that large numbers of Poles and Germans should be removed from their homes, in a clumsy attempt to avoid the problems created by racial minorities.

It is shown, factually, that such ventures in the past have been attended with scant success, and that the supposed value of a transfer of populations between Greece and Turkey, has not only been much exaggerated but that conditions are by no means parallel.

The author of the pamphlet observes, very pertinently, that the expulsion of a minority, i.e. the Jews, was precisely the action for which Hitler has been so strongly criticised, and now we find his enemies and judges embarking upon a policy identical with that which they so strongly condemned.

It is pointed out that there is no solution to racial problems save an arrangement which leaves law-abiding citizens in their own homes and gives them adequate and equal rights in every direction regardless of nationality.

Mr. W. H. Marwick's pamphlet " The Social and Political Witness of Christianity," price 9d., obtainable from Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1., contains an interesting historical survey of the Church's relation to the question of social reform. Mr. Marwick himself is, incidentally, one of those who hold that true Christianity should enter into every phase of human existence, and that the dividing line between worldly and spiritual things has often been wrongly drawn. The survey, though I have no reason to question its accuracy, contains a rather sad record of widespread failure accompanied by somewhat limited success. Starting by being mistakenly other-worldly in its early days, the Church, as a whole, later degenerated into most unedifying compromise with the world—a compromise which it retains at the present time. Only a small minority of Christians down the centuries tried to remain faithful to a more enlightened way of living, and even their witness was too often marred by shortcomings of one kind and another and by narrow-mindedness. Mr. Marwick's apt summary of the position in his concluding paragraphs is worth quoting :—

" There is little to be learned from the past as to the right social attitude of the Church; we need not resort to the Middle Ages for our economics any more than our theology . . . We may say that such progressive outlook as there has been is not that of the Church, which has confined itself to platitudinous theorising, slavery and unemployment. It is rather that of the sects, or indeed of isolated heretics; while progressive activities have been, in the main, those of despised and persecuted groups . . . The Christian social order ever cherished by the true " apostolical succession of the faithful," has to be thought out again and experimented with afresh by succeeding generations within their respective environments . . . It may be that out of the very agony and despair of our times this spirit will again manifest itself in fullness and power, and transform our society. The Christian solution for our day seems to be to substitute for the conflict of isolated individuals, or their subordination to an abstract entity such as the State (which means in practice to a governing class), the voluntary co-operation of free personalities. Freedom in the fellowship of service to one another is the purpose of God for men on earth."

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WORLD GOVERNMENT FOR PEACE—HOW?

In Canada early last December world government became, for the first time anywhere, a plank in the platform of a major political party. Canada's Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, convening in Montreal, voted this clause for its election manifesto:

Future wars cannot be avoided without the establishment of government at the international level, democratically representative of all the peoples great and small, and endowed with the paramount powers necessary to maintain the peace and to provide economic justice and equality of opportunity among the peoples of the world.

The C.C.F. Convention also passed the following resolution:—

Whereas alliances, the League of Nations, and the attempts to maintain the balance of power have failed to preserve world peace; be it resolved that the Canadian Government should take the initiative in promoting the idea of an international government representative of all the peoples, and work towards the establishment of a world authority which shall have jurisdiction over:

(a) Vital natural resources and their utilization for the benefit of all the peoples.
(b) International labor standards.
(c) World currency and the organization of international trade and investment.
(d) The establishment of minimum international standards of education.
(e) The administration of backward areas with a view to educating them for self-government as soons as possible.
(f) An international police force for the purpose of the enforcement of international law.
(g) World postal and communicating systems.

We are somewhat suspicious of (e), and (f) gives no guarantee of international disarmament. Without the surrender of the concept of national sovereignties, and the citizenship by birth or adoption of states, that is the political idea of subjects, there can be no world citizenship and no genuine international police force. The Duke of Bedford deals with this issue very well in his discussions of the peace issue in the future world.

Born in 1932, the C.C.F. is in control of one provincial government (Saskatchewan), where 39-year-old C.C.F.-er T. C. Douglas is Premier and the party holds 47 of 52 legislative seats), and forms the official opposition in two others (British Columbia, 16 of 48 seats; Ontario, 34 of 90 seats). It has the third largest representation in the Canadian National Parliament. The C.C.F. is bound to become, soon, at least, the official opposition. World government discussion and the question of peace is assured of a prominent place in Canadian political discussion. But the economic issue must be faced also. Politics turn on economics. The C.C.F. is aware of this fact, for it has a farmer-labour backing and, however opportunistic its policies, declares that its aims are Socialist.

In mid-December, 1944, a six-point Declaration of Human Rights, signed by 1326 distinguished Americans of all faiths, was made public by the American Jewish Committee. It first called for an "International Bill of Rights . . . to guarantee for every man, woman and child, *of every race and creed and in every country*, the fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." As a second point, the statement declared: "No plea of sovereignty shall ever again be allowed to permit any nation to deprive those within its borders of these fundamental rights on the claim that these are matters of internal concern."

The statement was reported to have the President's "full sympathy" and was signed by the then Vice-President Wallace, Gov. Dewey, Supreme Court Justices Roberts and Murphy, the late Alfred Smith, John W. Davis, William Green, Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, Bishops William Manning and Francis McIntyre, and many other notables in all walks of life.

The President of the American Jewish Committee, former Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, said in issuing the Declaration: "It is a statement of general principles, not the formulation of . . . machinery. . . ."

"Every race and creed" surely includes the Negro as well as the Jew. What are the signers of this declaration doing for the Negro?

The failure to formulate machinery was the defect in the Declaration—it failed to point out how its common-sense ends of simple justice might be achieved. It failed to remark, as the American Declaration of Independence does so cogently, "that to secure these rights (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) governments are instituted among men."

We suggest that most of its signers obviously failed to recognise that the only way its guarantee of world citizenship and immediate local citizenship of use and practice and enjoyment could be made effective was through supra-national or world government exercising direct authority over (and controlled individually by) citizens in all countries.

How is world citizenship to be established?

The Earl of Huntingdon, in the House of Lords, October 11, 1944, said:—

There is only one device which has been found efficacious in stopping war between communities and it is along that line that I suggest, though I may be in a minority of one, the possibilities should be explored. The only device which so far has worked is that of federation . . . It is not easy to establish; it is extremely difficult.

We must remember that in the United States of America there was a very calamitous war before finally all the States of the Union settled down and federation was consolidated. But as a result there is no danger at all of war breaking out between these States. There is no prospect of war between Nevada and Idaho or between Massachusetts and Maine. The idea of it, to any American, would be ridiculous.

In the same way wherever States have federated, or in other words, have given up their sovereignty, as in the case of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the Swiss Republic and the commonwealth of Australia, or the United States of Mexico, the danger of war between those States has been eliminated. But you must have real union, and no closed frontiers; both peoples and goods must be able to pass freely; and supreme force must lie in the hands of the Central Federal Government which must be representative of all the States.

The Earl of Huntingdon did not need to be in a minority of one. He could have supported the pleas for peace and conscience made by the Duke of Bedford and so have formed a natural alliance.

Federal News (London), November, 1944, said:

A league is an organization of governments. A federation is an organization of peoples. A confederation is a league under another name.

The governing body of a league is an assembly of government delegations. It has no executive power. All its decisions have to be ratified by the separate governments of the member states. The governing body of a federation is a parliament elected by the federating peoples, to which they have handed over certain functions of government. . . . It has executive authority in its own sphere.

The representatives of the states at the league assembly, because they represent their governments, think nationally and act as national blocs. The members elected by the federating peoples to the federal parliament come from all parties in their states. As a result like-minded members from all countries come together and form federal parties. The divisions in the federal parliament are therefore political, not national, divisions. . . .

A league has no contact with the citizens of the member states. A federation has direct jurisdiction over them, since every citizen of a federating state is also a citizen of the federation.

This is excellent defining. It is a pity that those who support the policy of *Federal News* don't think a little more in the terms of such internationalism and a little less in the terms of power politics.

The New Yorker, December 9, 1944, in "The Talk of the Town," stated:

There is now a demand that Nazi leaders be "tried and punished" for all crimes back as far as 1933. Yet the cold truth is there is not a Nazi living who can be tried or brought to justice for anything he has done, because we have no justice to bring him to. To talk of justice as though it were something you pull out of a hat, as occasion requires, is to talk idly and badly. When a German officer tortures and butchers the innocent people of a village, he can be caught and shot by a firing squad (and we trust he will), but he cannot be brought to justice.

The only way you can try and punish an individual who has committed an anti-social act on international level is by setting up shop on that level, creating the courts on that level, writing the laws on that level, and supporting the enforement on that level. Whether people want to set up shop on that level, whether people are capable of it, whether it is wise to attempt it—these are questions still unanswered by the democratic nations. Our private hope is that the answer will be Yes, but until the people make up their minds they ought to keep the record clean and not kid themselves about jurisdiction and crime. You can't have your anarchical society and eat it too.

Forgiving the use of the term "anarchy" to mean chaos, which it does not, this comment contains truth. The idea of punishing Germans is merely the old theory of "spoils to the victor." It is gangster politics, not democracy.

Readers of these notes should read *World Government News*, issued by Federal World Government Inc., at 29 East 28 St., New York 16, N.Y., U.S.A. The subscription is $1.00 per year. American readers, when subscribing, should mention this journal.

SOCIALISM IN U.S.A.

WHAT THE UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT SEEKS TO ESTABLISH.

The following statement of aims and purposes will be accepted by all who call themselves Socialists. It is a declaration of what the members of the United Socialist Movement stand for.

Knowing that social, political, and economic equality is necessary to the development of human personality, the Socialist wants to remove class distinctions of all kinds.

There can be no "upper and lower classes," no rich and poor, under Socialism. Socialism implies a classless Society where none have privileges and where ALL have equal status, equal rights and equal opportunities.

The Socialist maintains that Labour is honourable service to the community and must cease from being bought or sold or exploited.

In the common interest the Socialist seeks to establish the social ownership and control of natural resources, substituting for their exploitation for private gain the organisation of their use as a public service to satisfy human needs.

By social control and workshop planning and administration, the practical democratic industrial organisation of wealth production and distribution, the Socialist seeks to make an end to present-day suffering from poverty. He would remove insecurity in all its forms from every home. He seeks to increase the actual personal, or "consumptive" property of every human being.

The Socialist aims to enlarge human freedom. He repudiates every form of coercion and dictated rule. Socialism is democracy and has freedom for its aim and liberty its working political method. The Socialist desires to effect a revolutionary change in society by the authority of a consenting and informed public opinion. Socialism objects to hereditary and to self-selected rulers alike.

Socialism is Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in actual practice as the established order of life in a civilised community.

The United Socialist Movement is opposed to all capitalist war and militarism. It is opposed to those who would turn the class struggle within society, and within every nation, into a national struggle between nations. The United Socialist Movement is at once a revolutionary and an anti-militarist organisation. Its history dates back to 1906, and it represents a direct record of struggle for the ideals of human well-being.

If you accept this programme, join the United Socialist Movement. Found a group in your district. Become a member at large. If you live in New York contact local "Word" readers.

I have read the statement of the principles and aims of the United Socialist Movement, and I desire to become a National Member, until such time as a group is organised in my district, or a local organisation federates to the main body.

For more information, write to DAVID BERKINGOFF, 315 E. 209 ST., NEW YORK.

Mr./Mrs./Miss _____

Address _____

The Passing of Arthur Symons

By C. H. NORMAN

The death of Arthur Symons gives an opportunity to express gratitude to one of the leaders against the humbug and hypocrisy prevailing in Britain in the last decade of the Victorian era. He was a contributor to the first number of "The Yellow Book," a brilliantly-written and conceived magazine, which is unique in having had the whole of its thirteen numbers reprinted years after. How freshly its pages read to-day nearly fifty years later! Symons then founded "The Savoy," whose appearance caused an almost greater uproar among the conventional moralists of the press as did "The Yellow Book."

Symons was a fine poet. His little book "London Nights" produced an explosion which has hardly ever been equalled in absurdity of denunciation (except in the case of the attacks on Ibsen's plays) on the ground of its "immorality." Symons retorted on his critics with a brilliant defence in the Preface to the Second Edition, which contains a passage the truth of which is well-known to anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the history of human manners and morals. "For the principles of art are eternal, while the principles of morality fluctuate with the spiritual ebb and flow of the ages. Show me any commandment of the traditional code of morals which you are at present obeying and I will show you its opposite among the commandments of some other code of morals, which your forefathers once obeyed; or, if you prefer, some righteous instance of its breaking, which you will commend in spite of yourself."

This passage should be considered by those who excuse the crimes they are committing to-day on the ground that they are directed by the State, through its minions, who are all the same in this regard, whether their name happens to be Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, or Roosevelt; because they all bear the brand of a common iniquity.

The last number of "The Savoy" was remarkable in the circumstance that the whole of the literary matter was written by Arthur Symons, while the drawings were all executed by that fine draughtsman and artist in line, Aubrey Beardsley. The versatility of Symons' literary capacity may be seen in the nature of those contributions. There is a long poem, "Mundi Victima" (Victims of the World), a magnificent essay in appreciation of Walter Pater, which has never been equalled, a story entitled "The Childhood of Lucy Newcome," a travel essay on "The Isles of Arran," a translation from Mallamé, and a literary causerie at the end. It is an extraordinary production, marked by a care and choice of words, which is both simple and exquisite in balance.

In "The Symbolist Movement in Literature," Symons was the means of introducing to English thought some little known French writers, including the visionary, Villiers de Lisle Adam, whose "La Eve Future" has proved such a true forecast of the mechanisation of women, begun in industrial England, and completed under the Imperialist "Communism" of Stalin and now spreading throughout the world like a pestilence. No grimmer danger signal has been hoisted for the future of humanity. It may be the privilege of women to change their minds, but it is certainly the practice of men; as cannot be better shown than the destruction of family life (that Victorian sanctity) in the course of this war, with the moral corruption which has resulted in all walks of life.

Symons maintained a high standard of artistic and intellectual integrity during his life. He paid great care to avoid vulgarity in style or method of writing. His own view of worldly success in matters artistic is well-expressed in his short note on the death of Millais, the painter, who produced such strangely differing work in quality of artistic principle as "The Eve of St. Agnes," and "Bubbles"! Symons, after paying tribute to the nobility of conception of Millais' early work in these words: "He had the prodigal energy of genius, and painted pictures because he was born to paint pictures," proceeded, after mentioning the adulatory absurdities of the obituary notices thus: "My thoughts have turned, as I read these commendations of the good citizen, so English, so sporting, whose private virtues were so undeniably British, to a painter, also a man of genius whose virtues were all given up to his art, and who is now living in a destitute and unhonoured obscurity. It has seemed to me that there, in that immaculate devotion to art, I find the true morality of the artist; while in the respectability of Millais I see nothing to honour, for its observance of the letter I take to have been a desecration of the spirit."

The present generation owes much to that band of men, who organised themselves under the standard of "The Yellow Book," to undermine the humbug and hypocrisy of their era. They were successful to a certain extent, heavy though the task was, in destroying the smugness of Victorianism. Unfortunately, their good work was hindered by the Boer War and the resultant vulgar Imperialism, which set the train for the explosion of 1914-1918, in its turn, producing the grotesque obscenity of the death and destruction of to-day. It is well that one should not permit the evil tumult of war to drown completely the voice of culture and enlightenment in the arts. So one should record one's appreciation of a man whose standard of work in artistic matters and whose faith in the encouragement of ideas were a model for adoption and appreciation in the humanities.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I must write to thank you very deeply for sending me the book, "A Call to Manhood."

I do not go about very much in the ordinary way but I always try to be present at public meetings for peace such as organised by the P.P.U., etc. Both my brothers were C.O.'s in the last war and after a period in Wormwood Scrubbs prison, spent many months at Home Office Camps, the first one being at Kiddington in Suffolk where C. H. Norman, who writes in your paper, was also in captivity. When I visited my brothers there, along with my Mother, we were introduced to Mr. Norman.

I hope it may be possible for me to hear you speak one of these days. I have known the name of Guy Aldred for more than twenty-five years I am sure. My brothers used to bring home papers of all kinds and I remember seeing your name from time to time but I do not remember just what the papers were called. Also I remember the name of Rose Witcop Aldred.

Again thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

DOROTHY HAMMOND.

Birmingham.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—You might be interested to know that I have before me, as I write, a copy of "The Spur," dated August, 1916. It is a very interesting issue and as suitable to the present conditions as the last copy of "The Word."

Wishing you every success in your efforts to spread a humanist attitude towards life in place of the brutal and callous attitude of modern society.

Best wishes. Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR TURTLE.

Leigh, Lancs.

My Dear Comrade Guy Aldred,—Words are inadequate to express my deepest appreciation for the very challenging pamphlet of "Letters to the Editor" you recently sent me. I have read them with a sense of new inspiration and courage.

I have read a few copies of "The Word" and found it also most challenging, clean and good.

It seems to me more hypocrisy is being shown to-day than on any Christmas Day in the past, as people still sing and talk about this "Christ, the Prince of Peace," and still fight and kill.

God bless you in your great work, is my prayer.

Sincerely,

ASHTON JAMES.

Atlanta, Ga., U.S.A., Christmas Day, 1944.

Dear Comrade,—I feel for this man, who is loyal to his fellow workers, and to the reason for which he joined the army.

Could you take this up, and see that justice is done? I make the extract from "Reynolds News" for Feb. 4, 1945:—

A SOLDIER'S CONSCIENCE.

Private A. Lambert (44) of the Pioneer Corps, a Swansea dock worker in civil life, who has been sentenced by a Field General Court Martial at Longmoor, Hants, to 16 months detention, said during his trial that his conscience did not allow him to help break a Cardiff Dock strike last November.

He was charged with being absent without leave. Lambert said he had just taken part in the Manchester Gas strike and rather than do anything against his fellow dockers he went to stay with friends until the strike was over.

Asked why he had not talked the matter over first, he replied: "It would be useless to discuss my conscience with the Commanding Officer."

Yours faithfully,

BEN QUARMBY.

Manchester, Feb. 9, 1945.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—So "The Word" is to be increased to 3d. I know what all this must mean to you and you have my sympathy. That your struggles and endeavours should be rewarded in this fashion is something awful.

Workers in their millions readily subscribe their pennies to the sensational "Daily Liar," but they don't seem to care two hoots for the papers that write for and to them.

What a crazy world! What a class!—without nerve, without will, without courage, without solidarity! What a hope!

The enclosed is a modest donation towards the Deficit Fund, and, I hope, a means of encouragement, which is the food that gives energy to the thought and struggle.

With best thoughts.

Fraternally,

STEPHEN MARLETTA.

Greenock, February, 1945.

Dear Comrade Aldred, Enclosed please find yearly subscription for "The Word."

I am amazed to learn that there are any readers of "The Word" so mean as not to send their money when they have had the papers. It is one of the most interesting and helpful papers that I get. I often feel grieved that I am not able to give you substantial help in your struggle, but unfortunately my means are very limited.

I am seventy-five, but have still a long way to go to catch up to our old comrade, George Gorman. I read his letter and the verses with great interest.

I sympathize with you in the struggle you are having to keep the paper going. I never crave for money, only at times like these. I feel it would be grand if I could send you a £100, but alas it cannot be.

With kindest regards and all good wishes.

W. H. ROBERTS.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

On the report stage of the Army Estimates on March 16, Conservative Members pressed upon Sir James Grigg the necessity for military conscription after the war.

In the course of his Reply to the Debate, the Minister declared that the question of compulsory service was under consideration by the War Office, who would produce a complete scheme for the post-war Army. It was not for him to make a statement before a decision had been taken.

At the Conservative Party Conference at Westminster the same day, a resolution was passed and carried by a large majority to the effect that the country could only carry out its international obligations if it remained strong and fully armed and the Government was urged to retain conscription for the Armed Force of the Crown.

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY
Bradford Branch.

WINTER PROGRAMME

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EVERY SUNDAY, 6.30 p.m.

April 8—Mrs. C. E. M. REYNOLDS, M.A.: "Religion and Literature."
15—E. STOCKDALE: "This International Money Business."
22—HAROLD DAY: "Why I am an Atheist."
29—SPECIAL NIGHT.

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Questions. Discussion. Collection

Nothing has been more discreditable to the official Labour Party during the last three years than its silence while the Government has been relentlessly suppressing popular liberties.—Philip Snowden, in the "Labour Leader," May 23, 1918.

ANARCHIST ACTIVITY

[The following letter speaks for itself. We believe that there is a strong need for an Anarchist or Libertarian movement in Britain. That movement, to play its part in the working class struggle, must be a genuine democratic movement, differing from the parliamentary movement in the thoroughness and efficiency of its very democracy. Propaganda under capitalism must be dominated, to some extent, by capitalist concepts; but the desire should be to overcome all capitalist considerations and establish genuine propaganda centres and means of expression as part of the revolutionary struggle. Anarchists should be men and women of example. Anarchism is actually the struggle towards Socialism through the direct action of living example and the solidarity in action such example evolves.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade,—Many have asked me why I do not continue my writings in "War Commentary" and why others, especially those who supplied news of strike action, have also discontinued writing for that paper. I have made many friends (and opponents) by my signed articles and by "Red and Black Notebook," which I wrote under the penname of "Syndicalist." To many of them it doubtless seems strange that we should suddenly cease to appear in print.

We did not cease writing because we were wishful to do so. We were sacked by the boss.

To understand the sequence of events it is necessary to know, at least briefly, the history of the present Freedom Press and the Anarchist Federation in London. The Freedom Press started about sixty years ago, completely died out before the Spanish War. At the beginning of this war, in October, 1939, "War Commentary" was founded by myself and three others. Others joining, we soon formed the Anarchist Federation (largely confined to London) and, a good deal later, revived the title Freedom Press to cover the publishing activities of the A.F. It was decided, unanimously, by the A.F. members, who included all those in control of Freedom Press, that the Editorial Board of "War Commentary" and Freedom Press should be elected by the A.F., that all proposed publications should be read by the Editorial Board, but finally decided by the full meeting of the A.F. Dr. Hewetson, V. Richards and Mrs. Richards (M. L. Berneri) were among those who agreed.

Unfortunately, most of us were too trusting. We allowed Hewetson and Richards to become trustees of the movement's assets without any legal safeguard. Naturally, we did not think such things necessary in an Anarchist organisation. Money was raised to purchase printing plant and the trio secured the property rights. The same applies to Freedom Bookshop, Bristol, and to the paper license (although this was doubled by taking over "Revolt!" which, also, was the paper of a movement). We still trusted.

However, during 1944, dissatisfaction caused by the dictatorial actions of the trio, Hewetson and the Richards couple, developed within the A.F. Particularly unsatisfactory, certainly to me, were the "financial reports" given by Richards. Hurriedly read from scraps of paper (never to be handled by the members) at uncertain intervals, all the impression we received was that, whatever Freedom Press published, sold or received as gifts, we were losing money fast. But always we were promised a full report next time. We are still waiting.

In the summer of 1944 two Anarchists who had proven their worth as revolutionaries were nominated as members of the A.F. Mrs. Richards followed Churchill's example and threatened to resign if the nominations went forward. The names not being withdrawn, she resigned, but continued to exercise back door control of Freedom Press. Later, at a well attended mixed meeting, she admitted that she did "not believe in organisation." Later still she amended this to, she did "not believe in Anarchist organisation." After debating the issue for several meetings, Richards, Hewetson and four others left the A.F. meeting and formed what they termed the "Freedom Press Group."

In spite of this we all continued to work for the paper, but we still pressed for a full financial report which was promised for the first A.F. meeting in January, 1945. I went to that meeting firmly believing that no report would be given. Sure enough—no report, and no treasurer. Instead, we received a letter from Dr. Hewetson and V. Richards dismissing the Editorial Board. Like General Scobie talking to the Greeks, however, they offered us terms. We could appoint three members of an Editorial Board against their three to help them produce the paper (no control over pamphlets and books), but to qualify we must sell 500 copies of each issue of "War Commentary"; and this arrangement must cease with the end of the War!

Naturally, we rejected these "terms."

In any case we knew, by experience, that the real control would be in the hands of Mrs. Richards (M. L. Berneri) and we were as sick of her peculiar methods of doing business as we were of her juvenile comments on the social problem. For myself, I have always stated that the editorial, or any other, committee of a movement should be elected by the membership of that movement and subject to recall at twenty-four hours notice by those who elected them.

So, there it is.

"War Commentary," Express Printers and Freedom Press have been taken from the movement, are now private property, controlled by three persons, assisted by a few hand picked and completely servile stooges.

"Common Ownership of the means of production," "Workers' Control," "Recall of Delegates," "Down with the Communist and Trade Union Bureaucracy." "Read 'War Commentary.'"

I am an industrial worker and during my five years as co-editor of "War Commentary," I struggled to make the paper a reflection and expression of the workers' struggle. Aided by other comrades, who also have been excluded from the paper, we have achieved that end. I was never openly opposed, but I incurred the hatred of the middle class persons now in control. As Hewetson openly stated, in referring to an anticipated period of intense class struggle, they "wanted to publish books on art and sex morality."

Two or three years ago, a young fellow was expelled from the London A.F. for stealing some postal orders from Freedom Press. I close with this reflection—by that standard, what should be the reward of those who take, not a few postal orders, but the whole outfit—press, paper, finance, goodwill established by the loyalty and struggle of the comrades, as well as the name of the movement.

Yours fraternally,
TOM BROWN,

(Author of "Trade Unionism and Syndicalism?" "The British General Strike")

London, W.2, Feb. 15, 1945.

[The above letter was received just too late for publication in the March issue. The "War Commentary" trials will be treated fully next month.—Ed.]

United States readers are invited to make contact with, attend the meetings of, and to read the literature issued by the

AMERICAN MONETARY RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin.—U.S. Constitution.

Co-operating with all Organizations working to uphold the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence.

E. 2327 HARTSON AVENUE
SPOKANE, WASHINGTON (15)

All American Readers of "The Word" and members of The United Socialist Movement should read and circulate

THE CALL

HERMAN SINGER, Editor.

Published Weekly by the Socialist Party, U.S.A., at at 303 4th Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Subscription $2 a year; $1 for five months; $3 for two years.

Australian Socialist Monthly.

The Socialist League was formed in Melbourne on July 14th, 1944, not as a Party in the accepted sense, but as a liaison association, in which all Socialists of all organisations can co-operate for Socialism.

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Printed in Great Britain

BOISE VALLEY APPEAL

Readers of "The Word,"

Friends,—I might begin this word to you with a review of everything that has occurred in the case of the Washington Post Office and Justice Departments against the "Boise Valley Herald" since September 3rd, 1944. But most of that has been published in "The Word."

There are some important phases of the struggle of which we have made little or no mention. For example, promptly, with the broadcast of the charges by the U.S. authorities, that our mailing rights and privileges had been suspended, every commercial advertiser declined to patronize the paper longer and the insurance company which for years had carried our risk notified us that it was cancelling the same and returning to us the value of the period that had been paid for. By much hunting and greatly increased rate we finally got another company to carry the risk. All this has meant a burden and a struggle which few papers in the whole history of this land of the "free" and home of the brave have had the determination or the nerve or whatever you might call it, to struggle with, and sweat under.

It has been said that sincerity is proven by one's disposition to put his preaching into practice in the face of strong opposition and difficulty. The highest compliment the "Boise Valley Herald" has received for many a moon was one recently written to us by Edward Holton James, when he wrote me that so far as he knew, the "Boise Valley Herald" was the only liberal paper in the entire country that has not permitted itself to be browbeaten.

I have long believed that the most vital civic work I can do is to fulfil the thought patterns of freedom of speech and of the press in the real flesh and-blood way of publishing a little village paper. The civic responsibility that rests upon the publicist is to be true to the facts and to accord to the other party of his comment the opportunity to correct errors of fact and of reasoning. The good sense—the conscience—of the community will do the rest.

Readers of the "B. V. Herald" who have followed our course throughout our connection with it, and who recall the threats, assaults—both physical and journalistic and the unpleasantness of which we were made the focus because of our connection with the summary-removal of the County Sheriff and the libel suits and other disturbances in which local office-holders and attorneys and their press bureaucrats, know that ours has by no means been the path of commercial appeasement that, in our opinion, constitutes the root-cause of the betrayal of Constitutional government.

Upon the advice of the Civil Liberties Union who represented us in the "star-chamber" hearing in Washington—a hearing that was merely a counterfeit for the "due process of law" guaranteed to even the worst of criminals—we regularly applied for the second-class mailing privilege. We did not permit ourselves to be hopped up with any likelihood that it would be granted, despite the fact that Congressman Compton I. White interceded in our behalf and advised us that the chances were good. I gave no promise that our editorial policy would conform to the win-the-war unity that they demanded of us. Our contention was, and is, that opponents of a war policy have the same right of expression when a war is under way as is accorded to the proponents of the resort to war exercised when we are supposed to be at peace. My resolve is that so long as I have physical liberty I will use the spiritual liberty that the Bill of Rights insures to those who prove their worthiness to have rights.

There is one thing, however, that can be rightfully demanded of any paper and that is that it be allowed to retain only those on its mailing list who think enough of it to pay its subscription price. I had hoped to be able to make a personal campaign for renewals and new subscriptions within a radius of the Boise Valley, but under present conditions, that is impossible. For this reason I am taking this means of contacting you in the hopes that you will help me make a good showing to the Post Office Department, by extending the B.V.H. influence well beyond the valley. The annual subscription is one dollar, anywhere.

With best wishes,
ADELBERT CORNELL,
Editor, "Boise Valley Herald."

"BOISE VALLEY HERALD,"
MIDDLETON,
IDAHO, U.S.A.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW

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Speaker **GUY A. ALDRED.**

Subject:

FOOLS—ON PARADE.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 4s. 0d.

Vol. VI. No. 10. MAY, 1945. Price: THREEPENCE (U.S.A., 5 Cents)

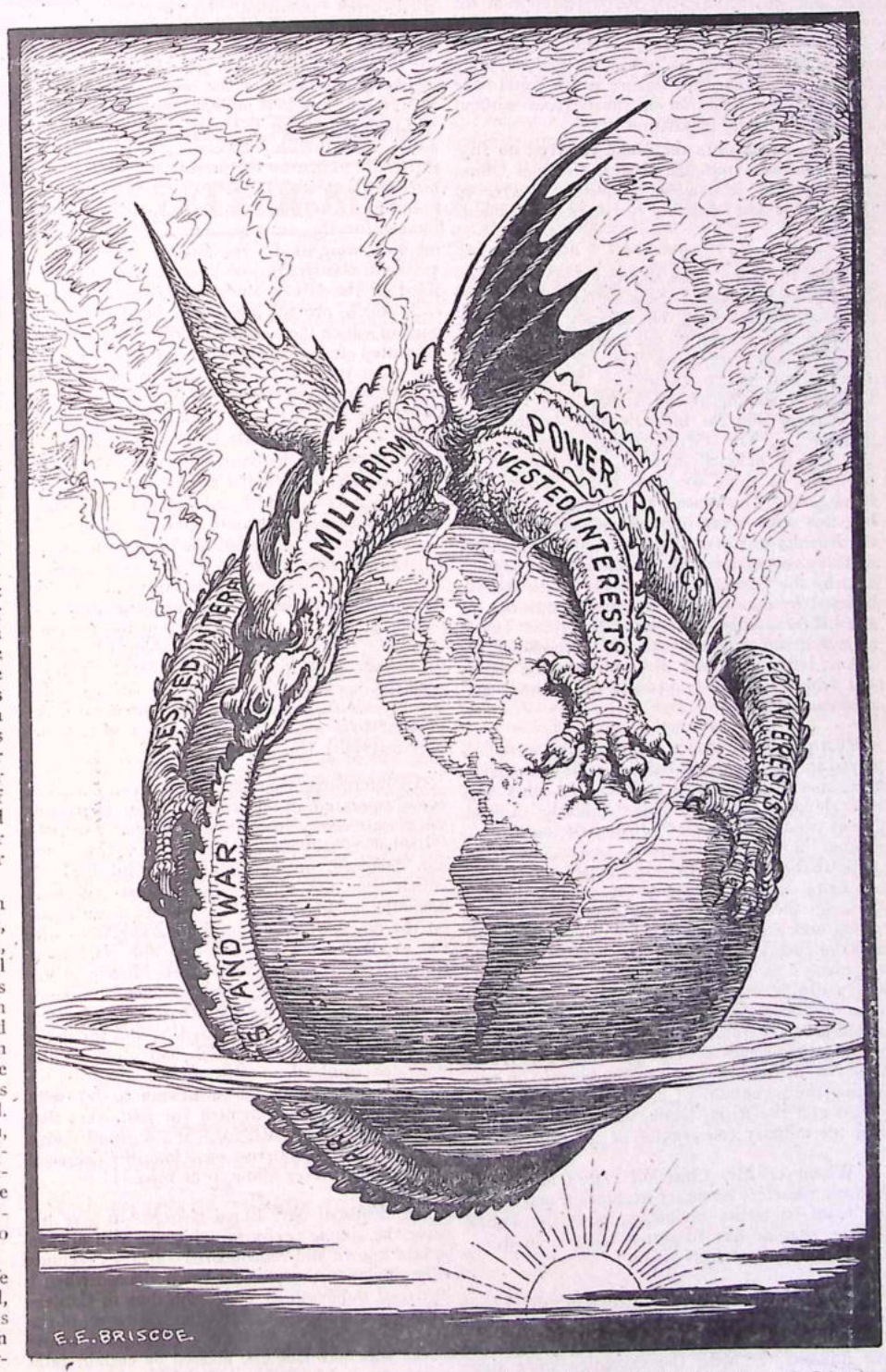
NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The American Paper, "The Progressive," contains in its issue of February 5, a vigorous attack on the evil and undemocratic practice of concluding secret treaties, which has done, and is doing, so much to destroy the peace of the world. Readers are reminded how, after the fall of the Czar's Government, the Soviet revealed a number of selfish and disreputable secret agreements between Russia and Britain, Russia and France, Britain and France, and Britain and Italy, which were hidden away in the archives of the Foreign Office in Petrograd. The article goes on to suggest, and with all too good reason, that precisely the same policy is being pursued at the present time. It asks: "What can explain, for example, the Russian rampage in the Baltic and the Balkans, with the apparent assent of Britain, and the British onslaught in Greece, without any interference from Russia, if not a treaty conceived in letter or in spirit, assigning to each its appointed sphere of influence in post-war Europe? And what can explain the inaction of the United States in this deplorable exhibition of imperialistic power if not an agreement with the offending natons to keep hands off in return for certain concessions to its own advantage—say in the Pacific? . . . Is anything to be gained for peace and order by agreements made by selfish Powers in their own exclusive interests? What is even now being fashioned in the very midst of this armed struggle, by methods either of anarchy or of conspiracy, is the structure of a post-war world made of the rotten timbers of balances of power, spheres of influence, power politics and competitive armaments. The Third World War is being prepared before the Second World War is finished.

Nothing can save us in this crisis but open covenants, openly arrived at—covenants of peace, drawn up in common by all the United Nations, in the interest of all these nations, small as well as large, weak as well as strong. . . . There is something pitiful in the plight of a world which knows no salvation except in the plottings and plannings of a few men who chance to hold high public office—and something outrageous in the arrogance of these men in keeping to themselves all knowledge of the destiny which affects us all. Enough of these mouthings in places unknown, for purposes unconfessed, to decisions unannounced. Let these be open deliberations by representatives of the people, that a peace may be made by common consent and in the common interest, and therewith be fit, as well as able, to endure."

Another pertinent observation in the same paper runs as follows:—"We are confronted, not with the question of what Germany deserves but of what we of the rest of the world can afford. There are no dividends in dismemberment, no rewards in revenge."

Many years ago the Duke of Windsor began to display a sincere and active interest in the improvement of the lot of the poor and the unfortunate, together with an independence of mind not often encountered in Royalty, who are too ready to sing their little patriotic ditty to any tune played for them by the incompetent or scoundrelly politicians who chance to be in office at the time. When I heard recently that he had resigned the Governorship of the Bahamas, I at once suspected that some dirty work had been on foot, and an interesting article by George Padmore, in "The New Leader," has confirmed my



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by E. E. Briscoe.

THE WORLD'S WORST ENEMY
The vicious circle that humanity must and can eradicate

suspicions. Apparently the Duke has made more than one effort to improve the extremely bad conditions of the coloured section of the population, by raising their rates of pay; getting public works schemes started; and securing tariff reductions, in order to bring in cheaper foodstuffs. He also endeavoured to get a Secret Ballot Bill passed, and a Commission was set up, at his instigation, which recommended increased wages to meet the rise in the cost of living brought about by the war; a modest old-age pension; and better social services. It is true that the financial technique suggested for obtaining money for these purposes—increased taxation of rich Europeans and the imposition of death duties—was orthodox and stupid, but it is to be feared that the vigorous opposition which the Bahamas House of Assembly put up against these and similar proposals, was inspired by selfishness and not by a knowledge of that sane finance which could have improved the condition of the negroes without robbing the white population.

In his endeavours the Duke received no support whatever from the British Colonial Office, and at length, in disgust, he decided to give up the struggle and offer his resignation to Colonel Stanley.

"The Fledgling," the monthly bulletin of the 296 (Stoke Newington) Squadron of the A.T.C., expresses the following bloodthirsty sentiments: "We are at war with 95 per cent. of the German nation—man, woman and child. 95 per cent. of the German nation exulted in the crimes of Lidice, the sinking of the Athenia, the massacre of Warsaw and the indiscriminate bombing of London. . . . The (German) population has been, and still is, militarily-minded. For the sake of the years to come we must *crush* that mind." Readers of "The Word" will, of course, remember, that not a scrap of real evidence exists that the Athenia was ever sunk by a submarine; also, that any connection with the sinking was repudiated by the German Government. It is, indeed, believed by many, that the disaster was one of the I.R.A. outrages common at that time. Let us hope that before it reaches adult vulturehood, the callow, but well-named, dicky-bird quoted above, will achieve a greater measure of accuracy and common sense!

Most people are aware that elephants were employed in war in very early times. It came, however, as a surprise to me to learn, the other day, that rhinoceroses have been similarly utilised. Oliver Goldsmith, in his "History of the Earth," written in the 18th century, says: "In some parts of the kingdom of Asia, where the natives are more desirous of appearing warlike than of showing themselves brave, these animals are tamed and are led into the field to strike terror into the enemy." He adds, however: "But they are always an unmanageable and restive animal and probably more dangerous to the employers than to those they are brought to oppose." It would seem, therefore, that our politicians, when busying themselves with preparations for World War No. 3, would do well to concentrate on perfecting the inventions of civilisation, such as the rocket and the flying bomb, and not waste time over the military conscription of the rhinoceros.

"Whenever Mr. Churchill refers to it (the Atlantic Charter) he either excludes a new country from its terms, or shows, as in the Polish Debate, that he has forgotten what is in it."—Michael Foote in "Left News."

The Polish Study Group on current affairs has issued a statement to the effect that the Polish population of the United States, numbering over five millions, is, with the exception of a tiny Communist group, unanimous in its support of the Polish Government in London. They have declared that the Yalta resolutions of the Big Three are "contrary to the sacred obligations of the Atlantic Charter" and "a decisive blow dealt to the cause of freedom."

A Naval Officer writing in one of the weekly papers states that electorate forms were issued to the men on a small ship stationed in the Mediterranean. When next day they were collected, not one of them had been filled in and even when the Commanding Officer had pointed out that it was a mistake to refuse to vote, the forms remained blank. It was ascertained that the men had not sufficient confidence in any of the established Parties to make them feel that it was worth while to put them into Power. If this is characteristic of the Services as a whole, it is a healthy sign, but will the men recognise and support new and sound political leaders if, and when, these appear on the scene, and will they also realise the duty and necessity of selecting their own trustworthy politicians if they do not feel attracted by those presented to them by other agencies?

The greater part of the Greek National Debt (about one hundred million pounds) was floated in London between 1823 and 1828. This means either that British bankers created new money in Britain to finance the production, for export to Greece, of goods to the value of the sum just mentioned; or that British investors subscribed money for the same purpose. Probably both methods were used. An interest rate of over 8 per cent. was charged on this loan and about one-third of the Greek Budget had to be set aside each year to provide interest on the loan, the principal of which the Greek Government was neither permitted nor encouraged, to pay off. Even in the worst years of a depression, one-third of the real wealth of Greece had to be exported to Britain to be sold here for British money in order to pay the money-lenders their interest.

In 1944 British bondholders of the Greek National Debt presented to the British Foreign Office a memorandum asking that the exiled Greek Government should give an undertaking "to continue to safeguard the rights and securities at present enjoyed by Greek external loans and to protect the general interests of bondholders." This means that the unfortunate Greek people, struggling to recover from the economic effects of the war, will still be obliged to export to Britain large quantities of goods they badly need for themselves in order to pay further instalments which, added together, may one day amount to a much larger sum than that which was originally lent.

An interesting example of the money-lenders' racket operating in the British Empire is given in the Natal "Daily News," of December 9th, 1944. "Durban is still paying for its horse trams and the debt will not be liquidated until 1951, by which time the capital and interest will have amounted to £750,000. The interest already paid on the horse trams amounts to £430,000—twice the capital cost. Yet the city only had these trams from 1893 to 1904, approximately eleven years. The horse trams are another example of this generation paying for what it hardly even heard of, much less saw or used"—and for something into the bargain which had already been paid for more than twice over! Exactly the same thing is going on in Britain to-day with regard to continued payment for past wars that have already been paid for. It's a grand dodge to go on drawing interest on a loan the principal of which you never allow to be repaid!!

The death of Mr. Lloyd George—to give his name the simple prefix by which he will always be best known and remembered—arouses feelings very similar to those which I experienced when I heard of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury—that is to say, a somewhat sad regret at the passing of a man of great gifts and promise whose career was, nevertheless, marred by certain fatal weaknesses. Lloyd George in his early days possessed abundant moral courage and throughout his life he was a man of acute judgment and great personal charm. Unfortunately, however, he was unable to resist the temptations of popularity and power, with the result that in later years his moral courage was apt to desert him and cause him, in a manner both tragic and deplorable, to pander to popular prejudices and refuse to take the course which in his inmost heart he must have known to be right, if he felt doubtful of the support of Parliament or of public opinion. Even in the present war, when some of us hoped that he would come out boldly in the advocacy of that negotiated peace in which he really believed, he kept on hesitating and waiting for the ideal moment which, in his judgment, never came. Nevertheless, his verdict, contained in a personal letter which he wrote me, on this senseless and useless conflict is sound and true—"This war into which we blundered without consideration and wisdom."

If President Roosevelt possessed virtues which in private life endeared him to his friends and relatives one cannot withold from them a measure of sympathy in his sudden death. Regarding the latter, however, from the standpoint of his public career, one can only say that it would have been well for the world if he had died twelve years earlier. An unimaginative diplomat, an inveterate and unscupulous warmonger, and a tool of Big Finance, it was often difficult to perceive any connection between his religious professions and his conduct of affairs.

One Easter Sunday I heard an Air Force officer sing, in church, a solo anthem: "How lovely are thy dwellings." The British are *not* an imaginative race.

The Weak and the Strong

In the House of Commons on March 15th, Mr. Rhys Davies (Lab., Westhoughton) asked the Prime Minister to clarify the point that, by the agreement come to at Yalta, there was no remedy if one of the Great Powers were guilty of aggression. Mr. Churchill, in his reply, said: "I am sorry there should be a high degree of axiomatic truth in the facts as stated by the Hon. Member. . . . We may deplore, if we choose, that there is a difference between great and small, between strong and weak in the world."

To the very, very strong
'Tis impossible to do wrong,
But upon the small and weak
The strong their will may wreak.

Thus at Yalta 'twas agreed
To sustain the old world creed,
Though its axiomatic truth
We may deplore, forsooth.

But betwixt the weak and strong
There can be no right or wrong,
For the weak are always wrong,
And the strong are always strong,
So abandon high ideals—
"Come toe the line—ye devils!"

"Heil Hitler!"

—S. GRAVESON.

A REVIEWER SAYS.

Our contemporary, *The Christian Century*, Chicago, for February 14, reviews two Strickland Press publications as follows:—

"The Financiers' Little Game, or The Shape of Things to Come," by the Duke of Bedford. . . . A snappy pamphlet arguing that the gold standard puts everybody in the power of the bankers of "the City" and Wall Street (chiefly Wall Street, because America has most of the world's gold), opposing an international currency of any kind, and urging a currency like Irving Fisher's "commodity dollar" based on the value of a list of commodities.

"A Call to Manhood and other Studies in Social Struggle." By Guy A. Aldred. . . . Twenty-six socialist essays written, mostly as editorials, since 1906. Very strong and pungent writing.

COMMUNISM.

Readers should buy this striking exposure of "Communist" International politics, 124 pages of factual reading and study, price 1s. 6d., post-free, 1s. 9d.

Of the first edition of this work, the *Evening Citizen*, Glasgow, July 29, 1935, wrote:

"In For Communism . . . Mr. Aldred tells with much detail the history of the Communist and Anti-Parliamentary movement."

The Re-education of Germany

Excerpts from an Address
By Dr. RICHARD ULLMANN.

(Delivered before the London Conference of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, on March 10, 1945.)

All the wonderful plans for what is commonly called the "re-education" of Germany are still-born, if considered separately from the general conditions. This mistake, however, is not only made when planning future policy, but also when assessing the educational situation as created by the Nazi rule. No education of any sort can have as much influence on the average German to convince him of the fallacy of Nazism as the disasters of war, obliteration bombing, defeat and the breakdown of the Hitler system. . . . It will largely depend on Germany's fate after the war whether certain Nazi residues will regain power. On the whole, I think it is safe to say that in the early post-war years the vital educational problem in Germany will not be offered by the Nazi doctrines of the master race and belief in force, but by that frightful emptiness, that spiritual vacuum which Nazism will leave behind in the minds and hearts of most Germans: apathy, fatalism, disintegration of moral values and bewilderment at the meaning of what has happened and is happening.

After 12 years of Nazi rule, the Germans are perfectly well informed of the darker sides of British, American and Russian history, much better than the citizens of these countries themselves. They will regard attempts at an enforced education by the Allies as hypocrisy, even if it is well meant, and as means of oppression. This shows the fundamental fallacy of the idea that education is possible from outside: how can any education work if the pupil despises the educationalist as a hypocrite? . . . I doubt whether even returning refugees could give any useful lead, though some of them might be valuable assistants. . . . I am thoroughly convinced that the leading part in German education must be left to those who, together with the German nation and youth as a whole, have actually been through the series of emotional crises of these latter years and have overcome them spiritually.

CONCLUSIONS:

1. If an Allied educational authority is set up for Germany, it should as quickly as possible be transformed into an international advisory body of the kind of the I.L.O., and should then exert its influence equally in countries other than Germany.

2. If the educational aim is responsible citizenship, it cannot be imposed by orders, but must have freedom to grow spontaneously in school communities, where teachers and pupils learn not the execution of orders, but the practice of responsible co-operation.

3. If the educational aim is European or World Citizenship, it cannot be achieved under the impresson that at present the future citizen has minor rights and is an outcast or a suspect. This does not mean that after the treatment the Nazi Government has meted out to other nations in Europe no redemptive action on behalf of the Germans is necessary. But it must constitute part of that citizenship. It must not be done by compulsion but by showing to young Germans what sins have been committed in their name and by thus waking in the best among them the ardent desire to make up for those sins.

4. If the educational aim is the realisation of Christian values, it cannot be achieved on the grounds that Germany, alone, has been all wrong all the time and the others all right, but by finding a common ground in the fact that all of us are sinners and, therefore, must learn humility towards those who wronged us in the past, are wronging us now and will continue to wrong us in the future. It will be a hard way for young Germans to learn this under the conditions in store for them after this war. But if there are a few Christians in other countries who help them by accepting this humility for themselves, e.g., by going to prison as C.O.'s without protest against such wrong, or by forgiving wrongs committed, not against the French and the Poles, but against themselves, a few young Germans are sure to understand and may thus become capable of taking their cross upon them, for their own, their nation's, and Europe's redemption.

The following is extract from a letter by Richard Ullmann, written prior to his address at the London A.P.F. Conference:

"British pacifists must learn that the Anglo-German peace problem is of minor importance, though it is quite understandable that it looms so largely in their minds, not only because they are English themselves, but because the Christian starts with himself, and the democrat thinks of his own Government first, being responsible for it. But the task for peacemakers is largely a Conutinental task. All British attempts must and will fail (as once before) if the reconciliation between Germany and her ill-treated neighbours (Poland, France, Russia) is not seen as the paramount problem of international reconciliation in Europe. Everything else is just appeasement.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade Aldred,—In "The Word" for April, the Duke of Bedford gives some statistics of production and incomes in America and Australia over certain periods which make very strange reading. For example, he says that during the years 1927 and 1928, Australian factories produced 116 million pounds worth of goods but distributed only 130 millions pounds in wages, salaries and dividends.

Could he explain, for the benefit of readers, how the figures were collated, the source of the information, and what steps were taken to ensure that the production and income figures were comparable since he deduces that the difference represents a dead loss in wealth to the Australian community?—Yours fraternally,

Baillieston, Glasgow, 6/4/45. **J. I. CRAIG.**

LONDON'S INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY.
at CAXTON HALL, CAXTON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.
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This year May Day will be celebrated in what is deemed to be an almost Liberated Europe. It has not been proved that liberation means political, economic, and industrial freedom. A message will go out from this great Labour meeting to our Socialist and Libertarian comrades in Europe that the British Labour Movement, conscious of all that has to be put right in this Britain and the British Empire, will endeavour to strengthen the solidarity of International Socialism and end the reign of war and violence, should it become the Government in the coming General Election. British Labour shares in the same struggle as all European Socialist comrades for a future justice and decent conditions of living for all, irrespective of race, colour, sex, religion or language.

PHILIP NOEL BAKER, M.P.
ARTHUR CREECH JONNES, M.P.
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Chairman: MORGAN PHILLIPS (Secretary, British Labour Party).

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ARMY C.O.'s EXPERIENCE

A letter to Members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship from Lance-Corporal E. H. Chitty, R.A.M.C.:

Dear Fellow-Members,—As a C.O. in the Army I found myself at "D"-day a member of a Parachute Field Ambulance—in fact, one of "Britain's Brave Airborne Troops." I had enjoyed my training in a rather grim way, finding that parachute jumping was an excellent exercise for that fundamental Christian virtue—faith. I would not have volunteered for such terrifying exploits had I not been, like many others in my position, keen to get into the Medical Corps at all costs. Despite misgivings at my possible lack of "toughness," I found Jesus' words to St. Paul "My grace is sufficient for thee," equally valid for me, and in Christ I was able to do much that appeared impossible.

My experiences in action in Normandy were completely contrary to what I had expected. War is like that. Our whole 'plane-load was dropped at least eight miles off our objective, and I spent five days, with a few others of my unit, endeavouring to regain the British lines. I was then wounded and taken prisoner. Life just at that moment seemed to be bristling with unpleasant possibilities. My fears, however, were not realised, for during my twelve weeks as a wounded prisoner of war I was never handled roughly or unkindly. The standard of medical treatment did not compare with our own, and there seemed to be a shortage of supplies and hospital staff, but as far as I could see the same conditions prevailed for the German wounded.

I spent most of my time in captivity in a large Paris hospital which was staffed with German sisters and orderlies and French nurses. Here we had no difficulty, by means of signs and 20 or so German words, in being friendly with most of the guards and staff. Many acts of individual kindness were done by our captors outside their normal duties. The German sisters were, practically, without exception, kindness itself—I saw their faces sad when our men suffered, and one sister, who had lost her mother in an air-raid three months before, even cried when one British soldier died.

When the Americans, in their rapid advance, neared Paris, the Germans hurriedly evacuated the hospital, and luckily for me left me behind with about 250 other Allied soldiers. For seven anxious and exciting days the F.F.I. fought the two German divisions still in Paris. Then the Americans entered the City, and soon we were on our way to England.

I shall be eternally grateful for such an experience. It has taught me much, particularly two main lessons. First, that it is nonsense to talk of the German nation's being completely brutalised, as our propaganda would have us believe. I tried while I was a prisoner to study the German men and women I met in the light of all I had read of them in our newspapers, and, try as I could, I saw no justification for thinking that the German, individually, was brutal to any greater degree than our own men. It was fairly clear that the Germans had a strong tendency to regimentation and were docile to an extraordinary degree, lacking also a sense of humour, but they certainly seemed no less or more moral than our chaps. Secondly, if God guides us to a certain course of action we may trust Him completely as to the consequences. I was convinced in 1943 that I should volunteer for parachuting, although I was also certain that God has a vocation for me in the Anglican ministry after the war. On the face of it, the first seemed very likely to make the second impossible! It is evident, however, that I did not trust in vain, and I believe that, although I am not yet fully recovered, I am much more fit for my future work than I should have been without the experience.

Yours very sincerely,

ERNEST H. CHITTY.

WAR COMMENTARY TRIAL

Last month we published the Press Association report of the second Police Court hearing of this case on Friday, March 16. Below we publish the P.A. report of the trial at the Old Bailey. We make a short comment on this case in another column and we propose to deal fully with this disgraceful business next month.

"PRESS ASSOCIATION" REPORT.

Three men and a woman pleaded "Not Guilty" at the Old Bailey on Monday, April 23, to having between November, 1943, and February, 1945, conspired to endeavour to seduce from duty persons in H.M. Forces and to cause disaffection likely to lead to breaches of their duty.

They are: Vernon Richards, 29, Civil Engineer, and Marie Louise Richards, 26, Secretary, both of Eton Place, Hampstead; John Christopher Hewetson, 32, Medical Practititioner, Willow Road, Hampstead, and Philip Richard Sansom, 28, Commercial Artist, Camden Street, N.W.

They also pleaded "Not Guilty" to endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating copies of a paper called "War Commentary" and to having in their possession or control a circular letter which was of such a nature that dissemination of it would constitute a contravention of Regulation 39 A.

A further charge against the Richards, to which they pleaded "Not Guilty," was having a leaflet headed "Fight? What For?"

The Attorney-General (Sir Donald Somervell), opening the Crown's case with Mr. Anthony Hawke, said that "War Commentary" was a paper which was headed "For Anarchism."

Among the objects of the Anarchist movement was opposition to "All means of maintaining a class-divided Society-Parliament, the Legal System, the Police Armed Forces, and the Church."

"The principle these people advocated," said Sir Donald, "is an armed Revolution," and passages in issues of "War Commentary" were an exhortation to soldiers to organise themselves into Councils in order to be ready for the armed revolution.

" 'Hold on to your arms'—

"That expression is repeated in two successive numbers of the paper," said Sir Donald.

"You will also find descriptions of mutinies which occurred in the German Army and in the Russian at the close of the last war.

"Writing history is no offence, but I submit the description of these events are not put forward as matters of history, but as examples of what our soldiers should do in this country when the time comes at the end of the war."

Sir Donald said it was not necessary to prove that any member of the Services had been actually seduced from his duty, but he submitted it was plainly part of the scheme to endeavour to get soldiers to spread the propaganda, and copies of the paper had reached soldiers who subscribed to it in Leamington, Lancaster, Derby, and the Orkneys.

Sir Donald then read the Circular Letter, which was headed Freedom Press, 27 Belsize-road, October 25, 1944, and began "Dear Comrades." One extract read, "By the way, don't keep 'War Commentary' in your pocket or under your mattress when you have read it. First let your room-mates see it, and then contrive to lose it in some convenient spot."

Another part read:

"In many cases we find Comrades uniting with I.L.P. and Trotskyists to exchange thoughts and literature . . . . Many other soldiers openly express views which are unconsciously Anarchist. It is the task of our Comrades to help and develop these potential comrades . . . . Experience will have taught Comrades that these discussions bring sympathy and unity of feeling to Barrack-rooms which authority is always try to split . . . . Solidarity frightens authority. You should, therefore, do everything possible to establish closer contacts . . . . Such discussion groups may form the basis for future Soldiers' Councils. One of the most important questions in our opinion is that of the action of Soldiers' Councils in a Revolutionary situation. Whilst many Comrades know the role played by such Councils during and after the last war in Russia and Germany it would seem that only a few know of their vital function and mission"

In another part of the letter it was stated that cartoons in "War Commentary" were being used instead of pin-up girls. . . . "They prove most effective media for a rousing discussion although often provoking interference from ignorant N.C.O.'s and Officers."

When Mr. Justice Birkett asked the meaning of "C.P." in the letter and Sir Donald replied, "Communist Party," there was a burst of laughter from the public benches.

Sir Donald then read extracts from "War Commentary." Copies of the various editions were distributed to the Judge, Jury and Counsel.

The charge against Richards and his wife related to a poem, two verses of which read:

Your country, who says you've a country,
You live in another man's flat.
You haven't even a backyard,
So why should you murder for that.

"You haven't a hut or a building,
No flower, no garden, it's true,
The Landlords have grabbed all the country,
Let them do the fighting—not you."

A number of soldiers in whose possession copies of "War Commentary" or the circular letter had been found gave evidence, and said they had not been disaffected by the documents.

"War Commentary" was published by the Freedom Press, Belsize Road, Hampstead, of which Hewetson was proprietor, and printed by Express Printers, of which Vernon Richards was proprietor. Mrs. Richards was registered as manageress of Express Printers.

Detective-Inspector Hoare said he found a number of envelopes addressed to men in the Forces at Sansom's Studio. One was addressed to an R.A.F. man at Secunderabad and another to a Sergeant in the B.L.A. Others addressed included the Officers' Mess, R.A.F. Bletchley, a ship at sea, and various parts of England.

Replying to Mr. John Maude, K.C. (for Hewetson and Vernon Richards), the Inspector said Hewetson was Casualty Officer at Hammersmith Hospital, under the British Post-Graduate Medical School.

The envelopes were not in Sansom's handwriting, he said, answering Mr. James Burge.

Detective-Inspector W. Whitehead said that at the premises at Belsize Road, where both the Richards were present, he found a document headed, "Subscribers in the Forces," containing 95 names, one of whom was in non-combatant unit.

At the conclusion of the case for the Prosecution Mr. Derek Curtis-Bennett, K.C. for Mrs. Richards, unsuccessfully submitted there was no case to go to the Jury.

Mr. James Burge made a similar application on behalf of Sansom.

The Attorney-General said he would not press against Sansom the charge of endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating copies of "War Commentary," and Mr. Justice Birkett said that on the other charges there was a case for the Jury.

Mr. John Maude, K.C., then opened the case for Hewetson and Vernon Richards.

Mr. Maude said that the Jury might remember reading in their youth of Anarchists who were members of cloak and dagger societies and of Anarchists who were executed.

Referring to the Old Bailey dock as "The unhappiest seat in the whole of England," Mr. Maude said that if the Jury had been imagining to themselves specimens of the full-blooded Anarchist he suggested that they had never seen anything less like it than those people in the dock.

Mr. Maude maintained that none of the accused had had the slightest intention of disaffecting any man in the Army.

The hearing was adjourned and accused were released on bail.

The hearing was continued on Tuesday, April 24.

Mr. Maude, continuing his opening address, disclosed that Richards was of Italian origin and changed his name in 1940 His parents came to this country in 1897, before he was born, and after his father had been shut up on the penal islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa because he has been active against the dictatorship of Crispi.

Counsel read long articles from various copies of "War Commentary" and urged that it did not make sense, to suggest that these articles in which the phrase "hold on to your arms" occurred, referred to British soldiers. They dealt with the situation on the Continent and were addressed to the workers who were holding arms. In Britain the workers did not hold arms.

Observing that none of the Service witnesses called by the Prosecution had admitted being disaffected, Mr. Maude went on,

"Surely it would have been possible to find some stalwart fighting man who would say he had been disaffected."

Mr. Justice Birkett: There is no such duty on the Prosecution. All they have to prove is that there was an endeavour.

Mr. Maude stated that both Hewetson and Vernon Richards had worked in this war, the former as a Casualty Officer in a hospital and Richards as a Civil Engineer on the railways, but they both declared that they were not going to be ordered about by any Government.

Referring to the leaflet headed: "Fight? For What?" Mr. Maude suggested that it was absurd to call it a poem. It happened to be a slightly altered form of some verses written before 1929 by an American woman. It was intended for persons about to enter His Majesty's Forces.

Mr. Maude's opening address had lasted almost three hours.

After the luncheon adjournment Vernon Richards gave evidence. He affirmed, and said that he was of Italian parentage. His father was naturalised in 1931. He himself was born in London and was British. His father was imprisoned by the Italians for five years for political activity. He was a B.Sc. of London University. In 1935 he was deported from Paris by the French Authorities because he was suspected of being associated with Anti-Fascist refugees. In 1936, with another man, he publisehd a paper called "Free Italy," and in the same year he started a fortnightly called "Spain and the World." At the outbreak of war he adopted an anti-war attitude and was registered, under protest, as a political conscientious objector. He began "War Commentary" in 1939 with a few friends. Of the publication of 5,000 about 100 went to people in the Services. It was run at a loss.

He did not know who drafted the Circular Letter. He first saw it on December 12 last.

Richards said that he was in favour of discussion groups forming the basis of future Soldiers' Councils, and of Soldiers' Councils being formed during a Revolutionary situation. He had never agreed with any other person to endeavour to seduce anyone in the Services from his duty, nor had he ever endeavoured to cause disaffection likely to lead to a breach of duty. He had never possessed any documents with the intention of disaffecting anyone. They had acted quite openly in everything they had done.

Replying to Mr. Derek Curtis Bennet, K.C. (for Mrs. Richards), he said that he did not think his wife was aware of the existence of some of the documents in the case.

When Richards suggested that the Attorney-General was "Twisting his words," the Judge remarked "You mean that Attorney-General has not quite grasped your meaning."

Re-examined by Mr. Maude, Richards said that he never desired to form Secret Societies. When organised Government broke down he wanted to see the abolition of authority.

In reply to the Attorney-General (Sir Donald Somervell) Richards said that it did not necessarily follow that he would agree with everything in "War Commentary."

Mr. Justice Birkett: Would you approve of the speech of your learned Counsel to-day?—Yes (laughter).

Richards added that the Circular Letter was intended for members of the Forces who subscribed to "War Commentary."

The Attorney-General quoted from the Circular: "Don't keep 'War Commntary' in your pockt or unaer your mattress . . . . Contrive to lose it in some convenient spot."

Richards said that it was only "a light note expressed in a letter to these fellows."

Private Donald L. Dyer, Non-combatant Corps, said that the articles in "War Commentary" and the Circular Letter had not affected his allegiance to the King or his duty to his officers.

The Attorney-General read a statement to the Police in which Dyer had stated: "I think the whole tenor of the articles aim at incitement to mutiny in as much as they applied to the Army."

Attorney-General: Does that represent the general impression conveyed on your minds?—Yes.

Hewetson, who also affirmed on religious grounds, said he did not believe in political parties. In 1941 he refused a Commission in the R.A.M.C. He ignored his calling-up notice, and went to prison, but was released on Appeal after seven weeks. He did not draft the articles or the letter. He had never desired to subvert any man in the Services.

When the Judge asked what Hewetson meant by "Social Revolution," he replied: "The kind of society we want—wholly free from external authority in which men can act according to their desires and build up a world of freedom by mutual agreement." All existing institutions, such as the Church, the Law, Soldiers and Police, would pass away, he added.

The Judge: What comes in place?—An organisation of society based on mutual agreement rather than on principles of coercion. We don't flatter ourselves we shall bring it about.

The Judge: If to-morrow, quite voluntarily, without any effort on your part, the Army decided to do nothing more in the way of defence or anything else, would you be pleased?—I would be quite indifferent at the present moment. The Army is sometimes used to oppress the people.

Replying to another question, Hewetson said that the Army was not oppressing the people at the moment.

The Judge: The disappearance of the Army now or at any time would be quite in accordance with the philosophy of the Anarchism in which you believe?—In a sense, yes, but in a sense, no. I cannot imagine the Army disappearing without other organs of oppression disappearing at the same time.

Mr. Maude: You are employed by an L.C.C. hospital under authority. Does the establishment of Anarchism involve the dissolution of that hospital?—No. Hospitals are not under authority in the same way as an Army. The L.C.C. does not tell me what to do with my patients. It only tells me to do a certain job. I am responsible for that job.

Mr. Maude: What happens about gardeners in the parks? Who would tell them where to plant flowers? —They would be told by the people who wish plants to be planted in the gardens, rather than by some central centralised authority.

Mr. Maude: I must understand this myself. So far as the Army is concerned I am now thinking of our

(Concluded page 117)

WHICH REMINDS US

In the *Forward*, for March 31 last, Emrys Hughes has treated of the career of Lloyd George with devastating thoroughness. There is no need to add to his indictment. Hughes sums up the matter well in the following passage:

Our age is familiar with the type of Left Wing Socialist who begin as rebels, revolutionary demagogues, and then develop into careerist politicians, and then shamefacedly betray the people who made them.

Every country which has passed through the phase of Parliamentary Democracy knows them. Briand and Laval in France; Mussolini in Italy; Macdonald and Lloyd George in Britain.

It is a great pity, however, that Hughes, notwithstanding his excellent anti-war stand, panders deliberately to the careerist and closes his columns to any appreciation of the work of the genuine revolutionary Socialist. This is done consistently and deliberately and argues that Emrys Hughes himself sympathises with the careerist. Actually, he has never indicted careerists at the moment of their rising careerism. Which is a very bad fault in a propagandist. This censure notwithstanding, Emerys Hughes on Lloyd George is excellent and most useful reading.

Hughes powerful indictment of the career of Lloyd George, and the conventional tribute paid to his memory by Winston Churchill, recalls the meeting organised on Monday, April 24, 1939, by the Communist Party's *then* Left Book Club in the Empress Hall, Earl's Court, London. The list of speakers included: Richard Acland, M.P.; Sir Norman Angell; Sir Stafford Cripps, K.C., M.P.; the Dean of Canterbury; the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P.; Harry Pollitt; Wilfred Roberts, M.P.; and John Strachey. Mr. Pollitt's name was placed directly after that of Lloyd George, whose one aim at the conclusion of the Great War was to crush Bolshevism, and who subsequently fathered the Emergency Powers Act under which about sixty members of the Communist Party were imprisoned within a few months.

This meeting was reported in the *Left News* for May, 1939, which was edited by Victor Gollancz. The paper boasted that there were ten thousand L.B.C.ers at the meeting.

The report was written by Cedric Belfrage, who was described in an editorial footnote as being

"the author of "PROMISED LAND," one of the most popular Choices that the Club has issued. He has been resident for some time at Hollywood."

It is unfair to say that his report is worthy of Hollywood.

Take for example the following extract:

It was my first Left Book Club rally, and perhaps I estimate it wrongly, but it seemed to me that Monday night was like a graduation day for those ten thousand people in quest of truth. We have been studying for three years, in order to learn how to think, and to learn about that democracy which we had taken for granted because we could not conceive of it being attacked. We are beginning to know how to think, and now we understand how we must act. All of us, from the poorest unemployed worker contributing a penny a month for a group subscription up to Lloyd George and Gollancz himself and the other celebrity members on the platform, have learned a lot. During Lloyd George's speech there was a voice from far back somewhere: "What about India? Remember the Black and Tans!" (L.G. did not hear and asked the Dean what was being said, and the Dean blandly replied: "He said Speak up!")

It would, perhaps, have been strange if from that vast throng had not come one such voice. It came from far back in space and from far back in time. To think of Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and the Duchess of Atholl as our allies is the hardest lesson we ever had to learn. But the mood of the other 9,999 people in the Empress Hall showed how well the lesson of unity against reactionary attack has been digested.

Just imagine! Interruptions about India and the Black and Tans were condemned in this Communist Party-Gollancz report as being reactionary! What a pretty picture of how to act!

The report continues:

The Left Book Club has done a job. We have learned that recriminations about the past are useless and evil, because they divide when unity is the people's only weapon. Yes, Lloyd George learned it and Harry Pollitt has learned it and Cripps has learned it. We were all proud of Lloyd George on Monday night because, having learned it, he was acting upon it; because, having seen the truth, he stood up before that multitude with Pollitt beside him and testified to the truth.

Imagine a Communist Party audience being proud of Lloyd George! Imagine Winston Churchill as the new-found friend of the people! Yet these suggestions were advanced not as mere rhetorical slogans but as realities. These cries for Churchill, Lloyd George, and the Atholls were expressions of the new party line. They inspired the campaign euphemistically termed "Chamberlain Must Go." Note, not that Capitalism must go but only Chamberlain. Leaflets were circulated throughout the country by the Communist Party and its allied organisations. In Glasgow, Willie Gallacher attacked, not conscription, but only "Chamberlain's Conscription," under the auspices of the Glasgow Trades Council. The idea was to remove Chamberlain and to recall Churchill

Let us realise the reaction that this implied. Consider how thoroughly opposed this campaign was to the traditions of the working-class struggle and to all that previous pseudo-revolutionary activity that made the Communist Party possible in this country.

When Chamberlain, changing his Munich policy, went in for war preparation and introduced conscription, Willie Gallacher and other Communist leaders told us that we must not resist conscription but must insist on the pact with Russia. We were informed steadily that, despite the fact that Chamberlain, as British Prime Minister, step by step consented to the Soviet's demands and so committed his government to political policies that were fraught more with war than with peace, Soviet Russia felt a deep distrust of Britain and was full of legitimate misgivings."

The personality of Neville Chamberlain was distasteful to Stalin, not because Chamberlain had been connected with the armament industry, nor because of the anti-Socialist traditions of the Chamberlains. Stalin was distrustful of Chamberlain because he felt that the some-time British Prime Minister preferred Capitalist peace to Capitalist war.

This view of Chamberlain may not have been correct, and there was most decidedly a Socialist case against Chamberlain for introducing conscription without a mandate from the people, and for pursuing a policy of war preparedness. The Communist campaign against Chamberlain's conscription urged that it was not reactionary enough. Because his war preparations were not severe enough "Communists" opposed Chamberlain.

The Communist Party and its Tory diehard supporters aimed to get rid of the umbrella man and to call to office the man with the big cigar. Moscow wanted Churchill to be Prime Minister. Litvinov was replaced by Molotov in order to give expression to this fact.

The *New Leader*, for Friday, June 30, 1939, described the attitude of the Glasgow Trades Council towards conscription:

"A short time ago an application was submitted from the No-Conscription League requesting that the Trades Council should hear a deputation from that body. . . .

". . . A few weeks previously a deputation on A.R.P. had been received, comprising Lord Provost Dollan, Major Oates (Tory leader) and Chief Constable Sillitoe—but by 58 votes to 63 the Glasgow Trades' Council refused to hear a deputation from the No-Conscription League.

"Chief opponents of the proposition were leading Communist Party 'democrats' George Middleton and Peter Kerrigan. In the discussion one C.P. supporter intimated that **'The no-Conscription League is not a new organisation—it is an organisation formed during the last war by those people who were of military age but were too afraid to fight.'"**

The article describes the arrangements for the White City demonstration against conscription, and how "*the C.P. controlled Executive Committee*" made William Gallacher, M.P., the chief speaker. It concluded:

"The demonstration held in the White City became a protest against 'Chamberlain's Conscription,' with all the usual qualifications about pacts with foreign Governments. The Peace Groups in Glasgow were thereby excluded and what might have been a great expression of opposition to Conscription by Glasgow workers became a miserable fiasco, destroyed by C.P. sectarianism."

Comment is unnecessary on this state of affairs, of which our contemporary gave very full details.

The *Daily Worker* for Friday, September 25, 1931, contained a report from which the following excerpt is made.

"An open meeting to discuss the organisation of the workers' fight against the 'National Government' was held at the Friends Meeting House in London, on Wednesday evening. The meeting took place under the auspices of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, and about 30 people were present.

The discussion largely took the form of a controversy between members of the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party on the question of how to build up the united front of the working class. . . .

WAL HANNINGTON was elected to the chair.

WILLIAM RUST said that in the present situation the question of the united front of the working class was of the utmost importance. The object of the Communist Party was to bring about this united front.

But they must be perfectly clear and definite in the interests of the working class. . . .

There had been speeches by Maxton in which he supported the idea of a third Labour Government, though he must be aware that it was the second Labour Government which had led the workers into the present terrible situation.

Then, again, there had been an article by Brailsford only a couple of weeks ago in the "New Leader," advocating the abolition of the gold standard and promising that everything would be lovely in the garden if this were done—a most stupid article, most misleading for the working class. . . . ...It was impossible for the Communist Party to refrain from pointing out how dangerous to the workers such theories were. Buchanan, too, had signed his name to a manifesto of a Fascist paper in favour of the abolition of the gold standard. . . .

The gulf between the Communist Party and the I.L.P. cannot be bridged.

The I.L.P. shares responsibility for the policy of the Labour Government, and was a partner to all the lies told at the general election of 1929. . . .

CAMPBELL STEPHEN: Rust spoke of the I.L.P. being in favour of going off the gold standard. I take it Rust is against this. In that case I may assume that the Communist Party stands officially for the gold standard.

RUST: The Communist Party is neither for nor against the gold standard, for the whole, either way, is part of the machinery of capitalism, which we are seeking to overthrow.

And now—how are the war reparations imposed by Russia to be paid except in terms of the gold standard?

Persons present at this meeting included James Maxton, M.P., John Beckett, M.P., David Kirkwood, M.P., Campbell Stephen, William Rust, etc.

In *A Policy for The Labour* Party, published in September, 1920, MacDonald wrote:

The growth of the (Labour) Party and the way in which the idea that it is in some special way a menace to Society, has made large sections of people flutter around that will o' the wisp, a Party which in itself gathers up all the national interests, all the opinions, all the ideals that make for stability and progress. This is an abortion of feeble politics.

A party may be national in its aims, but the idea of a National Party is only our old enemy, "the continuation of foreign policy" in a new garb and on a new stage. It receives hospitable welcome only from stupid people.

Speaking at a Labour Demonstration, in Reading, in December, 1930, Ramsay MacDonald said:

"They heard to-day suggestions about a National Government . . . joining all the wise heads together.

Well, a National Government looks very well on paper and is a magnificent idea for those of you who have never been inside the House of Commons.

Within a year MacDonald had planned a National Government.

Ramsay MacDonald, in his Windsor uniform, was the parliamentary conclusion of Keir Hardie in his miner's cap.

PASTEBOARD INTERNATIONALISM

By EDITH WYNNER

(Co-Editor with Georgia Lloyd, of "Searchlight on Peace Plans: Choose Your Road to World Government": E. P. Dutton, 1944.)

The self-appointed cheer leaders who make the customary noises of polite enthusiasm every time the current crop of Christian Princes get together to jot down their random ideas on scraps of paper are busy again. This time it is the Yalta or Crimea Conference of the "Big Three" (February 3-11, 1945) which evokes their somersault routine. Previously it was the Atlantic Charter August, 1941), then the United Nations Agreement endorsing the Charter (January, 1942), then Casablanca (January, 1943), Quebec (August, 1943), Moscow (October, 1943), Cairo (November, 1943), Teheran (November-December, 1943) and now Yalta.

Superlatives have been heaped on the results of each of these meetings—superlatives that acquire more and more of a hollow ring as actual developments turn these artificially inspired enthusiasms sour. For the less-known about the decisions at these gilded gatherings the greater the omniscient optimism of glib chatterers of voice and pen.

The next joyous demonstration will take place on or about April 25th, when energetic efforts will be made to affix the rubber stamp to the pasteboard internationalism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. If "Big Three" plans go through, this United Nations meeting will go down in history as the Rubber Stamp Conference. Chaotic dictatorship of the "Big Three," now exercised extra-legally by self-appointment under the stress and emergency of war, would then be legalised and institutionised. The national leaders, whose prime concern is the national interest of their own countries, are to be authorised as a sort of avocation to cast a preoccupied eye on world affairs any time they think things are getting slightly out of hand.

And this fantastic eighteenth century world is about to be imposed on a bloody and battered humanity that is already living in the twenty-third century of rocket bombs, jet-propelled planes, and even now may be on the threshold of the application of atomic energy to destruction. This atrocity is perpetrated in a chamber-music atmosphere of comfortable applause supplied by a remarkable assortment of League of Nations Loyalists, totalitarian liberals, wagon-climbers, American Century planners and the well-meaning rank-and-file which has been attracted by the noise.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals provide for an executive of Great Power national governments who are to enforce on all others their notions of peace without international legislative sanction or judicial restraint. Under any objective analysis this spells tyranny. It also spells an indefinite extension of the present chaos, for agreement of four or five Great Powers, suspicious of each other's ultimate purpose, is just as precarious within the Dumbarton Oaks plan as it is now outside it.

Studied by itself, the plan is tragically two hundred years behind the times. Studied against the background of millions killed, wounded, starved and driven from their homes, and of an estimated annual war expenditure by the United States, alone, of ninety billion dollars—when the League of Nations at the pinnacle of its membership never had more than an annual budget of seven million dollars—these Proposals are a crime. Analysed against the background of an Administration-Legion-totalitarian-liberal- backed campaign to impose permanent military conscription on the United States and President Roosevelt's plan to set up a super-duper American spy system to collect "military, economic, political and scientific information reflecting the intentions and capabilities of other nations to make war," Dumbarton Oaks lays an ominous smokescreen behind which preparations for the next war are already fully under way.

It is highly suspicious that most Dumbarton Oaks salesmen are also peddling full-scale preparations for American militarism second to none to be used should the United Nations organisation fail to keep the peace. Instead of encouraging those working for the adoption of federalised structure that could assure its success, there is an elaborate State Department-sponsored campaign to discourage and stifle all remedial criticism of the Dumbarton Ooaks Proposals. This parallel policy of setting up an international organisation gagged, manacled and hobbled while at the same time building a super military machine is the most sinister trickery of bankrupt statesmanship.

Those who, it was feared, might catch on to the deception and call popular attention to the fact that all the eggs being laid for future safety are still put in one basket—the war basket, were quickly subjected to elaborate doses of State Department swing sessions, flattery and subtly-injected intimidation. Those stalwarts who still refuse to get on the State Department bandwagon are to be gagged as far as possible and certainly smeared.

In the thirties the universal swear-word was "communist." This was succeeded by "isolationist." The current labels formulated for less-gifted assistants by Churchill and Roosevelt, are "Trotskyite Communist" and "Perfectionist." A Trotskyite Communist is anyone who encouraged and equipped by the "Big Three" to take pot shots at Nazis who, having acquired the habit of taking pot shots, is now using his own lists despite orders to desist. The "perfectionist," although completely unarmed, is a far more dangerous character. He is one who refuses to believe that as long as Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are running world affairs in threadbare eighteenth century style all is well with the peace of the world. The "perfectionist" is a pesky individual who, after two World Wars within 25 years insists on the *reality* of world government and will not be content with an outline draped around a precarious triumvirate of three elderly gentlemen. It is grudgingly conceded that "perfectionists" are "good people"—but dangerous!

However, this definition must be clarified for not all, merely the constructive "perfectionists" are distasteful. The *perfectionists of destruction* are honoured characters. Anyone who can improve the instruments whereby man destroys his fellow-men, with the invention of better V—1's, —2's, —3's and —4's will find a hearty welcome, unlimited funds and colourful decorations. Similarly favoured are those who seek to perfect the militarization of the nation by destroying all personal freedom through forced labour and total conscription.

It must be extremely confusing to the Germans and Japanese when they hear how they are to be made to drink the water of peace while their would-be teachers are going around intoxicated by the wine of war. Imitation is the highest form of flattery and the Germans and Japanese will be filled with wonder at our version of their wickedness when they will see it permanently land-leased to those intending to reform them.

Those leaders of public opinion who have been corralled into *following* instead of *leading* the Administration are helping to pass sentence of death on the current and future crops of war-babies. The function of popular leaders is to lead, not to follow, officials. Our duty is to create popular pressure to push governments further than they intend or think they can go. If we do not demand the maximum we know to be necessary, how can we tell whether it has a chance of acceptance?

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals represent the thinking of three national governments. The Chinese, whose plan went far toward federalised world government with legislative, administrative and judicial functions were pointedly ignored and just brought in for the signing and pictures. The interest of the great bulk of mankind has been ignored. The so-called middle-sized and smaller nations are to be slugged into signing on the dotted line at the coming San Francisco Conference. The softening-up process has been proceeding for months.

For their own protection against the erratic dictatorship of three Great Powers, the smaller nations would more than likely support a considerable degree of federalization of the proposed United Nations organisation. *Federalization would protect their right to sovereignty over national affairs while assuring that sovereignty over international affairs is pooled by all governments and transferred to a new level of world government instead of, as now contemplated, to three national leaders.*

The peoples of the United States and of the United Kingdom, composing the population of two of the Great Power authors of this plan, are in a key position to strengthen efforts of the smaller nations to transform the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals into a peace-creating instrument.

To encourage the smaller nations to insist on the reality of government on a world scale, popular pressure should concentrate on obtaining the following basic changes under representation, function and enforcement:

I. REPRESENTATION:

(a) Each nation ought to have *several* delegates who are to be permitted to vote according to individual judgment in order to allow differences of opinion *within* nations on world affairs to be joined across national boundaries with the like-minded of other nations.

(b) Delegates ought to be popularly elected by a uniform system drawn up, regulated and supervised by the United Nations.

(c) Membership should be thrown open to all peoples without any confusing qualifying labels such as the current meaningless "peace-loving."

II. FUNCTION:

(a) The *Assembly* should be empowered to exercise real *legislative*, not merely *talking* authority. It should be given *specific* but *limited* power to make laws on all world affairs about which, under the Dumbarton Oaks plan, it is allowed to talk.

(b) It should be given authority to raise its own revenues from sources untapped by national governments, such as licensing of international air, sea and rail transport; cable and radio communications.

(c) The *Council* should be a real executive body of *individuals* elected by the Assembly and not an executive of national governments trying to straddle the double job of national affairs and world affairs. The Council should carry out the world administrative responsibilities resulting from the legislative activity of the Assembly.

(d) The *Permanent Court of International Justice* would thus acquire original jurisdiction over all disputes under world law whether between *nations* or *individuals* and ought also to have appellate jurisdiction over the highest national courts.

III. ENFORCEMENT:

(a) The Council should have authority to provide *enforcement by legal process, operating on individuals*, of all laws and regulations passed by the Assembly. Enforcement operating on individuals can be carried out by a small body of trained *enforcement* and *prevention* agents. This type of enforcement will enable the United Nations to by-pass national governments and to seek out in every case of infringement of world law the guilty individual, firm or corporation.

(b) Police power must apply equally to all and must function with legislative sanction and under judicial restraint. Without these safeguards it is erratic, arbitrary and tyrannical.

(c) The popular cry for the trial and punishment of war criminals indicates a glimmer of recognition of the fact that individuals do have a part in the world-wide breakdowns that explode into war. The United Nations would be strangled in the same strait-jacket as the League of Nations if deprived of the right to indict, try and restrain individual violators of world law.

This is a life-and-death issue. For the problems of destruction and annihilation the best brains are mobilised by the governments. We, the people, must mobilise our creative forces to meet the problems of international government. The patterns exist as well as the practical experience on the basis of which we can create a solution. All that is needed is the will to do it. The human family may still be saved from future orgies of self-destruction if we will act now to lay sound foundations for a governed world.

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COMMUNISTS AND WAR

Dear Comrade Aldred,—The excellent articles published in the *Word* exposing the duplicity and double-dealing of the Communist Party leaders should be sufficient to convince any reasonable man of the folly of supporting a party which shows no loyalty to the British working-class but acts first and foremost in the interests of the Soviet Union—which means the handful of tyrants who have seized all power in their own hands, deprived the Russian workers of freedom of election and a free press and regimented and disciplined them on a scale unknown even under Tsarism.

But strange as it may seem there is still an inability in the British workmen to understand the real connection of the British Communist Party with the Soviet bureaucracy and the fact that the leaders of British Communism are utterly incapable of bringing liberty to the working class of this country by virtue of their subservience to a tyrant Power. While speaking frequently of the unhappy lot of British "wage-slaves" the Communist leaders reveal themselves as the most miserable wage-slaves in the world to-day, slaves whose very thoughts are dictated by a totalitarian regime that knows not liberty, and who are compelled to change their opinions overnight at the behest of masters many of them have never seen. Witness the amazing *volte-face* of the Communist Party on the question of the fundamental character of the war—first declared to be just, then declared to be unjust, and later still declared to be just again.

Is the British Communist Party a party of the British workers representing British working-class interests or is it a branch of the Russian Foreign Office carrying out the orders of its masters? Anyone who doubts the inability of the Communist Party to adequately represent the interests of the British working class, anyone who fails to see that it takes its orders from abroad, and will if required to do so absolutely ignore the interests of the British people should make himself acquainted with the first rule of the Communist Party of Great Britain which used to read as follows:

"The C.P.G.B. is a section of the Communist Internationale and is BOUND BY ITS DECISIONS." (Blacks mine).

Moreover, according to the Constitution of the Comintern, "The decisions of the Executive Committee are obligatory for all sections of the Communist International, *and must be promptly carried out.*" (Italics mine).

This rule applied when the Third International decided to announce its formal suicide, from motives of capitalist alliance and military necessity.

And since the Comintern or Third (Communist) International was founded in Moscow, protected and provided with funds by Moscow, it was natural that Moscow should control the show.

It was indeed the testimony of foreign Communists who took part in the Conferences of this Communist International that everything was arranged and all the important resolutions carefully drawn up and prepared in Moscow long before the foreign delegates arrived. It was the duty of the foreign delegates to endorse the demands put forward by the Russian Communists who provided the funds and furnished the prestige without which the International would have dwindled into insignificance.

But other evidence of the subservience of British Communists to Moscow is forthcoming. "The British Labour Party," says Arnold Lunn, "issued a manifesto on Party loyalty in January 1938. In this manifesto the Executive Committee said: "The Communist Party claims to be 'a voluntary organisation based on iron discipline' demanding 'unbounded loyalty to the Party' as the chief characteristic of its membership. It takes not only its money but its orders from Moscow and must obey them slavishly. Harry Pollitt, at the unity campaign meeting in London on April 3, stated: 'It is said I take my orders from Stalin. I plead guilty.'" (*Communism and Socialism*, p. 23). The same writer quotes the words of the American Communist leader, Earl Browder, from the "International Communist" (French edition), August 5, 1935: "Those who say we do not take orders from Moscow are against the proletarian state. It proves that they are allied to the bourgeoise . . . and are the enemy of the proletarian class . . . To receive orders from Moscow, as Dimitrov said, is to follow the example of Lenin & Stalin." (*Communism and Socialism*, p. 14).

And in the *Labour Monthly* (British Communist organ) for October 1935, Harry Pollitt openly declares:

"We of the Communist Party of Great Britain support 100 per cent. and without any reservations, everything that the Soviet Union does in its foreign policy."

That the British workers reflect upon these amazing statements, let them study in the works of Boris Souverine, Victor Serge, Anton Ciliga, and other Communists who have lived in the U.S.S.R., the terrible tyranny to which the Russian workers are subjected, and consider the absurdity of placing their destiny in the hands of men whose first loyalty, as their conduct alone must prove, is to the Moscow Dictators and not to the people who elect them to positions of responsibility in Britain and imagine them to represent the interests of the British working class. The interests of the British working class are not the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy but when Communists have to choose between their loyalty to the British workers and their loyalty to the Communist machine, which functions purely and simply in the service of the Soviet Foreign Office, it is to the latter body that they give support. A British Communist Party, organised by and loyal to the British workers, would at least be understandable. A foreign-controlled body, functioning in the interests of a handful of reactionaries, is a menace to the British or any other people.

H. W. HENDERSON.

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U.S. Religious Freedom

The New York *Truth Seeker* sends us a report on the struggle of Freethinkers in the United States armed Forces.

Shortly after the mailing of the January 1945 issue of our U.S.A. contemporary, the editor was informed that the Secretary of the Navy had issued an official order to each Commandant that compulsory religious attendance of the members of the United States Navy was illegal and must be stopped. The editor wrote immediately to the Secretary of the Navy, asking for a copy of his official order and received the following reply:

"Copies of Navy directives are not available for circulation outside of the service. However, the letter to which you refer stipulated, in substance, that commanding officers may encourage attendance at religious services on a voluntary basis but that wide latitude in religious matters and forms of worship shall be permitted, and that those who do not wish to participate in services shall be excused therefrom."

This communication was signed by R. W. Wood, Commander USNR, Special Assistant and Director of Public Relations.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

In his pamphlet "The International Rights of Conscience," price 4d.. Mr. Douglas J. J. Owen, of 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2, deals with the problem of securing the recognition of the rights of conscientious objectors in a post-war world from which conscription may only be eliminated slowly and with great difficulty. Mr. Owen is of the opinion that it is very important to secure international recognition of the rights of conscience and that for this purpose there should be pacifist representation at Conferences and on Commissions which deal, from a world standpoint, with the protection of human rights. There is little doubt that if this policy could be put into execution, it would, to some extent, help to secure more uniform and lenient treatment for conscientious objectors whose lot in all countries is hard and in some, intolerable.

At the same time, experience has unfortunately shown that international law is but a poor, weak thing in a world where wars occur. It has also shown that war tends inevitably to become increasingly "total" in character and that Governments waging it become increasingly tyrannical, ruthless and bestial in all their methods and policy.

There is one passage in Mr. Owen's pamphlet which militarists would do well to take to heart. "We in this country ought to treat C.O.s who refuse to fight the enemy with the same humanity we would wish the enemy to treat C.O.s who refuse to fight against us."

"New Leagues for Old;; Blueprints or Foundations?": price 15 cents: published by the Ploughshare Press, 5 Beekham Street, New York 7, New York, is a pamphlet by Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, founder and secretary of the War Resisters League and International Council member of the War Resisters International. Starting with a reference to the present gloomy outlook in world affairs produced by the power-lusting ambitions of the visionless statesmen controlling the great Allied nations, the author goes on to refer to the number of plans (most of the more popular ones being pretty futile!) for a better world-order, and comments on similar liberal plans which were put forward after the last war and ignored by the victorious Governments.

The concluding pages of the pamphlet are the best and contain much material which is sound, vigorous and challenging. It is pointed out that though the task grows more difficult and apparently more hopeless each day, agitation for ending this war through a peace by consent must continue, for no other kind of peace can be lasting.

There must be "a frontal attack upon war itself, frankly pacifist in its goal and principles, for there are no safe stopping places on the road to world-peace."

Governments with a new outlook must be appointed, or less idealistic governments properly controlled through the exercise of the franchise. "The task before us is first to change public opinion and second, and concurrently with it, to change the attitude of our public officials or else put others in their place."

Finally, there must be no economic selfishness and a fair sharing of the world's economic resources. In developing this last theme, the author might have handled her subject better if, like so many other reformers, she had not been obviously rather ill-informed with regard to the defects in the monetary system and the important part played by financiers in producing the present state of world chaos. She is a little too inclined to blame Capitalism and Profit for evils really due to Finance, and too apt to exaggerate the degree of "sacrifice" required of a wealthy country like America if she were to be an economic good neighbour to the rest of the world. As in our country, it is not so much sacrifice that is demanded as knowledge and sense, and the only interests which would be adversely affected by reform would be the money-creating money-lenders, the armament makers, and certain big cartels and monopolies which aim at increasing their profits by restricting output.

"Conscience and The Commonwealth," another pamphlet published by the Ploughshare Press, deals with the position of Mr. Milton Mayer, who is, I believe, a Jew of German origin and who, though not a pacifist, is an opponent of the present war, which he believes to be due to economic injustice and to be curable only by a fair sharing of the world's economic resources and by the display of a true brotherly spirit between the men of all nations.

The pamphlet begins with an able preface by Dr. Hughan in which she criticises, albeit in a friendly manner, some of Mr. Mayer's views.

Mr. Mayer's own address starts with a criticism of the true conscientious objector's position which contains a good deal of muddled thinking and some misstatement. It would seem that in America Mr. Mayer has not come across any counterpart of the Fellowship known in this country as the Tramp Preachers who, under no conditions, expected, desired, or required the use of force by the State for their protection, even against burglars, etc. Lacking Christian experience and being, it seems, somewhat unfamiliar with certain striking episodes in Quaker history, he also does not take into consideration the fact that God can, and does, at times of acute crisis and physical danger, give faithful believers an almost miraculous power successfully to overcome evil and violence with good. Mr. Mayer does better when he goes on to deal with the need for economic justice between nations and for a display of a real spirit of human brotherhood and some of the passages where he speaks of the magnitude of the task and the spirit in which it should be undertaken are very fine. Like many Socialists, however, and like Dr. Hughan herself, he appears not to have made a proper study of the monetary system and, in consequence, makes the familiar mistakes about the responsibility of Capitalism for the war and the incompatability of Capitalism with peace. The important and peculiar part played by the financiers thus seems to be a closed book to him. At the end of the pamphlet there is a criticism of Mr. Mayer by the editor of the "Christian Century," who also displays a good deal of muddled thinking, and there are, in addition, a few letters and comments, some of them of considerable ability, explaining the pacifist position. One parody of the Beatitudes, as modified to suit the views of pro-war "Christians," is really very forceful and witty.

TO OUR READERS.

Donations received will be acknowledged next month. A bigger response is required immediately to clear our debts and to give us the new machinery we need. Respond now.

The letter from Comrade Burgess, referred to last month, read as follows:—

Dear Guy Aldred,—Hope you will soon have all the money you need so as to be able to carry on your tremendous task.

As a start for the "WORD" FUND, I enclose a cheque for £10, and hope to see many others coming to you in due course for larger or smaller amounts. We cannot afford to lose our paper, or injure your work by leaving you to face all the financial worry.

I wonder who will do your job when mother earth claims you back. With every thanks for your loyalty to our cause.

FRANK BURGESS.

Birmingham, Feb. 17, 1945.

Address Subscriptions, Donations to the Deficit Fund, Suggestions, etc., to: **THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104-6 GEORGE ST., GLASGOW, C.1.**

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25 Essays, mostly written in Dorchester Prison.
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IS CONSCIENCE A WAR-TIME LUXURY?

The following letter, addressed to the editors, dealing most effectively with this question, was published in our American contemporary, *The Progressive*, for January 29 of this year:

Dear Sirs,—Mrs. Isabel Bacon La Follette has twice (in her columns for Feb.. 28 and Nov. 20, 1944), expressed her opinion that conscientious objection is a war-time "luxury," and that a conscientious objector is one who thinks "someone else will do the dirty work for him."

Now the fact is, no one is doing the CO's for him, least of all the soldier. The essence of pacifism is that killing is no man's work. The "dirty work" the soldier is doing need not, and should not, be done. That is why the CO is not doing it. The CO asks for no special privileges nor luxury accommodations in which to enjoy the so-called "pleasanter" aspects" in this "best of all possible wars."

He simply announces his decision to serve society in the way he believes most effective, regardless of the treatment accorded him by state. (The position of COs was legalized only after their integrity had been tested by every conceivable form of social and physical abuse during World War I).

It may be difficult for Mrs. La Follette to see the logic of conscientious objection, but the logic of her position is even more obscure. All the arguments adduced from any source will fail to explain satisfactorily why those who are obviously friends of man and his progress can "hate" war and engage in it.

We do not question either their sincerity or their idealism, or their right to their conviction. Nor are we here concerned with how they "got that way." What the student of pacifism would very much like to know is how, after the lessons of World War I, to say nothing of older history and experience, anyone can stay that way!!

The U.S. has between 30,000 and 50,000 COs, of whom 15,000 are non-combatants in medical service with the armed forces. Some 4,000 COs are in prison, and these, according to Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, have taken many steps—at the risk of solitary confinement—to eliminate race discrimination and extra-legal punitive practices on the part of prison authorities.

The majority of the COs who are not in prison—the 4Es—are doing "work of national importance" for the duration, without pay, injury compensation, or dependency allotments. Most of these men have already served two or three years under these conditions, and many volunteer for dangerous "guinea-pig" experiments in medical research, or for parachute squads fighting forest fires—likewise without pay. Can this be "luxury"?

On the basis of such information, conscientious objection is to be judged. The pertinent historical facts gradually emerging from the war-torn "White Books" also need careful scrutiny by those who feel compelled to defend the necessity of war.

In conclusion, it should be said that vastly more important than the non-existent "luxury" of the CO's status, is the dangerous precedent for forced or "slave" labour which has been established in his case—a precedent which is the proper concern of all those who cherish the 13th amendment to the Constitution, and American civil liberty in general.

EILEEN WALKER,
S. Pasadena, California.

In our next issue we shall publish the full story of our S.L.P. C.O. comrade, Henry Weber, who was sentenced to death in the United States for his resistance to conscription. The sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and, later, reduced to five years' penal servitude. The full illustrated story will appear next month, with a tribute to comrade Weber from the pen of our New York comrade, David Berkingoff.

JOHN MACLEAN
— by —
GUY A. ALDRED

With an Introduction by James Maxton, M.P., and Maclean's Speech from the Dock at Edinburgh, verbatim report, 1918. Illustrated.

Pioneer biography of this great martyr of the class struggle. Produced at a popular price for circulation among the poor, among whom Maclean worked and lived. Over 40,000 of this "life" have been sold.

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IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU.
"Word" Special Investigation Report on 18B. A most important and informing document. 1s. Post Free 1s. 2d.

"WAR COMMENTARY" TRIAL.

(Concluded from page 112)

British Army in Germany. Is it your desire that that one alone—never mind what the Germans might do—should lay down their arms?—No.

Asked why, Hewetson replied, "Obviously it would expose the armies on its flanks to risk.

Evidence for the defence was continued on Tuesday, April 25.

Hewetson, cross-examined by the Attorney-General (Sir Donald Somervell) agreed that their were many workers in the British Forces, and they had arms.

The Attorney-General: If they could hold on to their arms when demobilised they would then be armed workers?—Yes.

The Attorney-General quoted from an article in "War Commentary" on November 11 last: "It is the duty of Anarchy everywhere to urge workers to hold on to their arms," and Hewetson replied that this was plainly directed to the workers in France and Belgium. There was no reference to the workers in this country and it was nonsense to refer it to this country.

The Attorney-General: This paper is published in English and circulated in England.

He read another extract: "While the people have arms in their hands governments are weak," and Hewetson replied: "The people in this country have not got arms."

Mr. Justice Birkett asked why they should welcome the development in France of a revolutionary situation but not here.

Hewetson replied that what they welcomed would be the opportunity "Whereby people can achieve that society of freedom we desire. We do not welcome the bloodshed which sometimes precedes it."

Attorney-General: Why was that Circular Letter sent exhorting people in the Army to form discussion groups which would later be the basis of Soldiers' Councils?—It is the aim of myself and my Comrades that people should discuss the principles that make for a different world.

Herbert Reid, D.S.O., M.C., author and publisher, stated he had known Richards for about eight years, and had always found him an upright, disinterested idealist.

Mr. Derek Curtis Bennett, K.C. (for Mrs. Richards), and Mr. James Burge (for Sansom) urged that they would call no evidence.

Mr. John Maude, K.C., addressing the Jury for Hewetson and Vernon Richards, denied that they had consciously tried to produce a state of affairs in which serving men were seduced from their allegiance to the King.

In a reference to the Article in "War Commentary" dealing with the situation in France and Greece, Mr. Maude contended that it was no good putting on mental blinkers and insisting that in fact the article referred to British soldiers. "To say so is the purest utterest nonsense," he added.

Mr. Maude thought it manifestly wrong to suggest that they wanted to organise secret Soldiers' Councils or anything else secret. There was no attempt to keep the Circular Letter secret. "These people," he urged, "were honestly putting forward something that was not to end in murder or bloodshed, but something they thought was going to lead to some sort of paradise."

Mr Curtis Bennett, K.C. (for Mrs. Richards) submitted that the documents in the case did not mean what the Attorney-General said they meant. It was like taking a newspaper, extracting a few lines here and there and putting them out of their context, which no Serviceman would ever dream of doing, and asking the Jury to draw the worst view.

If the Jury were considering whether Mr. and Mrs. Richards conspired together in the terms of the first count they were doing something the law did not recognise, because a husband and wife could not be conspirators by themselves together. They were considered in law as one person. The Attorney-General would have to prove agreement with one or two of the other defendants, and Counsel urged that there was no such evidence.

Mrs. Richards did not wish to slide out of the case over the backs of other people. She was happily married to a man who was an Anarchist, and she was an Anarchist herself.

Mr. Curtis Bennett asked the Jury not to string all these things together and impugn Mrs. Richards because, as a press reader, she had read the words before they were published. There was no evidence that the Circular Letter or the poem had ever been in her possession or under her control. "They are miles off proving she is even liable for it," Counsel added.

Submitting that there was no evidence against Sansom, Mr. James Burge urged that to a certain extent it was a political trial. The Jury were asked to say that these people were deliberately sabotaging the war effort. But before they could accuse them of being traitors there must be abundant evidence.

Mr. Burge went on to urge that Sansom was charged with having a copy of the Circular Letter in his possession at his studio on December 30. Although it was admitted that he had not been there between November 6 and January. Other people were using the studio when he was away. The highest case the Prosecution could put against him was that he had been assisting in Anarchist work.

The Attorney-General submitted that the sole question was whether there had been an endeavour to seduce soldiers from their duty. He repudiated that it was a political prosecution. It was the Defence who introduced politics—not the Prosecution.

The Attorney-General submitted there was a direct incitement to the forces to hold on to their rifles so that they might play their part in revolt as armed workers.

Mr. Justice Birkett, opening his summing-up, referred to Mr. Burge's statement that it was a political prosecution, the Judge observed: "This Court, if justice is to be done, knows nothing of politics of any kind. It knows nothing of race or religion or creed."

Mrs. Richards could not conspire with her husband, so if the Jury found her guilty of that charge they would have to find that she agreed with Hewetson or Sansom, or some person unknown.

It was not necessary for the Prosecution to satisfy the Jury that anyone had been seduced from his duty. The charge was agreeing to try.

With regard to the charge of endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating copies of "War Commentary," the Judge said that the Jury under his direction would return a verdict of not guilty against Sansom.

The Judge described the poem mentioned in the last charge as "the purest doggerel," adding, "but they are not charged with lack of literary form, nor with having doggerels in their possession."

The hearing was adjourned.

Hewetson, Richards and Sansom were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Mrs. Richards was acquitted.

CORBETT BISHOP'S STAND

A New York Letter by JULIUS EICHEL.

Corbett Bishop re-arrested Tuesday, February 20, 1945. Continues Fight for "Liberty or Death." Will not voluntarily drink, eat, or move from prison cot until free.

WHO IS CORBETT BISHOP?

Bishop is a conscientious objector to conscription, regimentation, and war. He fasted for 88 days and was force-fed to keep him alive before he was released at Grand Rapids on December 6, 1944. He had fasted to prove his determined opposition to Civilian Public Service (C.P.S.) and prison as an alternative to war and freedom of conscience.

OTHERS SEE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CORBETT BISHOP'S OPPOSITION.

I have two items I wish to present to "Word" readers to show the significance of his opposition to government tyranny. The first of these is the following letter from a minister, Rev. Henry H. Crane:

Central Methodist Church,
Detroit, Michigan,
February 7, 1945.

Dear Corbett:

Both Dr. Johnson and I were delighted to hear from you, for every word from your lips or your pen thrills us with a high joy and makes us want to stand at attention and salute you—not as the military marionettes must do, but as the lovers of the good, the beautiful, and the true must do whenever they see legitimate incarnations of this holy triumverate.

To me you are one of God's great thoroughbreds, and I cannot tell you how ardently I admire you for your magnificent demonstration of the power of a dedicated spirit over all things mundane and material. As you have doubtless heard, I preached about you the Sunday after we had our happy conference together, and then, again, later on, when you had carried through your hunger fast to its successful culmination.

I kept asking the question in my sermon, "Why don't they let him die?" for I wanted to haunt my people with that titanic thought. The major answer that I gave to the query, of course, was simply this: that all mankind, when he sees such a demonstration as this, recognizes the infinite potentialities of his own spirit; he realises that he is, after all, made in the image of God: that he is not a mere robot, an animal, a beast, but he has a life that is distinctly of the spirit, that it can ignore all the stupid attempts of weak mortals to restrict and confine the body and can rise triumphantly above every attempt at spiritual seduction. When we see you do what you have done, our whole being cries out that the principle you propound must be true and we can't bear to see such an incarnation pass from this earth.

...So a billion blessings on you as you continue in your matchless modesty, your gracious humility, and your valiant and courageous way. I do hope the government authorities will not be stupid enough to try to follow this up to fulfil some idiotic technical demand. They ought to know when they are licked, defeated, confounded and made ridiculous. But like as not their presumption will lead them on to fantastic efforts to fit you into a conventional mould. But they'll never succeed in their purpose, but rather will they serve to dramatise the wonder and beauty of your life. May the Good God sustain you more radiantly than ever.

Thine most fraternally,
HENRY H. CRANE.

The second item is an editorial, "A War Mother's Apathy Gave us a Shock," in the December 21, 1944, issue of the "Boise Valley Herald," Middleton, Idaho. We only have room to quote excerpts from it as follows:

"CORBETT BISHOP AND IN VARYING DEGREES thousands of other young men to-day are taking the punishment and black-out they are taking because they, like Patrick Henry, will not bemean themselves by taking orders to have any part in going half-way or more round round the world, and killing others and being killed to convince themselves of the pious fraud being mouthed, that we are a peace-loving people. Corbett Bishop and his kind, although lacking the dramatic setting of the Colonial Revolutionists, are demanding "Liberty even more effectively than the famous Revolutionary orator."

While still free on February 8th, Corbett Bishop wrote me the following letter to illustrate his own attitude towards government tyranny:

In the December, 1944, "Reader's Digest," I came across an article by Donald Culross Peattie, on "William Penn, Pioneer of Democracy." I quote from the article:

". . . 'Penn arrested and hailed into Old Bailey Court, charged with unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly.'

"'Are you guilty of the indictment,' demanded the bewigged and frowning magistrate, Sir Samuel Starling, Lord Major of London.

"'The question,' flung back young Penn, 'is not whether I am guilty but whether the indictment is legal.'

"Above the hubbub that followed he proclaimed that a law denying the inalienable right of a man to obey his conscience is not valid.

"'Stay his mouth! Clap him in the bail-dock!' thundered the Lord Mayor. And, while the jury was instructed in so many words to bring in a verdict of guilty, Penn was forced into a cage as if he had been a wild beast.

"'You, as Englishmen," he called to the jurors, 'Mind your privilege. Don't give away your right!'

"'Nor will we ever,' cried the foreman.

"Quaking but resolved, 12 good men and true returned to pronounce Penn guilty of no crime. The angry Judge threatened to have their noses cut off, and sent them back, without food or fire, till they should change their minds. But nothing broke their will. After five days the Judge, beaten, clapped jurors and accused into Newgate Prison for contempt of court. Penn's dying father paid the fine. The jurors sued the Judge for illegal arrest and won. To-day a monument, on the site of Old Bailey, commemorates 'the great trial for liberty of conscience.'

". . . 'By his influence Penn saved scores of people from arbitrary imprisonment and unjust confiscation of property. Indirectly he saved thousands more by the principles he championed.'"

"THE SEVENTH CROSS."

Those who have seen the movie this title refers to will need no explanation of the text.

By February 19, 1945, most of Bishop's friends knew that the Department of Justice and its agents were looking to arrest him. On December 6, 1944, Corbett had walked out of the Judge's chambers a free man, to the surprise of everyone involved, without any strings other than what was in the back of the minds of United States District Judge Fred M. Raymond and U.S. District Attorney Joseph F. Deeb. Four other C.O.'s were released with him pending the courts determination of the issued involved as presented in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, Court, by Lawyers Francis Heisler and U.S.A. Heggblom, for the defence. On January 15th, the men had been found guilty and were expected to appear in court for sentence on January 24. January 25th Bishop received the following letter from Heggblom:

Yesterday all the boys showed up (Ernest H. Banaszak, Donald Pross Burton, Calvin C. Pope and Bjorn Eikrem) and each was sentenced to a term of three years. I had explained to the court that I had

sent a wire to you and that I did not have any way of verifying that you received my telegram, and that I felt the case should be continued for an additional week so that I may have the opportunity of sending you a registered letter. My wish was granted and placed in the form of an order, a copy of which I am enclosing.

Bishop could not conscientiously honour the court's decision or summons, and from that moment he was a hunted man. Monday night, February 19th, he called us from Philadelphia, that he expected the F.B.I. to catch up with him the following morning. On Wednesday, February 21, the papers carried the item that he was arrested and was not co-operative to the extent that he had to be carried to prison. Bishop is a symbol of our struggle for freedom. To-day he may be in Milan (Mich.) Federal Penitentiary, but wherever he may be at this time he needs our help. Let us give it unstintingly. Write to our President and our representatives and insist that freedom of conscience become a reality again in the United States.

ANARCHIST ACTIVITY

Dear Comrade,—I should like to endorse all Tom Brown's remarks in the April "Word." I was also a former member of the Editorial Board of the Freedom Press, and, like Comrade Brown, was "given my cards" by Richards and Hewetson.

We shall be very grateful for any notice you can give to our News Letter and other activities. I am enclosing copies of our statement of principles and organisational basis. We should be very pleased if you could find space to reprint or mention these.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter we sent to the London Freedom Press Defence Committee together with their reply. Comment is surely unnecessary.

We feel that there is a great need—and a great opportunity to build an active Anarchist movement in this country. This, however, will never be done by those who in one breath speak of "workers' control" and in the next of "legal" control of the movement's press. Honesty is a better weapon than hypocrisy in the workers' struggle.

Yours fraternally, KEN HAWKES.
Secy., A.F., (London Group).)

London, N.W., 3, 6/4/45.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

15 Parliament Hill, N.W.3,
March 7, 1945.

The Secretary,
F.P. Defence Committee.

Dear Comrade,—We understand that you are the Secretary of a Committee which is being set up in defence of the four members of the Freedom Press Group whose trial is pending. Since we have not been approached on this matter we have hitherto been unable to express our solidarity by collaborating with all comrades rallied in their defence.

It is the wish of our group that we should be represented on the Committee and that our delegates should attend its meetings, so that our assistance may be effective.

Please let us know when the next meeting is held and our delegate will be there.

With fraternal greetings, KEN HAWKES,,
Secretary, A.F. (London Group).

FREEDOM PRESS DEFENCE COMMITTEE,
117 ST. GEORGE STREET
(Second Floor),
HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1.

Chairman: Herbert Read.
Secretary: Ethel Mannin.
Treasurer: S. Watson Taylor. 19th March, 1945.

Dear Friend,—Your letter concerning representation on the Defence Committee was placed before the last meeting of the Working Committee on the 17th. This matter was discussed fully by the members, the unanimous feeling was that inclusion of a representative from your "group" would not aid the Committee in its effective working. But it was suggested that should you feel that the issues in question seem sufficiently wide to justify your support, you can aid the Committee considerably in publicising the facts of the present case, in mentioning the existence of the Defence Committee and in supporting the Committee financially. A Defence Fund has been set up for the purposes of covering the legal expenses of the accused (which will inevitably be high) and the Committee's own expenses. Cheques and postal orders should be crossed, made payable to the Freedom Press Defence Committee and sent to the Treasurer at the above address.

Yours sincerely, SIMON WATSON TAYLOR,
For Freedom Press Defence Committee

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.
ORGANISATION BASIS.

1. The membership of the Anarchist Federation of Britain is open to those prepared to fight actively and on an organised basis to free mankind from all domination and exploitation.

2. The Anarchist Federation is a national organisation, part of the International Anarchist Movement, and is divided into smaller geographical units solely for organisational convenience, the division being laid down from time to time to suit organisational necessity.

3. The actions and propaganda of the Anarchist Federation are decided by all members. The method of reaching decisions is fundamentally that of common agreement reconciling divers points of view. Only where this is not obtainable, majority opinion becomes the decision of the organisation.

4. All members have equal rights and duties. The most important duty is to carry out the decisions of the organisation irrespective of personal convenience or feeling. The basic right is to partake in all decisions and freely to express their point of view or raise qquestions before the organisation. Any office inside the Federation is purely an organisational convenience and gives no superior right to a member designated to fill it. Any member designated for a task or office may be recalled at any time.

5. All means of the organisation are controlled by and form part of the Anarchist Federation of Britain as such. If persons administer any such means on behalf of the organisation they must give an account of their administration when required to do so and surrender their trust at any time to whoever is elected by the organisation to take charge of it.

PRINCIPLES.

THE NEW SOCIETY: The A.F.B. seeks the abolition of capitalist society and the establishment of a new society built upon the common ownership of the means of production and distribution by workers' control of industry.

In such a society there shall be no monarchy or state church, landlord or capitalist, military class or caste of judges. There shall be no House of Lords or Commons, title or privilege. Nor shall there be a standing army or police force, gaoler or hangman, or any special force of public coercion.

Instead, all men shall be social equals and free. Each shall have the opportunity to share in the direction of economic and social affairs, co-operating freely in work or social undertakings, but free to live is private life as he will so long as he respects the same right of others.

In such a society the wages system, finance and money shall be abolished and goods shall be produced and distributed, not for profit, but according to human needs.

CLASS STRUGGLE: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." The A.F.B. is based upon the inevitable struggle of the workers against the owners of the means of production and will continue that struggle until the workers gain possession of the means of production.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION: While taking part in the day-to-day struggle of the workers to increase or defend their wages, the A.F.B. rejects the advocacy of parliamentary reforms. Reforms are initiated by members of the employing class as insurance against revolution.

WAR: The A.F.B. is opposed to all wars among capitalist states. It stands firm for the international solidarity of the world's workers. Nevertheless, while we oppose war, we do not urge non-resistance or non-violent submission to ruling class aggression. We believe that it is necessary for the workers to be willing to use violence in their own defence.

THE STATE: "The State is the executive committee of the ruling class." Anarchists do not, therefore, hope to use the capitalist state to achieve the emancipation of the working class; they do not seek to attain seats in the Cabinet or Parliament. Nor do they desire to build a new State upon the ruins of the old. Any attempt by an allegedly working-class party to create a new state could only result in a new ruling class.

Instead, the revolutionary working class must abolish the state and administer economy and all social affairs by workers' committees, without a standing army, gaolers, police force or any special body of public coercion.

ORGANISATION: To achieve these aims the workers must organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions, which divide the workers, by revolutionary industrial unions—Syndicates. To that end the A.F.B. aids the formation of workers' committees in all factories, mines, offices, shipyards, railsheds, mills and other places of work, and carries out propaganda for their development into Syndicates federated to an all-national Federation of Labour.

To popularise this aim it is necessary to build the A.F.B. Recognising the need of organisation for propaganda we, therefore, accept the responsibility which organisation places upon its members. We reject self-seeking, irresponsibility and egoism which are the signs of middle-class frustration, as we also reject the dictatorial form of organisation of certain parties and associations. Without the loss of freedom or personality, by voluntary co-operation, we can avoid both dictatorship and

LEADERSHIP: The A.F.B. is opposed to the principle of personal leadership—to the trade-union and Labour leaders, to the adulation of Communist leaders and to the myth of great capitalist political leaders, spread by Communist and Labour propagandists.

It is necessary to have persons who are entrusted with administrative tasks, but such tasks can be carried out by delegates. Such delegates must be instructed by the organisation, unlike leaders who tell the members what they must do. The delegates of the working-class must not be paid salaries and expenses which place them in a social category above the workers, and they should be elected by the members, who should have power to recall them at 24 hours' notice.

Leadership we reject wherever it appears, and under whatever name, even the name of Anarchism. "The emancipation of the working-class must be the task of the working-class."

(LONDON GROUP) NEWS-LETTER.

The London Group News-Letter was issued on March 15. Other numbers will be issued from time to time. It is felt that there is a need for interchange of views and information among workers about the social struggle at home and abroad. While almost all publications issued in this country have their own axe to grind and use the workers' case for their respective political ends, this News-letter sets out to be a forum of free expression for workers in all industries, written by the workers themselves. No charge is made for the News-letter, but readers will realise that in order to produce it a number of overhead expenses must be met, and the A.F. invite all who consider this publication a useful contribution to the independent struggle of the workers, to give whatever financial assistance they can.

News, views and help should be sent to Ken Hughes, Secretary, A.F. (London), 15 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

THE CASE OF FREEDOM PRESS.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Libertarian Socialists defend, in principle, any individual menaced by the "law" because of his writings, speech, publications or creed.

What concerns us at the moment, is the Freedom Press Publishing Group, who have been prosecuted because of their alleged anti-militarist activity. As soon as I heard of their arrest I expressed my sympathy for these comrades in a letter published in the "Tribune," of March 16, under the title of "Solidarity." This letter closed with the words:

"I firmly believe that capitalist or socialist democracy is a dreadful masquerade, and that to resist oppression is one of the sacred rights of man. And I would maintain this belief even if I were in prison."

This premise, it seems to me, is necessary in order to stress that the following severe criticism is not prompted by any personal feeling or interest in the personalities of the four accused, but the great moral importance of the point arising in the course of the proceedings at Marylebone Police Court.

Three of the comrades, Berneri, her husband Richards, and Hewetson, appear to be the editors of "War Commentary," and, at the same time, appear to be the proprietors of "Express Printers." Nothing is wrong with this. The wrong, it seems to me, begins when the three comrades, whom we will henceforth refer to as Richards and Co., for the sake of convenience, refuse to take an anarchist position when confronted with the "law," when they refuse to take responsibility for their actions, but prefer to shelter behind the "law-makers" by urging their irresponsibility and absolute ineffectiveness.

The question arising from this attitude is clear to all. Can we consider Richards and Co. to be anarchists after their attitude when faced with the law? And if we no longer consider them to be anarchists (which is my view) what are they?

We should keep in mind that, for many years, with one hand they have collected large sums of money in the name of "War Commentary," while with the other hand, they have put this money in their own pockets on behalf of "Express Printers."

For years, they have posed as the high priests of anarchism, but when the test of their anarchism came they failed miserably, and said: "We are sorry, but we were just playing a game."

We can argue, but it seems to me that Richards and Co. cannot be considered anarchists. Furthermore, by their conduct, they have done great harm to the cause of anarchism.

London, March 27, 1945. A. CALTABIANO.

The defence is disgraceful. It is in exactly the same category as that advanced on behalf of Albert Inkpin in 1921, when this contemptible contortionist of the class struggle was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. At that time, Sylvia Pankhurst rightly ridiculed the defence of irresponsibility and Anarchists jeered at the cowardice that inspired it. The same jeers are in order to-day.

In the stern days before us we have no time for pseudo intellectual irresponsibles. The business of Anarchists is to be Socialists aglow with integrity. An Anarchist who lacks integrity is like unto the salt which has lost its savour.

We are opposed to this prosecution which can serve no useful purpose It is a banal conflict. The defenders have not the spirit to be martyrs and the prosecution lacks the judicial sense that belongs to jurisprudence. Neither side witnesses for truth.—Ed.]

BOISE VALLEY NOTES

The *Boise Valley Herald*, in its issue for February 15, reproduces the striking letter from an airman prisoner of war, published with some effectively sane comment, by the editor of the *Bellshill Speaker*, in his issue for November 12 last. It is a long way from Bellshill to Boise Valley, but the truth can cover vast territory as well as falsehood. And in the end, the truth emancipates and reconciles until the world is filled with harmony.

In the same issue, the *B.V. Herald* publishes the following comment :—

BRITISH MEMBERS SPEAK PLAINLY

In publishing Member of Parliament Rhys Davies' Glasgow speech, we are offering our readers a chance to get a little information that is conditioned for them by the Office of War Information. Mr. Davies functions in the House of Commons like the Duke of Bedford does in the House of Lords, in defiance of the smears and calumnies of the "unconditional surrender" supporters. We ought to have their kind of fearless truth-tellers in our own Congress. But we haven't.

The speech referred to was that made by Rhys Davies to the Glasgow Study Circle on Sunday, October 8, 1944.

It is said that one should never publish tribute to one's self on the ground that to do so is to be guilty of bad taste. We do not see why one should pose as a super-man, having no human frailty, not so much as the famous Achilles heel. We rejoice in censure, if the censure is a measurement of our loyalty to truth and the power of our resistance to that which we feel to be entrenched wrong. We rejoice in silence and neglect if that is the price we must pay in order to be at peace with our own conscience. We rejoice in abuse if such is the scorn that those in authority or whose interests we attack feel they must serve out to us. But we like praise if we do not covet it by falsehood. So, even though it exhibit a want of good taste, we make no apology for reproducing the following undeserved lines from the columns of the *B.V. Herald* for the same date as the issue that paid tribute to Rhys Davies, M.P., and the Duke of Bedford for their pacifist and anti-militarist courage and integrity :—

THOUGHTS TO AN ATOM.

Lines to Guy A. Aldred, one of Nature's noblemen.

By Mrs. Jessie Meglasson.

From out of the bourne of Time I come
I stand apace—an atom in infinitude of space.
Now, I turn my eyes about me and I wonder
Why—why in this brief moment that we linger
Why will man turn beast and sinner?
Thou Great Eternal One, I pray—
Lest these things melt my heart away—
Help me see the Perfect Day.

We reproduce these lines not because we think that they are merited but because we consider them to be good. It is an aim to be "one of Nature's noblemen" and worthy of much striving, even if the success is not marked. The picture, given in these lines, of a propagandist and an agitator, one who seeks to stir the soul of mankind into life, to produce a glorious harmony, is magnificent. The smallness of the prophet—an atom! The magnitude of the vision requested, the greatness of the prayer—to *see*, to realise, to live *into*—the Perfect Day! What a beautiful concept of inspiration! For this beauty we publish it. These lines should be addressed to every propagandist, to every vision-maker, to every enemy of war and wrong.

The editor of the *B.V. Herald* publishes the following addendum to this poem which, if it is not all true, we would like to be true; and we will endeavour, before we die, to struggle to make true—if, for no other reason than that it ought to be true.

Guy A. Aldred is one of Britain's most courageous, clearest-thinking, most forceful-speaking editors and speakers. He has had several jail sentences for his opposition to the government's Imperial and war policies. He is the author of a number of books and pamphlets, and the editor and publisher of "The Word," a magazine dedicated to "Combat Fascism and speed Commonweal."

Still in the same issue, Luther Cowan challenges Editor Cornell on his minority stand for conscience against war, and urges that this idea of minority right leads away from democracy to philosophical anarchy. Cornell replies in part in these clear terms :—

I don't wish to be a martyr or go to jail although I may go to jail before this war is over. I don't believe in wars anyway. I consider war to be the negation of morality, besides the height of nonsense. It appears to me, in my benighted condition of mind, that war is a plaything of rulers to take the minds of the peoples off domestic troubles. 50 years ago, there was a sentence in the grammar for us kids to analyze. "War is a game, which were their subjects wise, kings would not play at." That sentence was written over 50 years ago and said nothing about distators or presidents and it may be outmoded now, But I just can't see any sense in nations and races destroying each other.

All the races I have seen look alike to me. The men have two hands, two feet, one head, and the desire for something to eat and wear. I don't see why they can't all get together and gang up and make war on disease, germs and poverty.

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er,
"Shall brithers be for a' that."

In its issue for February 22, our contemporary reproduced an account of the meeting addressed by the Duke of Bedford at Oxford under the auspices of Group 26. It also published the following strong anti-war resolution adopted unanimously by the Women's League of the United States at Chicago, on December 19, 1944 :—

WHEREAS, This Republic has now been at war three years as an ally of England and Russia, pouring out the riches of the country in men and materials at a rate known only to those intimately connected with the governments of these countries, and

WHEREAS, The so-called "Atlantic Charter" enunciating high principles of self-determination and freedom for all peoples has been abandoned and in its place we now see our allies engaged in a struggle for supremacy in Europe, regardless of the welfare of little nations, and

WHEREAS, this country, while supplying men and resources to carry on this war, has made no apparent effort to look after its own interests in this conflict but is engaged in building the fortunes of our allies exclusively, and

WHEREAS, it is due our men now undergoing the hardships of war and to those endeavouring to perpetuate the life of this Republic that specific information be given to the people of this country as to what victory will mean to us:—

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we, members of the WOMEN'S EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON OUR NATIONAL CRISIS, in meeting assembled, call upon the Administration for a definite outline of our war aims so that we may know when we have achieved our objectives and when our men may come home.

It was held by this representative gathering, which included members of church and many far from revolutionary organisations, that, unless such aims could be stated, United States sailors, airmen, and soldiers ought to be recalled.

Louis Fischer was one of America's best known newspaper correspondents. He lived in the Soviet Union for fourteen years and was, until 1941, a die-hard defender of the Soviet Union. In *Men and Politics*, 1942, he wrote :

The Bill of Rights in the (Stalin) Constitution grants and guarantees by law freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and meetings, and freedom of street marches and demonstrations. In life these liberties are non-existent. If a Soviet citizen were to try to publish an article or letter or make a speech attacking the Soviet Government . . . he would soon find himself in jail. . . . In the Soviet Union there is no protection for a political minority. . . . Political opponents and political minorities are purged by shooting, exile, or imprisonment.

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ANGLICAN PACIFIST CHAPLAIN'S WAR EXPERIENCES

The following is an extract from a letter written by an A.P.F. member, recently returned to England, giving some account of his experiences as a temporary Chaplain to the Forces in Burma :

My year with the Fourteenth Army was a useful experience. I disliked the idea of an Army chaplaincy, even though mine was only a temporary arrangement, because I supposed that my work would be governed to some extent by Army regulations and I myself be regarded as part of the military machine: but I realised that men in the Forces needed spiritual ministrations just as much as men in factories or coal mines or offices at home. I refused to be regarded as a "morale booster," and said so. In my teaching I gave only what I believed to be such Christian doctrine and exhortation as I would give in civilian life. Sometimes I thought that, perhaps, such addresses as "Peace" and "Christian Freedom" and "Christian Victory" might meet with disapproval from the Colonel: but in actual fact I found not only that he approved, but that the men also responded to them. . . .

Men openly declared to me that they were opposed to the idea of war as a means of settling disputes, and officers had told me that they could regard the Japanese as their brothers in this misfortune and that the sufferings of the enemy were as painful to the heart of God as the sufferings of any Christians. I spoke to them of Japanese Christians, especially of Kagawa who declared that he belonged to God first, in Christ, and after that he belonged to Japan. One sergeant, in charge of a howitzer, told me how his heart sank whenever he pressed the lever of his gun, knowing the hate he was perpetrating through the act.

I found many men eager for a better new world, though for the most part they were vague as to what should constitute reconstruction. They frequently flew to Communism as a remedy. There was much criticism of the organised Church and disappointment with its witness. On the other hand, I met chaplains who were more belligerent than the men. One whom I knew declared it our duty as chaplains to kill Japanese for the greater glory of God. He himself carried a tommy-gun. The whole situation was in a muddle of thinking and sadly needed leadership. Some men objected that they could not reconcile Christianity with war—would get on with the war now and think about Christianity after it was over. After the battles I found men flocked to church services.

SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT.

Marcus Graham, writing in *Man*, San Franciso, June 1935, says of part one of this work :

"The subject undertaken by Aldred is one of vast importance, especially so to those millions of workers in every part of the world who have been giving and in many instances still continue doing so, their moral, material, and very often even risking their lives in the aiding of all those triumphs that the Socialists have achieved in the parliaments of the world. The historian, who will in future undertake to do full justice to this important subject will undoubtedly fulfil one of the greatest needs in the literature depicting the social and political struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses. The pamphlet of Aldred ought to serve as sort of foundation upon which an historian should be able to bring forth such a work.

"Aldred has gathered a mass of evidence, factual proofs to substantiate his conclusions, that; every governmental or parliamentary triumph of the Socialist movement in any part of the world has terminated in disillusion, disappointment and actual treachery to the very interests of those workers who were to benefit from the achieved victories. No sincere socialist or student of the struggle for justice can very well afford to ignore or miss this pamphlet.

"Aldred's work falls short only of becoming a complete historical account for two reasons: First, the mistake of amassing too many facts of one given country (Great Britain), the inclusion of many insignificant events, and chiefly the needless length to which Aldred resorts in giving details of certain issues being dealt with. The second defect of the pamphlet lies in not dealing at all, or very little, with the activities of the Socialist victories in every part of the world.

"Another defect that mars the value of the pamphlet lies in Aldred's attempt to inject himself, just as Upton Sinclair is so want of doing, on every occasion.

"Despite these defects, it remains a pamphlet worth the while of one's study and perusal."

Every student of politics should read *Socialism and Parliament*, Parts I and II. Each part is 6d., post-free 8d. The two parts cost Is. 4d., post free. Only a limited stock remains. Order now!

MOTHERWELL

The Motherwell Bye-election, and the defeat of the war Labourist, supported by the Tories and the local "Communists," has roused considerable local feeling in the ranks of the Militarists. The result is not a victory for Scots Nationalism but a decided and wholesale challenge to the idea of boroughmongering which now stalks abroad almost without question in these dreary days of purposeless and unwise coalition.

In the course of the election, our comrade, W. E. Currie, raised the case of Pte. Lambert, mentioned in the April issue of this journal.

Things were pretty quiet during the election, and there were no signs of the unexpected result, until the evening of Sunday, April 11, when the Communist Party held a "Mass Meeting," with flags, banners, and ladies' pipe band in the cause of "Labour, Unity, and Progress."

An open-air meeting addressed by Oliver Brown caused a temporary "hold up" in the progress of the procession on its way to the Town Hall. During the meeting in the Town Hall addressed by "Communists" Cregan and Gollan, Oliver Brown challenged the C.P. to a debate but they refused to face up to his challenge. The excuse that they objected to book the Hall for Brown's "benefit" was true in a sense, especially when we know that the C.P. and Labour Party agents between them monopolised all Town Hall bookings right up to polling day in order to crush out McIntyre. The refusal of the C.P. to accept the challenge caused an outburst of disapproval.

Two weeks before, Comrade Currie had a similar experience when allegations were made by the S.P.G.B. (Hamilton) against his activities and his association with Pacifists like Bedford, Aldred, and Rhys Davies.

Comrade Currie intimated that he was prepared to defend our position if given the opportunity and was informed by letter from the secretary of the S.P.G.B. later, that his challenge to Public Debate could only be accepted providing he was "a bona fide member of a Political Party recognised by the S.P.G.B."

Of course no "bona fides" are requested by the S.P.G.B. when conducting their campaign of slander and abuse.

It is only when there is a danger of a counter attack that they discover that a "bona fide" shelter might afford the best protection in an emergency. Currie prefers to remain a free Socialist, free to speak and to act in accordance with his beliefs, rather than become a mechanical robot of a party constitution.

The Ex-Service Men's Union, of which comrade W. E. Currie is the active secretary, took up, not only the case of Pte. Lambert, but also that of Connor. The latter case roused such public resentment throughout Lanarkshire that James Patrick, election agent for Alexander Anderson, the Labour candidate, published a "disclaimer" against his "Communist" Allies in the Motherwell "Times" on April 6. This read as follows:—

Sir,—It has come to my notice that certain groups of people have organised public meetings which, according to the advertisements, are alleged to be in support of the Labour candidate in the present by-election.

As election agent to Treasurer Alex. Anderson, the Labour candidate, I entirely disclaim any responsibility for such meetings which have been organised without my consent or knowledge.

To those responsible I would point out that, to in any way solicit votes, or support for a candidate in an election, without the written consent of the candidate's agent is regarded as a corrupt and illegal practice under the Representation of the People Act, of 1918.

Those guilty of such a practice render themselves liable to the heavy penalties enumerated in the Act. —Yours, etc.,

JAMES PATRICK.

Even the disclaimer could not undo the evil effect of the unholy alliance on the bye-election. Walton Newbold once won Motherwell for Moscow, as Zinoviev shouted! "Communists" lost it for official Labour!

While congratulations are pouring in to Dr. McIntyre, Motherwell comrades are convinced that Oliver Brown was one who made victory certain—by his bold challenge to the "Communists." His challenge to those enemies of the common people, and his tracking down and exposure of the alleged 'Socialists,' was an example of forthright speech that appealed to all who really want to see the dawn of decent society. Unfortunately, McIntyre at Westminster, despite his challenging beginning, will go the way of all parliamentary flesh.

Hamilton Man In Soviet Prison

Efforts are being made by the Foreign Office to obtain a reduction in the sentence of one year's hard labour passed by the Soviet authorities at Murmansk on February 21 last, on a Scottish merchant seaman, John Connor, c/o McVey, 50 Auchinraith Avenue, Whitehill, Hamilton.

In a letter to Mrs. Connor, the 19-year-old wife of the seasman, the Foreign Office states that, according to their information, Connor was arrested by the Soviet police on January 9 last on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The six weeks he had served before being sentenced would be counted towards the sentence of one year's hard labour.

The first indication Mrs. Connor received that her husband was in trouble was contained in a letter from the owners of the ship in which he was serving. The owners stated that they had received information from the master of the ship that Connor had got himself into trouble with the police of the U.S.S.R. on January 9, and had been detained since that time. It was added that Mrs. Connor would receive no further allotment.

The Lanarkshire Branch of the Scottish Union of Ex-Service Men and Women, of which our comrade, W. E. Currie, is Secretary, have taken up the matter with the Foreign Office and the Soviet Ambassador in London.

The "Hamilton Advertiser," in its issue for April 7, published a letter from our comrade, A. Callaghan, secretary of Burnbank Anarchist Group, protesting against the sentence.

Callaghan says with truth:—

This very harsh sentence, if imposed on any Communist in Britain would have caused a Party crusade throughout the country. What is the answer to this measure of Soviet justice? While we know that harsh sentences (e.g. two women sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for stealing vegetables from a Moscow allotment) are the rule, we did think that an allowance would have been made to a man who had already risked his life on a convoy taking supplies to Russia.

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(Continued from column 3.)

ship. Leaflet will be sent to you on application, which explain more fully the aims and objects of the Fellowship. We shall welcome your inquiries.

Yours fraternally,

E. C. REDHEAD

(Chairman, "Labour Pacifist Fellowship.").

* * Important leaflets received from the L.P.F. defining with great clearness, its policy and goal, will be published in our next issue.—**Ed.**

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Labour Pacifist Fellowship

President: Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.
Chairman: E. C. Redhead.
Hon. Secretary: W. R. Page, 17 Fellows Road, London, N.W.3.
Treasurer: E. R. Simmonds, J.P., C.C.

The Labour and Socialist Movement is international to the core. We are against national and racial, as well as class, barriers. We stand for economis organisation, social justice and freedom, not only within one country but throughout the world." —Arthur Henderson, at Labour Party Annual conference, October, 1933.

Dear Comrade.—These words marked the occasion of the famous resolution which unanimously pledged the Labour Party to take no part in war and to resist it with the whole force of the Movement.

The Party has strayed far since then from forthright opposition to war and from its fundamental internationalism. Doubtless it was your realisation that this would happen that caused you as a pacifist to leave the Party so long ago. Members of this Fellowship have shared your disappointment and disapproval and have not remained in membership without heart-searching. But we have been unwilling to surrender the field completely to those responsible for the change.

We have sought to keep alive the basic idealism of the Movement; to combat the worst effects of the war upon the temper and policy of the Movement; to provide a rallying ground for those concerned to win the Party back to International Socialism.

We believe the time has arrived for an earnest effort in this direction. Already the drift towards "Vansittartism" has awakened the opposition of many Party members, even many non-pacifists. As Jim Middleton said in his farewell speech to the Party:—

I have done many things for the Party, but one thing I will not do—I am not going to take lessons in socialism or internationalism from Lord Vansittart or anyone like him.

Harold Laski in his Presidential Address said:—

As socialists we are hostile to any effort at a peace of revenge. We denounce with indignation the purveyors of hate, even when they pose as socialists.

In this situation we believe it is essential that all pacifists who are socialists should be united in seeking to redirect the policy of the Labour Party, the only effective political expression of the workers of this country, towards the basic ideals and principles upon which it was founded. We believe this can be done effectively only from within.

We seek your co-operation. We ask you to consider rejoining the Party and linking yourself in active membership with this Fellowship. We shall welcome inquiries from every reader of "The Word."

Yours fraternally,

E. C. REDHEAD,
Chairman.

TO C.O. READERS OF "THE WORD."

Dear Friends and Comrades,—You are conscientious objectors to military service—and to war. You think war is wrong. What are you doing to prevent another war?

Unless your conscience is very limited, you will be conscious of widespread poverty and suffering which can be abolished. What are you going to do about it?

You, as C.O.'s, owe to the community, past and present, your conscience and your present status.

War and poverty can only be abolished by political action. We suggest that as Conscientious Objectors —and as citizens—you ought, therefore, to take an active part in politics. This means joining a political party. The only party which has any real chance of obtaining a just social order is the Labour Party. It is the Party of the People and the organ for their political expression.

It doesn't matter if you disagree with some of its policy; so do we! Come inside and help us! By yourself you are helpless.

Join the Labour Party and Labour Pacifist Fellow-

(Concluded on previous column.)

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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THE THREE GRAVE DIGGERS OF YALTA

By C. H. NORMAN

The three men who composed the Yalta memorandum showed that the spirit which animated Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson and M. Clemenceau at Versailles was the predominant element in governing their proceedings. Marshal Foch said in 1919 that the term about the Polish Corridor made certain a continuation of the war in due time. In September, 1919, Mr. Lloyd George declared that the full effects of the Treaty of Versailles would be felt by the world in 20 years' time. The world did, almost to the day, in September, 1939! The three confidents at Yalta declared their intention of hamstringing Germany, with a strangle-hold greater than that applied in 1919 at Versailles: though one of the chief actors on the Allied side at Versailles, Mr. Lloyd George had stated in the House of Commons in August, 1939, that the situation then facing Europe had been caused by the Allied Powers breaking all the pledges made to Germany in the relevant clauses of the Versailles Treaty, a remarkable speech which was almost completely boycotted at the time, being regarded merely as an example of the delayed-action working of Mr. Lloyd George's conscience. Mr. Churchill has occasionally reminded the nation that war began by the declaration of war by England on Germany in 1939, in execution of the guarantee to Poland, was a continuation of the war of 1914-1918, which President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George chose to describe in their recruiting orations as "the war to end war": though "The Daily News," oddly enough, on July 29, 1914, affirmed: "Not a British life shall be sacrificed for the sake of a Russian Hegemony of the Slav world."! Shades of Stalin!

Poland is a country which has always been in trouble. There is an interesting passage in Hamlet, Act IV., Scene IV., on the subject, showing that even in Shakespeare's time, the Polish question was disturbing the Continent of Europe. The scene is described as "A Plain in Denmark." Prince Fortinbras of Norway marching at the head of his army, speaks thus: "Go, Captain, greet the Danish king. Tell him that by his licence, Fortinbras claims the conveyance of a promised march over his kingdom." Then, after the exit of Fortinbras, Hamlet enters and asks the Captain: "Good sir, whose powers are these? They are of Norway, sir. How purposed, sir, I pray you? Against some part of Poland. Who commands them, sir? The nephew of old Norway, Fortinbras. Goes it against the main of Poland, or for some frontier? Truly to speak, we go to gain a little patch of ground that hath in it no profit but the name. To pay five ducats, I would not farm it. Why, then, the Polack never will defend it? Yes, 'tis already garrisoned." Whereupon Hamlet reflects: "Two thousand souls and twenty thousand ducats will not debate the question of this straw. This is the imposthume (abscess) of much wealth and peace that inward breaks and shows no cause without why the man dies."

The guarantee to Poland was given by the Chamberlain Government in 1939 to save the investments of large British financial interests (supported by United States' financial interests, which were Roosevelt's backers) in the Polish railways, in the Polish mines, and in the Polish port of Gydnia, which had been started by the Poles as a competitor to the German thousand year old trading centre of Danzig. The position has never been better put than in the words of the American writer, George Schreiner, in his introduction to the Collection of Diplomatic Documents covering the diplomatic history of the world for the ten years before the war of 1914 began, entitled "Entente Diplomacy of the World," published by M. B. de Siebert, Secretary of the Imperial Russian Embassy in London in 1921. "A small group invests money in some foreign land, for the sole purpose of private gain, and lays thereby, intentionally or unwittingly, the seed of diplomatic and armed conflict. The resulting war is not fought with the money and blood of the investors, but with the lives and treasure of the national aggregate whose government has thought it well to protect the speculator and the concessionary. For the sake of rescuing a small investment the government concerned will spend huge sums, throw away lives and face the necessity of having to tax its populations for generations, as has been done on so colossal a scale during the great war": and on an even more colossal scale during the war which began in 1939. Mr. Schreiner adds: "In the end, nothing has been achieved. Militarism may have been crushed in one country"—it certainly was not—"but to keep that militarism down a similar state of armed preparedness, and all it entails, has been established elsewhere."

It is clear that the various countries were arming against each other from about the year 1934 with varying degrees of efficiency in scientific development. In 1935 the British Government took control of all the aircraft production of the country, and, in 1937 the Board of Trade War Food Plans Defence Committee began authorising the great wholesale dealers in commodities of a non-perishable character to build up a five years store of food. In 1936, the German Government addressed a lengthy and detailed despatch to the British Government on the subject of the critical condition of affairs which was plainly developing in Central Europe. It was kept very quiet by the British Government at the time, but it is printed in the "Collection of Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937, edited by Prof. Borrodaile Keith (Oxford University Press), and described there as "The Peace Plan of the German Government, March 31st, 1936." Those very reasonable and far-reaching proposals of a practical nature were brushed aside in a very summary and legalistic manner by Mr. Anthony Eden in a despatch of May 6th, 1936, which made clear to the German Government (then headed by Herr Hitler), that the pacific proposals of the German Government were not in the least welcome to the British Government and the powers associated with the British Government, with the result that the German Government reached the conclusion that nothing could be gained by attempting negotiation on those lines. The Polish and other guarantees were entered into by Britain and war followed, a heavy responsibility resting upon the British Cabinet for its rough treatment of the German proposals.

Imperialism is a method of policy by which powerful nations which covet the vineyards of weaker nations contrive to secure control of the coveted vineyard. Some modern examples are:

[Specially drawn for "The Word" by "Gowrie."

"COME ON, COMRADE LABOUR, SING IT AS IF YOU MEANT IT."

Egypt, where the British Government obtained control of the Suez Canal: the South African Republics, whose independence was destroyed in the Boer War, so that control could be obtained over the gold mines in the Rand. The native races of Rhodesia were tricked out of their lands and rights so that control could be maintained over the copper mines there. Persia has been bullied alternately by Russia and Britain because of the rich oil supplies in that country, which is now under a joint Anglo-Russian military occupation. The real reason (apart from prestige) for the desire to re-occupy Burmah, where the English are certainly not wanted on their merits, is because of the ruby mines there and the oil supplies. The United States set up a puppet republic in Panama in 1904 when the time was ripe to embark on the construction of the Panama Canal, thus depriving the weak South American Republic of Colombia of a large province which was part of the Republic. Control has been maintained over the Republic of Nicaragua to the extent of occupying the capital town, Managua, by U.S. military forces to prevent any European or other government starting a rival canal to the Panama Canal. Spain was attacked by the United States in 1898 in order to obtain direct control of the island of Porto Rico and the Phillipine Islands, and indirect control over Cuba. The Hawaiian Islands were also seized by the United States as part of the policy of peaceful acquisition of strategical points in the Pacific. In 1916, Denmark was forced by President Wilson to sell its West Indian possession, the Virgin Islands, to the United States under threat of military occupation. Those islands, which were the best governed possession in the West Indies, have now sunk to the low standard of government represented in the best Indian possessions of France and Britain: while some assert that Porto Rico is worse governed under the United States than when ruled by Spain. Change of control does not mean improved government for the wretched victims of this pawn moving in the game of international imperialism.

The guarantees given in 1939 to Poland and Roumania were a facet of Imperialism, as they provided a convenient means for creating a cause of war against either Germany or Russia, should the circumstances arise when the British Government had decided to plunge Europe for a third time in a century into a general war in maintenance of what is described as "the balance of power." The war now proceeding against Germany with a view to the commercial destruction of that State (which was the real purpose of the British Government in entering for the second time into a war with Germany, following the line of Rome in the Punic Wars against Carthage) has brought into existence two great military powers in the shape of the United States and Russia. Great Britain, in destroying one danger to the balance of power—(which is based on the doctrine that no one shall interfere with the schemes of British Imperialism)—by trying to destroy Germany, with the help of the United States and Russia, has placed the Empire at the mercy of two States against which Britain could make little headway in a major dispute. Though the prospects for Germany look extremely bad at this time, it is to be noted that the Germans can justifiably point to the fact that the forces of three States or Empires, all larger in area and population than Germany, were required to defeat the German armies. Even with that overwhelming force in numbers, the war had to be waged (as so many British wars are, notably against the Boer Republics described by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, afterwards British Prime Minister, as waged by "the methods of barbarism," over eleven thousand Boer children dying in the British concentration camps) by the methods of concentrated air warfare against German and other cities by the Allied and United States air forces, a method *not* adopted in 1939 against English and Scottish cities by the German Air Force at a time when those cities were quite unprotected from air attack either on the ground or in the air. The following sentence is quoted from *Sunday Pictorial*, May 12th, 1940, describing an air raid on Nancy, in France, which, incidentally, has turned out hardly to be damaged at all, compared to the air damage done at Cologne and elsewhere in Germany. "Hitler's murder machines hurtle across the sky and death and destruction rain on the town of Nancy. Bomb after bomb was dropped mercilessly during constant and savage air raids. Helpless women and children were among the victims of this latest piece of criminal brutality." It may not sound so impressive when the sentence is thus re-written: "Churchill's and Roosevelt's murder machines hurtle across the sky and death and destruction rain on the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg. Bomb after bomb was dropped mercilessly in concentrated attacks during constant and savage air raids. Helpless women and children by the thousand were among the victims of this latest piece of criminal brutality." The United States Air Force has also distinguished itself by bombing neutral towns in Switzerland and Sweden and in the colonies of Portugal. It is rather hypocritical for U.S.A. statesmen to complain so much of the aggression of others, considering the methods of bombardment adopted by the United States Air Force in circumstances when no retaliation was possible against U.S.A. cities.

Some singular headlines can be quoted from old newspapers, showing the kind of stuff which has been passed off on the public for over five years by the "free and independent, democratic, uncensored British Press." Headlines in *Sunday Pictorial* of May 12th, 1940: "NOW WE'RE AT THEIR THROAT." "DUTCH GRAB BACK AIR BASE. SLAY EVERY NAZI THERE": "BRITISH ON VERGE OF GREATEST BATTLE IN HISORY": "ALLIES SMASHING BLOWS ON GERMAN AERODROMES.": "THE BEAST OF BERLIN WANTS TO DO THIS TO US." From the *Daily Herald* of June 17th, 1940: "REYNAUD RESIGNS. PETAIN (THEY SHALL NOT PASS) IS PREMIER": "SOVIET HAS PRESENTED ULTIMATUM TO ESTONIA AND LATVIA SIMILAR TO THE DEMANDS PRESENTED TO LITHUANIA."

In his "Searchlight on the European War, 1914-1918," the writer declared on page 152: "The British people were fed into the war: they were lied to through the war: and they were lied into the peace. A crooked war ended in a twisted peace." History is repeating itself in exact detail. The policy of the knock-out blow, initiated by Mr. Lloyd George in the last war so that he could wrest the Premiership from Mr. Asquith, who was inclining towards peace by negotiation, was successful only in one thing—in making inevitable the war that is proceeding by slow degrees to its confused termination. The policy of the knock-out blow or "unconditional surrender" adopted at Yalta will also only be successful in the respect that it will lay a third generation in a premature grave in Europe. The three leading political figures of Great Britain, Russia and the United States in the past four years have shown themselves not unskilled in procuring the butchery of their own countrymen, women and children, by land, sea, and air—a strange return for the high rewards they receive as supposed experts in the art of good government—by pressing on the war against all reason and sense of humanity. So badly do they govern at home that in Britain even a few thousand children cannot be protected from cruel abuse: while Mr. Roosevelt has gone to his grave without checking (or even protesting against) the peculiar practice in the United States of roasting the negro. Indeed the practice is extending, judging from this extract from the *Daily Herald*, March 12th, 1945: "To-day the Gurkhas have been pouring boiling oil and petrol into the tunnels and frying the Japs alive": conduct which may explain why the Japanese are not moved by the "atrocity" campaign against them. The Archbishop of York, in the House of Lords, on March 20th, 1945, quoted a crime related to him as happening in Holland, without date, place, or other reference, in the words: "They told me of a boy ten years old, who was deliberately beaten to death in cold blood." (On that very day the papers announced that Mr. Justice Wrottesley had sentenced an English farmer to six years penal servitude for beating a boy named O'Neill to death). The Archbishop then proceeded to advocate the murder of Herr Hitler and his associates in this unvarnished language: "I should like to see these people outlawed, so that there would be no public trial, and those who caught them, when their identity was established, should at once put them to death." (House of Lords Debates, column 672, Tuesday, 20th March, 1945). Someone might undertake the somewhat arduous task of converting the Archbishop of York to Christianity. The Archbishop is something of a war criminal himself in making these demands, considering the repercussion statements of this kind are likely to have on the treatmennt of British prisoners of war in the hands of the Germans and the Japanese, which has already been the subject of bitter complaint. Each country should deal with its own war criminals. It is a scandal to any form of justice that persons should be tried by tribunals composed of their enemies. It is regrettable that distinguished English judges (true in their old age when judgment wavers) should agree to sit upon such tribunals. As Mr. Young put it in *The Sunday Times*, 18th February, 1945: "I can hardly take up a paper without reading that somewhere in this tormented Europe a fresh batch of men, women and schoolboys have been sent to the slaughter-yard: sometimes on no stated charge at all, sometimes on charges which no civilised court of justice could ever entertain. One day it is France: another day it is Bulgaria: every day it is Jugo-Slavia and Poland," to which one can add Russia. This is a result of the policy thus described in the "New Statesman," February 17th, 1945: "Remember that for three years the B.B.C. has told members of the resistance forces throughout Europe to kill collaborators. We have even told then in detail how to kill and how to strip and make use of the clothes and arms of collaborators as well as Germans." To-day, in Germany, the Allied military commanders are searching everywhere to find Germans who will collaborate with them to carry on a civil government, which the Allies are quite unable to maintain, unaided by the Germans, at the high standard set by the Germans themselves. It is all the more curious when one recalls that Field-Marshal Smuts is the greatest collaborator of them all. He was a subject of a republic whose independence was destroyed by Britain, but he is now the head of the State governing those very territories as part of the British Empire. If General Smuts cannot rightly be described as the leading Quisling of them all, language has no meaning. And the same remark is true of all the Indians who collaborate with the British Government in India in maintaining that alien government whose purpose was described in recent times as "to bleed India and the Indians." (Lord Salisbury and Lord Brentwood).

It is entertaining to know that a country as mis-governed as Britain is with its degraded slum population, should be undertaking to "educate" the Germans! The following comparative criminal statistics for the two countries are extracted from "The Statesman's Year Books" for 1927 and 1938. In England and Wales in 1925, out of a population of 38,807,050, the number of convicted persons was 527,040, and in 1936, with a population of 40,839,000, the number of convicted persons rose to 817,873. In Germany in 1924, with a population of 63,118,972, the number of persons convictetd after trial was 767,580, in 1925, it was 592,051, and in 1936, when the population rose to 66,030,481, the number of convicted persons was 385,400. Those figures would suggest that it is

the English who require educating in good behaviour rather than the Germans. The improvement in this respect under the Hitler regime certainly does not fit in with the representations made concerning the state of morality in that country, unless the explanation is that the people expelled from Germany did contain an unusually large proportion of those with unlawful tendencies. On the question of how Germany is governed in the interests of the people, every visitor must be struck with the absence of slums and the general orderliness and cleanliness of the cities. In describing the capture of Cologne, the *Daily Herald* correspondent on March 7th, 1945, stated: "In Ehrenfeld, a suburb, which we badly bombed, there is hardly a window out of several acres of workmen's luxury modern flats." It would be difficult to find anywhere in Britain anything that could be described as a "workman's luxury modern flat." The accounts reaching England of the looting by Russian, American and British soldiers in Germany would indicate a much higher standard of life for the ordinary working population under the Hitler regime than exists in England or elsewhere in Europe, except in Sweden, and, perhaps Switzerland. The standard of education which will be introduced into Germany will be that dictated by the slum mind of the British War Office and the ancient British Universities. The truth is that, on social grounds, a defeat of Germany, as did the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, will re-establish reaction in Europe for fifty years. However, perhaps things will not turn out as anticipated by the Allied and Associated Powers any more than the following forecast can take effect: "F. D. R. here in the Spring. He may take part in the Inter-Allied Victory March down the Mall. Mass Review in Hyde Park." *Evening Standard* headlines, February 22nd, 1945. Death is always at hand to correct the egotism of human beings. And one of the gravediggers of Yalta certainly dug his own grave, through his egotism in claiming the American Presidency at a time when, had he a proper regard for the interests of the American community, he would have recognised he was physically unfit to stand for another term as President of the United States. Trotsky, himself a victim of the terrorism he encouraged, foretold in 1939 that, by the time the war ended, all the original issues would have disappeared, and all those in authority at the beginning would have vanished from the stage. The three gravediggers of Yalta have certainly contributed towards bringing this grim prophesy to fruition.

As the reader will understand this Essay was written before the Unconditional Surrender by the Nazis.

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(Concluded from page 124)

us for publishing Tom Brown's letter in the April "Word," etc. Lohr's letter will appear next month. We will review then the trial. We agree with what Comrade says of the "War Commentary" report. In essential details, that report suppresses the factual truth. No Anarchist journal should publish a report that gives a false view of the proceedings. The waste of money on lawyers, the cowardly defence, and then the platform mockery of defiance that was never intended, total up to a disgraceful behaviour that ought not to be tolerated in the Anarchist movement Anarchists should be outstanding witnesses for truth, even when it tells against them.—Ed.]

THE METHODS OF BARBARISM

A REAL ATROCITY OF AIR WARFARE

The following is a translation of an article appearing in the Swiss paper, the Basle News, dated 20th September, 1943, giving an example of the results of the concentrated bombing of German and other continental cities carried out by the Anglo-American Air Forces. Some British people, but few, have protested against the calculated ferocity of the Anglo-American air warfare, to which there has been no parallel in Britain in the attacks by air on British cities. No one can pretend that anything like what is recorded in this article by a neutral Swiss observer has occurred in any British city. Indeed, at a time when the German Air Force had undoubtedly the upper hand in the air, between September, 1939 and June, 1940, practically no attack of any consequence was made upon British cities by the German Air Force. That is a fact. Now that the British Government is whipping up feeling by circulating stories concerning the crimes committed in the Buchenwald and other camps by German Nazi camp officers on Germans interned in those camps, it is well to remind ourselves of the realities concerning the atrocious conduct of the war in the air since 1943 by the Anglo-American Air Forces of which this article is an example.—C. H. Norman.

The article says:

Baseler Nachrichten, 20th Sept., 1943.

During the bombing of Hamburg there was a catastrophe in one densely populated part of the town of several square kilometres which eclipsed all previous happenings of the bombing war. It occurred as a result of the area being covered with mines, high-explosives and phosphorous bombs and hundreds of thousands of ordinary incendiaries.

It must be emphasised that the effect was one which can only be achieved when bombing densely populated residential districts, but not when bombing factory districts. Every physicist of the air war could have calculated this effect in advance if the number of H.E. and incendiary bombs to be dropped on a given area were known to him. It is founded on the well-known fact that every open fire sucks in the oxygen it needs from the surrounding atmosphere and that large fires, unless there is a strong wind, will lead to the creation of so-called air chimneys up which the flames will rush with ever-increasing force. If the area of the fire covers several square kilometres, then the flames licking out of individual rows and blocks of houses will combine into one big blanket of fire, covering the entire area and rushing up to ever greater heights. According to English reports, the Hamburg fire reached a height of six kilometres, that is, up to that height the heat rose in one compact body.

Under these conditions the following occurs: within the area of the fire a rush of air is created, reaching the strength of a typhoon. The effect is that of enormous bellows pumping air into this district from all directions; for the sea of flames sucks in air from its surroundings. In this, the streets serve as channels through which the air passes towards the centre and at the same time the air rushing through the streets sucks the flames from the burning houses horizontally into the streets. Thus, human beings and flames will compete for the available oxygen and, naturally, a fire of this size will get the better of it.

The immediate result in the cellars is a shortage of oxygen and breathing difficulties for the people present. At the same time the temperature in the shelters rises unbearably, but the people are prevented from leaving the shelters during the early stages of the bombing by the constant rain of H.E., incendiary and phosphorous bombs, which release a fine shower consisting of a mixture of rubber and phosphorous. Experience has shown that when the people finally make up their minds to leave the cellars it is too late. They have no strength left to carry out their decision, and even if they have they lack the strength to resist the heat and the lack of oxygen in the street. It is easy to see that men, with their greater power of resistance and stouter clothing, are better able to resist such a method of attack than women and children. That is why the majority of the victims are women and children. Numerous completely charred bodies of women and children in light summer clothing who emerged from the cellars into the storm of fire in the street were soon converted into burning torches.

Naturally, hundreds and thousands of men too lost their lives in the streets of this district. Hamburg experts who are in charge of the salvaging of bodies have stated that only a minute percentage of the population residing there can have escaped with its life under the conditions prevailing during the attack. The whirlwind surrounded the entire district with a fiery wall and only those were able to save themselves who escaped at the very beginning.

The condition of the cellar shelters, which have meanwhile been opened, gives some indication of the temperature which must have prevailed in the streets. The people who remained in these rooms were not only suffocated and charred but reduced to ashes. In other words, these rooms which, without exception, became death-chambers for dozens and hundreds of people, must have reached a temperature such as is not reached in the burning chamber of a crematorium. One doctor who supervised the salvage of the bodies remarked that the incineration of the bones had in many cases been more complete in the cellars than it is in the normal process of cremation. Obviously, it is impossible to identify the bodies, as all the belongings of the people have also been reduced to ashes.

The 20,000 bodies salvaged so far in Hamburg come mainly from this district. Even to-day the work of salvaging is still extremely difficult because the temperature in the cellars a fortnight after the fire is still such that any introduction of oxygen makes the fire flare up again.

The many reports of survivors of burning women and children, and of women throwing their children into canals, are, therefore, not invented. How great was the temperature prevailing in these streets is further proved by the fact that the glass in the windows and metal frames were reduced to ash and cinders.

As we have said, all this occurred in a strictly defined district of some kilometres square. Obviously, effects like those described can only be achieved in densely populated residential districts with high houses and relatively narrow streets. The streets, however, need not be very narrow, for roughly 50 women and children were found suffocated, half charred, and with their clothing torn from their bodies by the storm, on a playing field which was situated at the centre of a street crossing. It appears, therefore, that the air war in this form can indeed turn entire districts of a large city, and, above all, the residential quarters of workers and employees, into a fiery grave which no one can escape who has not the courage to flee in the early stages through the rain of phosphorous, H.E. and incendiary bombs.

(This account outstrips even the horrors of the Buchenwald and other camps, only it has not been printed in the British Press, as it is the Anglo-American Bomber Command and Mr. Churchill's Government which is responsible for this aerial abomination, not the Germans. It is hardly worth boasting about a victory won by such methods.)

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WAR COMMENTARY TRIAL

In the April "Word" we published the Press Association report of the

(1) Second Police Court hearing of this case, Friday March 16; and

(2) The formal third Police Court hearing, when the four accused were committed to the Old Bailey for trial.

Last month we published the very full P.A. report of the trial. We were unable to include the last day's proceedings. This appears below.

"The Word" is the only paper in the country to publish a clear and correct report of this case. The Capitalist Press accounts were inadequate. "The War Commentary" gave a false account of the trial on essential points. This was done to cover up the contemptible attitude of the defence.

We are unable to deal with the question this month. The matter is most important to the working-class movement and we shall deal with the case thoroughly in our next issue. We promise to cover every aspect of this most unsatisfactory case. Until then we refrain from further comment.—Ed.

The concluding stages were reached at the Old Bailey on Thursday, April 26, in the case in which three men and a woman have pleaded not guilty to having conspired to endeavour to seduce from their duty persons in H.M. Forces and to cause among them disaffection, likely to lead to breaches of their duty.

Mr. and Mrs. Richards have pleaded not guilty to having in their possession a poem called "Fight? What For?" which the Judge described on Wednesday as doggerel, and all the accused have pleaded not guilty to having in their possession or under their control a circular letter of such a nature that its dissemination would constitute a contravention of Regulation 39a.

Vernon Richards and Hewetson denied in evidence the charges against them. Mrs. Richards and Sansom did not give evidence.

Mr. Justice Birkett, in his summing up, which was listened to by a crowded court, reminded the jury that the accused were not charged with acting together to propagate anarchy.

Mr. John Maude, K.C. (for Vernon Richards and Hewetson), had stressed the fact that these people honestly believed the doctrines they preached, and that what had been done was not for money or mercenary motives. He had also suggested that the ideals that these people preached might be characterised as noble. The Attorney-General, on the other hand, had suggested they were sheer fantasy.

"All I say—all I say," remarked the Judge, "is that none of these things really affects the issue. Honesty, righteousness, sincerity, in propagating doctrines, if it be a breach of the law, cannot be an excuse."

The Judge added that the jury must not expect him to present a reasoned short statement on the philosophy of anarchy. Its simple doctrine seemed to be that all the familiar institutions which together made up a State—the police, the church, the law—were to go, and to be replaced by a society of men and women who were to conduct the affairs of this nation, and indeed the world, on some principles of mutual agreement.

No doubt it was sincerely held, and while some people might hold the view that it was a very noble, practical ideal, others might consider it sheer utter fantasy.

The circular letter dated October 25 was a special circular letter for soldiers, and they would ask themselves what was the necessity for such a letter for soldiers. The defence said that while that was true it was not to try ot seduce the soldiers from their duty.

Mr. Justice Birkett concluded by saying that it was in the highest degree important that the jury should put aside their own feelings and thoughts and concentrate on the evidence.

"It is in the highest degree important," he continued that people like these should feel that they have had a fair trial. They have said the law must go. I do not know, I am sure. After the devoted work of the leaders of the Bar, and indeed the junior members of the Bar on their behalf, whether that view will be in anyway modified. It is a matter of very great importance in a case of this kind, which might quite possibly excite very strong feeling in time of war, that the administration of justice should be untouched and serene.

"If you feel with regard to any of these accused a reasonable doubt that the case has not been made out say so and acquit them. If, on a review of all the evidence, you feel there is no reasonable doubt you should say so quite fairly without fear or favour to anybody. It is the only way the administration of the law can live and survive."

The jury were absent for one hour and fifty-five minutes which included the lunch adjournment of an hour and ten minutes.

They found Mrs. Richards not guilty on all counts and the Judge ordered her discharge.

Mrs. Richards half hesitated and turned looking towards her husband when she reached the doorway leading from the dock to the public court.

Richards was found guilty of conspiracy and of endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating copies of "War Commentary." He was also found guilty of having possession of the circular letter but not guilty of being in possession of the poem.

Hewetson was found guilty of conspiracy, endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating "War Commentary" and having a circular letter in his possession.

Sansom was found guilty of possessing the circular letter. He was found not guilty on the direction of the Judge of endeavouring to cause disaffection by disseminating copies of "War Commentary." Also not guilty of the other two counts against him.

Det.-Insp. Whitehead stated that Richards was given a good character by his employers. His last appointment had a salary of £600 a year which was reduced to £350 owing to part-time work. Hewetson's salary was £350 with residential emoluments. He had filled positions with success from the medical point of view and was a reliable and conscientious worker.

The Inspector stated that Sansom had two previous convictions, one for improperly obtaining a greatcoat from a soldier and the other for not notifying a change of address. In 1943 Sansom left his wife and child and had not supported them since. He was educated at Plaistow Secondary School and West Ham School of Art and had been employed as commercial artist, decorator, tractor driver and gardener. At the time of his arrest he was evading military service.

Mr. John Maude, K.C., read two testimonials on Hewetson's behalf. The Dean of the British Post-Graduate Medical School, London University, paid tribute to his excellent service as a casualty officer. Professor Turner, Professor of Surgery, London University, described Hewetson as conscientious and thorough and his work as most satisfactory.

Vernon Richards, Hewetson and Sansom were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on each count of which they were found guilty, sentences to run concurrently.

Passing sentence, Mr. Justice Birkett said that the accused could not expect from him anything more than what was strictly within his duty, but they would appreciate that the case was an important one, and that issues were grave as indeed was shown by the penalties imposed by the regulations.

"I have a public duty to perform," the Judge added. "I cannot indulge private views or whims or sympathise with this or that or the other. When I sit here I sit to try to embody public justice—what is right to you and right."

Although the views they expressed might seem strange to many people, the Judge was quite ready to believe that they were actuated at all times by high motives pursuing the ideals in which they believed. The last thing he wanted to do was to impose sentences which would in any sense be crushing; but he must vindicate the law and he could not make any distinction between them.

ANARCHIST ACTIVITY

Dear Comrade,—The only reply to my detailed accusations against Richards and Co and their coup d'etat of Freedom Press is a vague general denial in "War Commentary" of April 21. None of my charges is referred to by name.

It has been suggested that I ought not to have chosen the present time to make the charges. The choice of time is not mine. My letter to "The Word" was dated February 15, 1945. Hichards and Hewetson dissolved the Editorial Board by letter dated January 6, 1945.

I hear it rumoured that some persons hundreds of miles away from London had access to the account books of Freedom Press. I was a member of the E.B. of "War Commentary" from its foundation until January, 1945; I never had access to the books. Let me support my statements by quotations from the minute book of the London Anarchist Federation.

MEETING HELD FEBRUARY 20, 1944.

"Report on Express Printers; V. Richards pointed out the danger in giving a detailed report, in case of the defection of any member, who would then be in a position to give away much valuable information. It was suggested that the 3-monthly interim report should be just a report on general progress of work and financial situation; and it would give the treasurer (Richards) a chance to bring to the notice of the A.F. any sudden developments, adverse or otherwise. The 6-monthly report was to be a little fuller, but no details to be given. No records to be made in the minutes."

(The handwriting is that of our comrade T. W. Brown).

On April 16, 1944, a financial report was given, brief—as promised. Four months passed without a report and the minutes of the meeting held August 6, 1944 read:

"Agenda, Financial Report (deferred)."

Later—"Item 5; Financial Report not being up-to-date it was agreed to postpone it to the next meeting."
(Handwriting—Albert Meltzer).

The next meeting (September 3, 1944) is reported: "Freedom Press and A.F. Financial Report deferred."
(Handwriting—G. Green).

The next meeting was held on October 1, 1944, and the minute book records:

"Freedom Press and A.F. Financial Report had to be deferred as comrade (V. Richards) from whom statement was expected had left meeting."

(Handwriting—G. G.).

At the following meeting held on October 15, 1944, Richards did not appear, but sent Sansom with a report of money collected for the A.F. only, without any Freedom Press details or accounts. The brief report was read by Sansom from a scrap of paper. He declared himself unable to answer any questions. The minute reads:

"L.B. objected to the brevity of the reports and intimated that she would curtail her subscriptions until a more detailed statement was forthcoming. The A.F. however, accepted the report in view of the fact that a full report was shortly due."

(Handwriting—Philip Sansom).

The next report was to be given to the meeting held on November 12, 1944. The minute of that date reads:

"Agenda, Item 3, Freedom Press—Detailed Financial Report."

But no report was fortcoming and the secretary recorded:

"As detailed Financial Reports of A.F. and Freedom Press were due in December it was decided to defer these items until that time."

(Handwriting—Ron Avery).

In December the police raided Freedom Press so we did not expect a detailed report. Richards did not attend the December meeting of the A.F., but at the Editorial Board he promised us a report from private notes the police had not taken, the report to be given to the January meeting of the A F. Instead, Richards refused to face the meeting and sent a letter announcing his coup d'etat instead.

For a long time I had been fighting th attempts of the Big Three (Richards, Hewetson and M. L. Berneri) to turn "War Commentary" into a paper of middle-class "intellectuals." Now they are having their way. Many examples could be quoted. I will quote one—the others are easy to find.

"War Commentary" of March 10, 1945, prints appreciatively a letter in defence of the Freedom Press. The letter is signed (with half a dozen others) by Reg. Reynolds, Ethel Mannin, Herbert Read and T. S. Eliot. Of the latter "War Commentary" had previously said:

> "Appreciating the social value of medieval Christianity, poets like T. S. Eliot reverted to the church and envisaged a Catholic society based on a theocratic hierarchy. When a direct struggle appeared between revolution and reaction, such poets found their position forced them to support the reaction and in the Spanish struggle both Eliot and Campbell adopted a pro-Franco attitude."
>
> GEORGE WOODCOCK in "War Commentary" Mid April, 1942.

It is not accidental that Richards and Co. hate the C.N.T.

Fifteen persons names appear in a letter attacking me. Some of the names amuse me. Jack Wade was the first person to give me details of the shady wangles at Express Printers, observed while he was employed there. S. W. Taylor I first met about five weeks ago. Lauri Hislam has never been a member of the A.F. Tom Earley I have never seen. Preston Clements and Robert Blum I have never heard of. I showed Fred Lohr the letter in "War Commentary," which also claimed his signature. He was astonished. He had never seen, much less signed the letter! He promised to write to "War Commentary" protesting. A typical bit of Berneri business.

It's lucky we have "The Word," else there would be no check on this shady business.

London, May 10, 1945. TOM BROWN.

A London Anarchist Comrade has written us a long letter in which he says:—

Your remarks about the "War Commentary" trial are more than justified. Unfortunately, although the Press Association account is the best I have seen, it misses out one or two things such as the statement made in evidence by a Ministry of Labour official that when M. L. Richards registered she stated that her job at the Express Printers was essential as she had to support a widowed mother and invalid brother! The London Group, although at that time supposed to control Express Printers was never, of course, informed that she was registered as the Manageress.

Anyway these militant fighters who stated in Glasgow that they "would not detract one word or go back one inch in surrender to the dictatorial forces of the state" stand condemned from their own mouths. The account of the case in "War Commentary" is the most blatant bit of hypocrisy I have ever seen.

[We have received a letter from F. Lohr denouncing

(Concluded page 123)

THE CHURCH & CONSCIENCE

THE SUPREME COURT CHALLENGED

By LOWELL H. COATE, M.A., Ph.D.

(Superintendent, the Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

With keen and growing interest we followed the attitude of the press upon the Supreme Court's decision in the Macintosh case (July 1931). The veritable blast of outspoken opposition to the decision in general, and particularly so on the part of the religious press, gives splendid reassurances that the people of this country will refuse to allow the state to invade the sacred precincts of conscience. In fact, it is suggested by one editor that this decision may serve to arouse the country to the importance of the issue as the famous Dred Scott decision before the Civil War aroused public opinion and focused it upon the inalienable rights of the black man.

The Baptists take proper pride in the fact that their most illustrious fellow-communicant, Chief Justice Hughes, read the dissenting opinion in which he declared that

"The essence of religion is belief in relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

Turning to the religious press of the country we find much stronger sentiment much more critically expressed.

See comments in *The American Friend*, June 23, 1931.

"It would deny citizenship to Christ." Thus a minister denounced the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case under discussion.

"It is an issue between Christ and Mars," observes another.

"If Jesus were here today and applied for American citizenship, He would be politely informed that He was not eligible," said the Rev. George A. Crapullo, pastor of the Irving Square Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. "On the basis of the Supreme Court decision Jesus would be denied citizenship because He recognised loyalty to God and humanity as being higher than loyalty to the state."

One reason why the Christian minister "cannot easily remain silent on this momentous opinion from the highest court in the nation," said Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of the Riverside Baptist Church, is that the "four strongest names in the court stand out on the other side."

The *New York Times* quotes him further thus:

The still further reason is that it announces in a particularly obnoxious form the doctrine of the nation's right to conscript conscience. Such is the duress and necessity of war that we have gradually surrendered practically all our rights in the presence of it.

The nation in war times will conscript our children, conscript our property, conscript our business. There is no doubt of that now, and no one of us will be able to prevent it.

Has the nation, however, so taken the place of God Almighty that it can conscript our consciences?

Let this be publicly and frankly spoken: If Professor Macintosh is not fit to be a citizen, then we are not fit to be citizens, for we most certainly will not support a war which we think is morally wrong.

"We have opened our doors to a good deal of the rifraff from Europe," said Dr. Malcolm MacLeod in the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas (Reformed):

But a man who follows his conscience, a man who is considered worthy to train young men for the ministry in a great historic institution, a woman who risked her life helping our wounded soldiers in France, these are undesirable citizens; they are a menace to our Government.

An answer to the delicate question of loyalty is given by Professor Jerome Davis, a colleague of Dr. Macintosh.

In his address opening the exercises of the 109th anniversary of the Yale Divinity School, Professor Davis said that "every Christian must place loyalty to his conscience and to his God ahead of his country. We must rise above nationalism in following Christ."

The Moral Consideration.

Not since the Dred Scott case, in 1857, states *The Christian Century*,

Has the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision which so outrages the nation's conscience as does its refusal to grant citizenship to Professor D. C. Macintosh, of Yale Divinity School. . . . Anyone who imagines that the decision of the Court can be long endured as the fundamental law of the United States wholly misjudges the quality of the national conscience.

Large multitudes of our most loyal and enlightened citizens are condemned, by this decision, to live in a state of conscious moral hostility and antagonism to the constitution of their country. Their only remaining alternative is to adopt the method of passive resistance as a protest to the whole situation, as many minority groups have done in the past, such as voluntarily renouncing their right of franchise, and refusing to vote at all, and some even proposed renouncing their citizenship, preferring to be classed with those men who have declined naturalisation, rather than with the majority of the Court who were responsible for declining it.

In discussing the moral effects of the decision, *The Christian Century* insists that every private citizen, whether native born or naturalised, is caught in the same net. It says further, that:

He enjoys the protection of the nation on the tacit assumption of his true faith and allegiance to the constitution. He, therefore, tacitly consents to the conscription of his conscience and the degradation of his God which this decision now makes an inherent principle of the constitution. The thing is morally preposterous and intolerable. It is a denial of our history. It is subversive to our most precious idealism—the ideal of a free state resting upon the uncoerced conscience of a free people.

"One cannot speak of religious liberty," says Justice Hughes, in his dissenting opinion, "with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God."

The Supreme Court now definitely reverses this history and scorns this priceless tradition. It stretches over all its citizens the pagan panoply of a nationalistic God before whom all must bow in reverence.

We say again that it is monstrous. The conscience of American citizenship has never been subjected to a more gross outrage by its government. To submit to it involves a vital change in the very theory of our democracy. But more than that, it means the inevitable death of spiritual religion. Does anyone imagine that the worship of a spiritual God can be sustained in a society whose members do not merely face the contingency that their government might, conceivably, at some time exercise a tyrannous control over their consciences, but who deliberately acquiesce in a constitutional provision which endows the government with the power to do so? Can the worship of a spiritual God be sincere where his worshippers are given in advance a pledge to abjure when His will comes into conflict with the will of Congress? This is tyranny in its worst form. It is not merely that kind of tyranny which emerges in a crisis; it is tyranny that is woven into the very structure of government and consented to by its citizens. That the American spirit will accept it supinely is unthinkable. . . .

The single feature which arrests attention at the moment is the fact that the court's decision writes into the constitution a principle of tyranny which our fathers could not by any stretch of the imagination have been prevailed upon to accept. Will we, their sons, accept it? "The Christian Century," on its part, takes its place beside Dr. Macintosh. We refuse to accept the constitution as interpreted by this decision of the supreme court. Our conscience is not for sale. We give no government the power to conscript our religion. We refuse to bow down and worship the state. We refuse to bear arms or to aid in any way a war which we believe to be contrary to the will of God. This may be treason—it is not for us to say. But if it be treason let the defenders of tyranny make the most of it.

Differentiating between wilful and conscientious disobedience to the commands of government, *The Baptist* says:

"A fair test which conscience plays in the violation of the law is afforded by the degree of willingness on the part of the violator to suffer the penalty of his disobedience.

"In the event of another war it is likely, under the law as the Supreme Court has defined it, that the jails will be filled to overflowing. There may come a time when it will be a disgrace for a Baptist, with his spiritual heritage, to be out of jail."

Writing in the same paper, Jerome Davis, of Yale University, puts it this way:

Our ancestors founded this republic affirming their belief in God and liberty of of conscience. Now, in 1931 the Supreme Court refuses citizenship because the applicant upholds the most fundamental of our American traditions. This out-Prussianizes Kaiserism in its rigid insistence on blind, unthinking loyalty to the state. It would have been much more consistent to debar a Christian who would blindly promise to fight at any time in violation of his conscience and his disobedience to God. If this decision should stand, it would mean that the court would have debarred not only Washington, Jefferson, and Fosdick and Henry Sloan Coffin, but even Jesus of Nazareth; indeed, it is hard to see how any sincere, thinking follower of Jesus could be admitted. If patriotic leaders of the type of Dr. Macintosh are to be refused citizenship, it is a tragic commentary on the depths to which our patriotism has sunk. The Congress of the United States must change the law.

Another Presbyterian journal, *The Advance*, quotes with full approval the words of the well-known columnist, Heywood Broun, to the effect that the irreducible minimum of intelligent citizenship is to be found in the desire to pass personal judgment upon issues which may arise, and that "*no sort of law or amendment can wipe out the human conscience.*"

The *Congregationalist*, in an editorial on the decision, poses the question of conscience so as to show just what war does to the spirit of man:

Is this country so military-mad that virtue and goodness and nobility should be thus spurned? The plain inference is that conscience is not wanted, or that it is not regarded as of prime importance, in those whom this country admits to citizenship; and that in the last analysis, this is a democracy of brute force and of fighting animals.

No country can be safe that flouts conscience or undervalues the moral intensity and integrity of its citizens.

"Outlawing the Civilised" is the characterisation made by the *Gospel Messenger* of the Church of the Brethren.

Three great Christian denominations, the Presbyterians, Methodists and the Disciples of Christ, in national assembly declared vigorously against what is characterised as the "morally monstrous and intolerable" doctrine enunciated by the Supreme Court.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing more than thirty Protestant denominations, has declared:

We hold that our country is benefitted by having as citizens those who unswervingly follow the dictates of their consciences and who put allegiance to God above every other consideration, and that a policy of denial of naturalization to aliens of such character is contrary to the ideals of a nation into whose very structure the principle of political and religious liberty has been built.

From many so-called secular sources, similar expressions have been voiced. It would seem that instead of settling the issue, the Supreme Court has very definitely unsettled it and actually started something. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*:

No man can mortgage his conscience, nor can the state requisition it.

Some rather surprising and unexpected developments occurred as a direct result of the court's decision in the Macintosh case. Two results in particular became outstanding as they involved unexpected groups within the meaning of the decision. There were two points at which such persons were affected, namely, in the case of aliens applying for citizenship and in the case of citizens taking the oath of public office.

The court, we find, made a ruling which absolutely debars a Quaker, for example, from becoming a citizen of the United States, unless he announces the abandonment of the most distinctive tenet of his faith. Yet the Quakers, it is well known to everyone familiar with the history of the United States, have contributed more than their numerical proportion of our national leaders, including four members of the Continental Congress, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, and at least one member of the Philadelphia convention of 1787. One of the thirteen original states attributes its foundation to their first great leader, William Penn, and two others were largely colonised by their efforts.

Yet in reliance upon the decision of the district court in the Macintosh case(which the Supreme Court affirmed, several courts throughout the country rejected the applications for citizenship, for no reason other than their refusal to abandon the traditional Quaker attitude with respect to military service. Similar decisions are also reported in the case of other sects, such as the Mennonites.

The effect of the decision is not confined to aliens seeking citizenship. It applies also to every citizen who in assuming public office is required to take the oath of allegiance. In his dissenting opinion Chief Justice Hughes pointed out the essential identity of the citizenship oath and the oath required of all office-holders, state and federal, as follows :—

If the present decision means what it says, then henceforth no sincere Quaker, Dunker or Mennonite —no person opposed to warfare in general, or to some hypothetical future war in particular, may take either the naturalization oath or the oath of office, without either mental reservation or a deliberate sacrifice of his religious scruples. As the attorneys for Dr. Macintosh interpret the decision, if a promise to "defend the constitution" implies a willingness to bear arms contrary to the affiant's religious scruples in the one case, it must imply the same willingness in the other."

They declare that :

To say that Congress by implication has carefully protected the religious scruples of the office-holder and by a contrary implication from the same set of words has disregarded the religious scruples of an applicant for citizenship, is to state an absurdity. If one oath operates to exclude from citizenship persons with religious scruples against warfare, the other must operate to exclude them from public office. The fact that the question has never been raised with respect to office-holders can easily be explained. Many Quakers and members of other similar sects have held public office in the past, and, in order to qualify themselves, have taken oath or affirmation to support and defend the constitution of the United States. But until the announcement of the present decision, we think it safe to say that no one ever conceived that the taking of such an oath of office implied such a waiver of religious principles as it is now held to imply.

The same legal defenders also believe

"That few, indeed, of our citizens could be relied upon to submit to a demand that they bear arms in a conflict which they sincerely believed to be contrary to the will of their creator. . . . Any conscientious Christian, of whatever denomination, when confronted in actual fact with the choice which the respondents made upon a hypothetical basis, would give the same answer."

(To be concluded.)

THOSE AWFUL QUAKERS

Richard Mather was born in England in 1596. He moved to Boston in order to gain religious liberty, and became one of the founders and interpreters of orthodox New England Congregationalism. A son was Increase Mather, born in 1639, who became president of Harvard but was fired. He wrote 150 books. Cotton Mather, his son, born 1663, was also a learned Congregational minister, author of 450 works. He believed in witchcraft. We give a choice gem from this Puritan grandson of one who went to New England in search of religious liberty, written early in his career (1682) :

To Ye Aged and Beloved, Mr. John Higginson,— There be now at sea a ship called Welcome, which has on board one hundred or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them. The General Court has accordingly given sacred orders to Master Malachi Huscott of the brig Porpoise, to waylay the said Welcome slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people. Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for His Minister and people.

Yours in the bowels of Christ.

COTTON MATHER.

THE DEVIL'S CHAPLAIN

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PARLIAMENTARIANS AND FASCISM

WHEN THEY HONOURED MUSSOLINI

The assassination of Mussolini was described and commented upon in ribald bad-taste by the very journals that applauded his dictatorship in its heyday. We never honoured Mussolini but we are opposed to the war on his corpse. He and his friends ought to have been admitted to Switzerland. Applications for his surrender to the Allies, or to his Italian enemies, should have been made to the Swiss Government later and have been considered by an International Court. Even then the right of asylum might not have been respected. There would have been some suggestion of legal claim. Because Fascism does not respect political asylum, democracy ought not to flirt with assassins.

Mussolini may have met the fate he merited but those anxious to condemn him in death should recall past association.

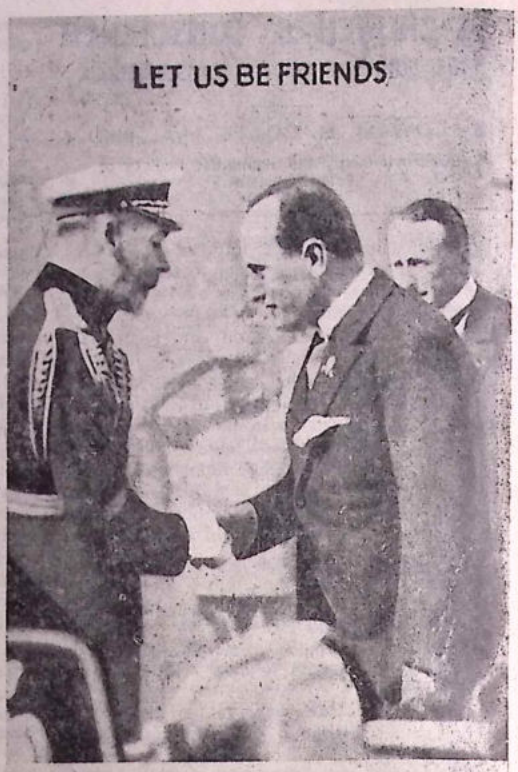
In "The Word for July, 1941, Vol. II, No. 12, pp. 135-136, beneath the captions employed in this article, we reprinted from our previous paper, "The Commune," Vol. I, No. 2, June 1923, the paragraph recording how George V. conferred the Most Honourable Order of the Bath on Signor Benito Mussolini, on May 6, 1923. We quoted George V.'s tribute to Mussolini: "The wise leadership of a powerful statesman." We did not accept this dictum and were denounced by the Capitalist press for our refusal to swallow this indigestible tribute of the British monarch to the Italian dictator. Who was right?

We reproduce, also, MacDonald's tributes to Mussolini. Parliamentary Socialists might study these nauseating platitudes.

We refer our readers to this issue of "The Word," since we do not wish to reprint this article or to parody it.

On this page, we reproduce the one-time widely broadcast picture of King George V shaking hands with Mussolini. Also the 1935 welcome of Mussolini to MacDonald (fully reciprocated) at Stresa.

LET US BE FRIENDS



IN THE ROMAN FORUM

His Late Majesty King George V. shaking hands with Signor Mussolini in his first year of office. Marconi and the world watched the event.

The King picture was circulated as a postcard by Sir Harry Brittain's movement. We reproduce the wording on the "writing" side of the card. Sir Harry Brittain's "biography" and list of honours occupies a considerable space in "Who's Who." One of the largest biographies in the volume. This Pro-Mussolinite suffered no discomfort from his association and in due course veered to Anti-Fascism. Some of the folk who innocently kept the postcard were interned under 18B.

All of which is food for thought.

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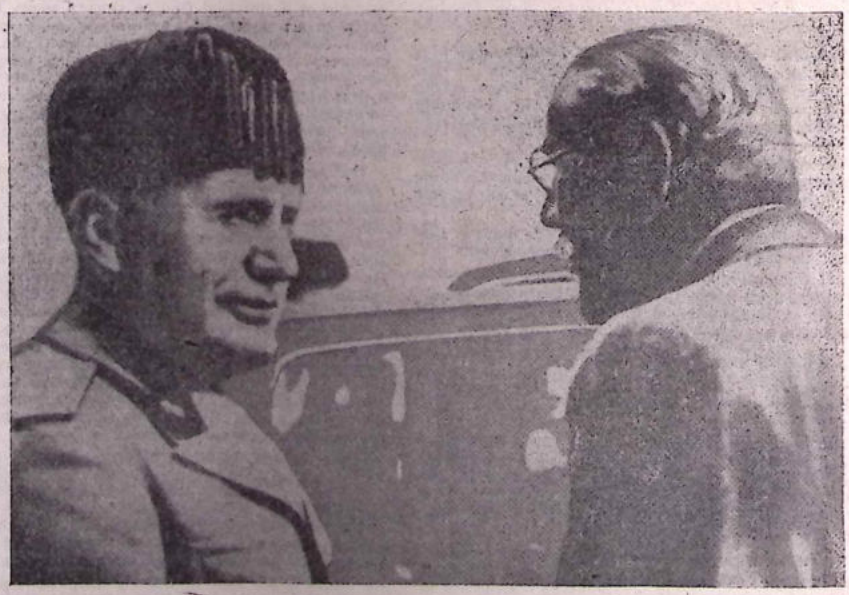
RAMSAY MACDONALD ARRIVES AT STRESA, 1935



The picture is reproduced from a newspaper cutting of the time. The caption above the picture read: "Prime Minister at Stresa." Beneath the picture, the letter-press explains:

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, being received by Signor Mussolini on his arrivel at Stresa for the Three-Power Conference which began yesterday.—Picture by Wire.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Peace News contains some very apt comments on the Polish situation and the failure of victory to secure British war aims. "Britain went to war professedly to defend Poland. Britain is victorious, yet Poland has lost everything, not only huge tracts of territory, but the barest semblence of real independence. Never has a faithful ally of this country been so completely and so brazenly let down as Poland has been by Mr. Churchill's Government. That is in itself an extraordinary consequence of British victory, but it leads to another. The Polish settlement has been approved by an overwhelming majority of Parliament. That is equally extraordinary and the reason why Parliament has done this is that the sacrifice of Poland has been represented as the necessary price on which Russia has insisted of Russia's remaining our ally and consenting to sponsor a world-peace organisation. At this point the paradox becomes fantastic. The price of Russia entering a world peace organisation is that she should be allowed to deal with Poland precisely as she would have done if no world-peace organisation had existed." Truly the inexorable march of events is doing all that one could wish to show up the egregious folly of our war-mongering politicians and the complete futility of their unnecessary war. The tragedy is that so many thonsands of innocent people must pay so heavy a price as their unwilling contribution to this demonstration of our leaders' folly.

Commander Stephen King-Hall's pamphlet "Russia To-day and To-morrow," published by the National Newsletter, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1., makes exceedingly interesting reading as it contains the impressions gained on a very recent visit by a Member of Parliament who is considerably above the average, both in intelligence and in capacity for fair judgement. Although Commander King-Hall who, with other Members of Parliament, had a personal interview with Stalin, wisely writes of Russia and her rulers with courtesy and an obvious desire for the development of friendly relations between the Soviet and Great Britain, he dispels a considerable number of illusions for any reader who is capable of being shifted out of a fool's paradise by something less forcible than a charge of dynamite. "Many people," he writes, "suppose that Russians are Communists, or Bolsheviks with knives in their mouths whose only desire it is to overthrow Capitalist Governments and Capitalist forms of society and so set up an idealistic and classless society in which the motto shall be 'From each according to his means, to each according to his needs.' Other people suppose that this classless ideal society has been achieved, or nearly achieved, and that Soviet Russia is a Paradise on earth from which the less noble features of free Capitalist society have vanished. Both these conceptions of Russia are entirely and completely wrong. . . . True Communism, as expressed by the activities of the Third International is not only dead and buried in Russia. It has been exhumed and kicked round the streets. It is called 'Trotskyism' and is anathema. The only political party permitted to exist is called the Communist Party. Its numbers are limited and include all the principal personalities in Russian life. . . . The present Communist Party in Russia, of which Marshal Stalin is the Secretary-General, should be called 'The Russian Nationalist Party' or 'The All-Russian Patriotic Party.' . . . Russia is not a classless society. The Russians don't pretend that it is classless. . . . The special classes in Russia to-day can be broadly catalogued as follows: officers of the armed forces (there are about ten thousand generals I am told); bureaucrats and officials, of whom there are many; technical men and women; heads of factories, etc.; artists, writers, composers and singers; professors and teachers; rich peasants and rich workers; officials of the Communist Party. . . . I prophesy with complete confidence that to the list mentioned above it will soon be necessary to add ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Orthodox Church. . . . When organised religion in Russia was hostile to the régime the so-called 'Communist Party' destroyed its enemy, but in this war—always referred to by the Russians as the Patriotic War—the Orthodox Church has supported the war-effort. It has, within the limits of its powers, subscribed to War Loans. Its leaders have preached patriotic sermons. . . . Therefore the Orthodox Church in Russia is now a supporter of the régime and upon its emaciated body the rays of the Kremlin sun are now beginning to fall."

Commander King-Hall describes how he went into a kindergarten at a University and found twenty-five small children singing a song, the theme of which was "We must hate the Germans." In an adjacent room children of five and six years old were being taught patriotic songs and were well supplied with miniature rifles, toy tanks and other weapons of war.

Commander King-Hall is, unfortunately, not optimistic about the possibility of friendly contact between the British and American peoples and the peoples of Russia. He does not think there would be any opposition to such contacts on the part of the British or American Governments, but he asks "Will the rulers of Russia welcome these contacts? I shall be most agreeably surprised if, during the next decade, we make much progress in the task of really getting to know the Russian people. In order that this should come about, there would have to be a very extraordinary change in the Russian official line. . . . It is impossible for any foreign person resident in Moscow to get to know Russians 'en famille.' It is notoriously dangerous for any Russian to become too friendly with a foreigner. I shall be astonished if the heavy and cumbersome censorship, centralised in Moscow, is relaxed when the shooting stops."

Christian people will find Commander King-Hall's account of the position of the Russian Church disappointing, though not surprising. The increased toleration of religion, of which we have heard so much, appears to have been purchased by the Orthodox Church imitating the Church of England in exchanging the worship of Christ for the worship of Mars. A Church which so betrays its Master cannot lead any really great and lasting spiritual revival.

The enlightened Americal paper *Commonsense*, speaking of the reaction in Russia from idealism to militarism and saying that progressive Americans can no more defend the expanding nationalism of Stalin's Russia than they can defend the defensive imperialism of Churchill's Britain, concludes with these wise words: "Opposition to Stalin's rule is no more anti-Russian than opposition to Churchill's rule is anti-British. In any case, no one suggests that we make Russia a democracy by going to war with her, any more than we oppose British imperialism by fighting Britain. On those things which are in the common interest of the peoples of the world we can co-operate with Russia and with Britain. Perhaps the best service we can render democracy in Russia and in the world is to furnish a better example of it than we have heretofore done."

Reality comments on the peculiar way in which individual M.P.s in the House of Commons protest against some evil for which the Government is responsible, but neither support one another, nor, when it comes to voting, oppose the Government, "all of which is evidence that there is something very much wrong with the Party Whip (Treasury-controlled) system. The protests are mere lip-protests. The Treasury has already bought their votes, so that under the cloak of Democracy something quite different has perverted the function of representation."

The different political parties are now busy getting out their programmes in preparation for the coming Election. The Labour Party propose the nationalisation of the Bank of England and some control over the other banks. Not a word however, about any alteration in the *method* of creating and issuing money, which is the only thing that really matters. Financiers know well, especially after the experience they had with the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Snowden, that they have nothing whatever to fear from nationalisation of the banks as long as the money game is played according to the old orthodox rules. In fact they rather welcome the increased facilities provided for centralising their power.

The Conservatives say they are all out for doing away with war-time controls and restoring freedom and enterprise. Not a word, however, about the removal of the worst control and tyranny of all—that of Finance!

The Liberals have a really splendid programme with which it is difficult to find fault except in regard to one or two minor details. Unfortunately however, they, too, make no mention of the reform of the financial system without which 80 per cent. of their excellent programme must remain unrealisable. In fairness to them, however, it is only right to add that they are allowing at least one of their candidates to include monetary reform in his programme.

On April 2nd the *Times* referred to Malta's "sound financial position" and in the same issue stated that certain taxes are being increased substantially. The "sounder" the finance, the heavier the taxation, and the greater the restriction of the satisfaction of human need!

When the Philippines were threatened in 1941, President Roosevelt promised that he would give them independence. Now that they are more or less out of danger from Japan, Paul McNutt, U.S. Manpower Commissioner, says "If the Filipinos defer the question of independence, they are more likely to get a sympathetic reaction from Congress on rehabilitation measures." In other words, they are being asked to sacrifice the independence that was once promised them for the sake of economic help from American Big Business and Big Finance!

Fred Rodell writes in *The Progressive*, "The United Nations' set-up for peace would last precisely as long as peace between the Big Three or the Big Four or the Big Five would last without *any* United Nations set up, and, while it lasted, it would simply mean that the world would be run by the mighty, and peace—sweet peace—would be a one-sided peace, imposed by the powerful in their own selfish and still national interests."

The same paper, dealing with the fear expressed by some that ex-Servicemen after their return will show a predilection for crime, says "Our guarantee that our veterans won't practise their newly-acquired skills (in killing) when they get back home . . . is to worry less about what crimes they might commit against society, and pay more attention to the crimes society may commit against them."

I commented not very long ago on the unexpectedly small percentage—about 20 per cent. —of Britain's pre-war business which was represented by the import-export trade. I read recently that during the past fifty years the United States had not exported more than six or seven per cent of their total production—though of course even six or seven per cent. of so large a total production, amounted to a substantial figure.

Socialists who live in towns or in the drier portions of the British Isles, are apt to have wonderful visions of a restoration of the crofter population of the Highlands and of the Western Scottish Isles. My view that this plan is largely impracticable and undesirable, has been considerably strengthened by a well-written book, "I WENT A'SHEP-

HERDING," by Richard Perry. Mr. Perry, who has worked for some years on a sheep farm in Skye, handles his subject with knowledge and sympathy, whether he is dealing with men or animals. He makes it very plain, however, that the district of which he writes is but a poor proposition from an economic standpoint. The soil is poor—very poor—but by far the worst obstacle and one which can hardly be overcome by any kind of human ingenuity, is the weather. You cannot harvest satisfactory crops when there are late and severe frosts in May, and when torrential rains frequently begin at the end of June or in early July and, in many seasons, continue almost without a break until the autumn.

The breed of cattle best able to stand up to these severe conditions—the old Black Cattle—is now totally extinct, and the modern West Highlander, which alone approaches them in hardiness, is a poor milker and very slow in reaching maturity. Black-faced sheep, the main standby of present-day agriculture in those districts, have wool of poor quality for which the market has of recent years largely disappeared, and though their mutton is excellent, the carcases are small and often do not fetch a very satisfactory price. Hardy as the animals are, the death-rate is exceedingly heavy from starvation, accidents, disease and parasites, among the worst of the latter being the dreaded greenbottle fly which deposits living maggots on sheep's back, with the result that the unfortunate animal is eaten alive. Some of the troubles in which the sheep become involved would be less serious if they did not have to range over so wide an area and if more shepherds could be employed, but if more men were employed, the wage-bill, which in this industry is the most important item, is increased, and the already meagre and uncertain profits are reduced. Another serious trouble is due to the great increase and spread of bracken which it is somewhat costly and difficult to check and which has the double disadvantage of curtailing the available pasture and affording a favourite cover for flies.

In dealing with the people of the district, Mr. Perry writes appreciatively of their good qualities of hospitality and endurance, but he also refers to their faults and handicaps, some of which are induced by the climatic conditions themselves. The men are apt to show a lack of timely enterprise, putting off until to-morrow jobs which urgently need doing to-day and they are also apt to treat their animals harshly, especially their dogs. The conditions under which the women are forced to exist are unhealthy and laborious, and the religion of the people still shows to an extreme degree that narrow and puritanical fundamentalism which has made the Scottish Sabbath notorious and which often seems to derive its inspiration from the less admirable portions of the Old Testament, rather than from the understanding, practical humanity of Jesus Christ.

In a brief but able speech, delivered in the House of Commons on April 11th, Mr. Rhys Davies made a vigorous protest against the proposed use of conscript German labour in Russia and other countries. He pointed out that in no country are the people to any important degree responsible for their leaders' wars, and, as he had always opposed the use of foreign conscript labour by the German Government, so also he was opposed to the use of conscript German labour by the victorious Allies. This is sound logic, sound Socialism and sound humanity.

At a time when the imitation by Russia and by most of the new governments of the "liberated" countries of the barbarities which propaganda associates with Fascism, has been causing growing concern; and at a time when even the war correspondents of our daily Press have been showing signs of apprehension at the appalling results of the total destruction of German cities by allied air attacks; the discovery of a concentration camp, complete with atrocities and capable of being visited by British M.P.s has come as a veritable godsend to our Vansittartists.

Sensible people will of course remember that just as one swallow does not make a summer, so one brutal official does not condemn a whole race. When we read recently of an English farmer who starved and beat a boy until he died we did not at once conclude that all English farmers behaved in a similar way, nor did we hold the entire British nation, nor even Mr. Hudson and the Board of Agriculture, personally responsible.

Among concentration camps Dachau has had a sinister reputation, yet a Czech Jew who had the misfortune to be interned there and later was imprisoned under regulation 18B when he sought refuge in Britain, told a friend of mine that he preferred the Continental penitentiary. Some time later a first-hand report from an entirely trustworthy observer showed me why. Dachau, it appears, had both good and bad features. The commandant was a bullying type and the occupants of the dark punishment cells looked pale and scared (as no doubt did the inmates of our Latchmere House, Ham Common), but the ordinary prisoners, Jews included, appeared remarkably healthy and the food was excellent. Natually if the Czech Jew had managed to keep out of the punishment cells he would have found the association and good food of Dachau preferable to the solitary confinement and miserable diet of an English prison.

A Vansittartist on the warpath about Buchenwald might be invited to consider how *he* would react if he found himself in charge of a camp containing Germans, pro-Germans and conscientious objectors. Would *he* be very particular about food and kind treatment at a time when the German forces had invaded England successfully; laid her principal cities in the South in ruins; killed, perhaps, some of his relations; disorganised all transport; and rendered desperate the plight of the British army who were fighting on because they preferred death to the slavery the German leaders were promising them?

I have no objection to the trial of war criminals, whether they be German or of any other nationality, provided that the proceedings are fair and that a full and accurate account is published. Most certainly they *ought* to be tried. But what chance is there of a fair trial and an accurate report if the arrangements are made by governments who have shown themselves so singularly destitute of any knowledge of the elementary principles of just judgment and so adept at concealing their own share of responsibility for evil deeds and grave tragedies?

In this connection a friend writes, "I have seen similar ghastly photographs of the piles of dead and of dying victims of Churchill's refusal to grant the U.S.A. famine-relief ships, navicerts (for Greece). Also I have in my possession a record and evidence, filed at Geneva, of tortures inflicted on the Arabs by British-controlled officials, which, for fiendish and sadistic obscenity, surpass anything so far proved in the Buchenwald camp."

My friend's story of Palestine atrocities I have had confirmed from various sources. In one case, in order to compel him to reveal the whereabouts of his comrades, police tied a cord round the top of an Arab rebel's head and, as he would not speak, finally tore his scalp right off. Not the least ugly aspect of Palestine atrocities was the imprisonment, under 18B, of an English official who had protested more vigorously than those in authority apparently deemed to be desirable. A minority of most nations commit atrocities and the lesson of the mote and the beam is ever apt to be forgotten.

The Peoples' Common Law Parliament have been seeking with, I understand, some measure of success, the support of the Governments to be represented at the San Francisco Conference for a Petition drawing attention to some of the objectives for which the P.C.L.P. has been working. These include the creation of money as a public service and as a means of exchange and not as an instrument for profit or speculation by the money-creators; the taking of referendums among the peoples of different nations before legislation on matters of major importance, such as health and education, is enacted and before there is a declaration of war. It is further emphasised that human life shall not be treated as subservient to monetary policy or industrial exploitation; that no persons shall suffer poverty or insecurity while there are resources, actual or potential, available to meet their needs; that adequate purchasing power shall be provided and trade barriers removed; and that all peoples shall have representation at an International Court of Justice. Further information with regard to this and other activities of P.C.L.P. can be obtained from their headquarters at 5 Endsleigh Place, London W.C.1.

General Smuts is reported to have said recently that war must be prevented even at the cost of war. I have long considered General Smuts to be one of those public figures whose wisdom is much over-rated and this profound remark confirms me in my opinion.

During the closing days of the war detailed arrangements were made with the Germans to allow us to take food to the people of Holland. At certain specified hours British ships, planes and lorries carrying food were permitted to enter without molestation or injury.

So although you can't possibly negotiate with the Germans because you can't trust them, where there's a will there's a way—as I said all along!

Rhona Churchill, the imaginative war correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, tells, in the issue of April 24, a most moving atrocity story. A German in charge of political prisoners decided that the time had come for them to be liquidated, so he marched them to a lonely field where a great hay barn was standing. "Fetch petrol from the nearest dump," he told his men. Then "he set his weary prisoners to the gruesome task of digging their own graves." When the petrol arrived and had been poured on the hay he ordered the prisoners into the barn and "personally flung the match which lighted the human bonfire." Why, then, the graves? No, Rhona Churchill should be more careful. The story of the Germans who donned football kit for a match in which Jewish babies were used as footballs has much more "finish"!

The assassination of Mussolini and the death of Hitler remove from the stage of international politics two figures with whom I prophesy that future historians will deal more leniently than present-day war propagandists.

Winston Churchill the writer who, strange to say, was much less of a fool than Winston Churchill the politician, once referred to both of them in terms of high praise. There is not the slightest reason to believe that the character of the dictators at the time of their death was materially different from what it was at the time when Mr. Churchill eulogised them. Both men did great things to promote the material well-being of their countries; gave economic security to the working classes; and improved the social services and the efficiency of agriculture and industry. Both challenged the rules of orthodox finance; rejected the philosophy of the gold standard; and freed industry and the State from servitude to the money-lender. On the other hand both—and Hitler especially—were ruthless and cruel in their persecution of their political opponents and of all whom they considered their countries' enemies. In this respect, however, they were no worse than Stalin, and Regulation 18B is a standing memorial to the fact that a smear of tar from the same brush has marked our own British politicians. Both dictators were guilty of the evil folly of condemning, wholesale, large groups and classes of people —Jews especially—of very varied character.

Their mentality, however, finds its exact counterpart in this country in Lord Vansittart and in the thousands of other persons who condemn utterly all Germans, Jews or conscientious objectors.

Both dictators glorified war, but so apparently does Stalin, judging by the present highly militarist set-up in Russia, and so do the extreme militarists in Britain and America.

Both believed in the hellish method of war as an instrument of international policy and a means of securing the redress of grievances and, as a result, they have brought destruction upon their countries. On the other hand all non-pacifists on the Allied side also believe in war as a means of securing the redress of grievances and it is only fair to the dictators to remember that if they had not resorted to arms there is every reason to believe that the financiers and politicians of the democracies would have prevented them from achieving certain perfectly legitimate aims which, in their impatience, they sought to achieve by violence. It may also be argued, with justice, that Hitler, a soldier in the last war, should have had sufficient realization of what war is, and means, to deter him from going to war, even on the undoubtedly provocative Polish issue; yet on the other hand it may be that it is to his personal experience of war-suffering that we at least owe the blessing of deliverance in the present struggle, from the final atrocity of the use of gas.

Both dictators showed scant regard for the rights of small nations, but here again their conduct is no worse than that of our Russian ally; nor have the British and American governments an entirely clean record.

To sum up, the vices of the dictators supplied the propaganda needed by their enemies to win the measure of popular support which was required to secure their overthrow; yet, by a grim irony, it was their virtues which really decided their downfall. They openly challenged the most powerful and most vicious of all tyrannies, that of Finance, which decrees that, even though labour and materials are available, production shall be hindered through lack of money. If their brutality and aggression had been their real crime, why are these faults ignored when displayed by a government which, if not orthodox in its economies, will at least play ball with Wall Street and the City by exporting gold?

After nearly six years of slaughter and destruction on a scale unparalleled in history, an end has at last come in Europe to the most unnecessary and senseless war in modern history. Nothing—less than nothing—of the slightest moral or genuine political value has been gained by it. To-day in Europe there is, at the end, more ruthless totalitarian tyranny and political persecution than there was at the beginning and even countries once moderately democratic have been deeply affected by the general poison. Poland, the original cause of the dispute, is without real freedom and is to be deprived of more territory than Hitler ever asked for. Other small nations have been seized by aggression and their rights ignored. Pledges have been broken. If the "balance of power" be considered a desirable condition, never was there a more complete un-balance. There is a gigantic increase in the spirit of militarism and nationalism, especially in the chief victor—Russia. Famine, disease and economic chaos have been spread over wide areas of Europe, not by reason of Axis policy, but by reason of the allied policy of unconditional surrender. Orthodox Finance will be re-established in those countries from which it was temporarily expelled and, in due course, will produce, as of old, poverty in the midst of potential plenty. Crime and vice have increased enormously. The prospects of anything resembling a just and durable peace are of the very worst; the prospects of a third war, on the contrary, excellent. In their effort to secure a fair and durable peace by negotiation, pacifists have once more been defeated by the blind obstinacy of political leaders; the powerful weapon of propaganda; and the stupidity of the mass of the people; yet the soundness of their case against war in general and this war in particular has been vindicated up to the very hilt. Every fundamental moral and economic problem that existed at the beginning of the war still remains completely unsolved and, what is more, will have to be tackled under infinitely more difficult conditions. Total victory in total war has ended in total failure to get anywhere or achieve anything—exactly as we foretold!

QUESTIONS CONCERNING MONEY.

Dear Aldred,—At the moment of writing I have not been able to identify the particular monetary reform paper from which I took the figures criticised by Mr. Craig, and get in touch with the Editor.

I can, however, answer his main queries. The reasons why a country's factories can, during a given period, produce goods to a far greater value than the total of the wages, salaries and dividends they distribute, are as follows. When there is increasing mechanisation—and increasing mechanisation is a marked characteristic of modern industry—during any given period more money is being collected, through prices, and put into depreciation funds for prospective renewals of worn-out plant, etc., than is being paid out of such funds for current renewals. This means that a portion of the money from sales which would otherwise have been distributed as profits is kept back and put into a depreciation fund from which no equivalent sum emerges as wage-payments during the period under review. If no palliative measures were adopted the difference between the sum paid out WOULD represent, in Mr. Craig's words, "a dead loss to the community," or, if the producers decided to give away the goods they could not sell, anyhow a dead loss to the producers.

Investment is another very important reason why, during a given period, the total price of the goods produced may far exceed the total of wages, salary and dividend payments.

Money which otherwise would have been distributed as dividends is invested either in the extension of existing businesses or in the setting up of new ones, and as soon as the extensions or new businesses get going they put on to the market additional goods in respect of which no additional money has necessarily been created or can be distributed in the form of wages, salaries, or dividends. Some Social Credit experts are of opinion that other non-wage items besides depreciation charges, which enter into costs and prices—payments for raw materials, machinery, etc.—do not, under modern conditions, "turn into" wage, salary and dividend payments, FAST ENOUGH during any given period, to play their due part in clearing from the market all the goods that need to be sold during that same period. This is a highly technical and controversial issue involving consideration of "rates of flow" upon which, quite frankly, I do not feel myself competent, at the moment, to express a considered judgment; but increasing mechanisation and investment, as causes of disparity between available purchasing power and prices, are unassailable.

Mr. Craig asks what steps were taken to see that production and income figures were comparable. The answer is "No adequate and sensible ones," but the following were among the probable palliatives to avert too disastrous a breakdown and enforced reform of the money system:—

1. The creation, by banks, of more money for loans, overdrafts and the purchase of securities than, during the years under review, they destroyed by receiving repayment of loans and overdrafts and by the sale of securities.

2. A "favourable" (save the mark!) trade balance may have been built up. Some of the goods may have been exported to foreign countries in exchange for debt, i.e., since no equivalent value of imports was taken as an exchange, the foreign countries increased that debt to the country obtaining the "favourable" trade balance.

3. New money may have been created by bank loan to finance Public Works. New money may have been created by bank loan to pay men in the Fighting Services and to produce armaments which very likely are not included in this total of "goods produced by the factories" as they would not be placed on the ordinary consumer market for sale.

Yours faithfully,

BEDFORD.

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LEIGH HUNT'S "DUNGEON"

[We select this passage from Leigh Hunt's "autobiography." Contrast his prison treatment against that of conscientious objectors, who ought to be deemed State or political prisoners, and other admittedly political offenders to-day, under universal suffrage, and "Labour" Secretaries of State.—Ed.]

The doctor then proposed that I should be removed to the prison infirmary; and this proposal was granted. Infirmary had, I confess, an awkward sound, even to my ears. I fancied a room shared with other sick persons, not the best suited for companions; but the good-natured doctor (his name was Dixon) undeceived me. The infirmary was divided into four wards, with so many small rooms attached to them. The two upper wards were occupied, but the two on the floor had never been used; and one of these, not very providently (for I had not yet learned to think of money) I turned into a noble room. I papered the walls with a trellis of roses: I had the ceiling coloured with clouds and sky; the barred windows I screened with Venetian blinds; and when my book-cases were set up with their busts, and flowers, and a pianoforte made their appearance, perhaps there was not a handsomer room on that side the water. I took a pleasure, when a stranger knocked at the door, to see him come in and stare about him. The surprise on issuing from the Borough, and passing through the avenues of a gaol was dramatic. Charles Lamb declared there was no other such room, except in a fairy tale.

But I possessed another surprise; which was a garden. There was a little yard outside the room, railed off from another belonging to a neighbouring ward. This yard I shut in with green palings, adorned it with a trellis, bordered it with a thick bed of earth from a nursery, and even contrived to have a grass-plot. The earth I filled with flowers and young trees. There was an apple-tree, from which we managed to get a pudding the second year. As to my flowers, they were allowed to be perfect. Thomas Moore, who came to see me with Lord Byron, told me he had seen no such heart's-ease. I bought the **Parnaso-Italiano** while in prison, and used often to think of a passage in it, while looking at this miniature piece of horticulture:—

My little garden,
To me thou art vineyard, field and meadow, and wood.

Here I wrote and read in fine weather, sometimes under an awning. In autumn, my trellises were hung with scarlet-runners, which added to the flowery investment. I used to shut my eyes in my arm-chair, and affect to think myself hundreds of miles off.

But my triumph was in issuing forth of a morning. A wicket gate out of the garden led into the large one belonging to the prison. The latter was only for vegetables; but it contained a cherry tree, which I saw twice in blossom. I parcelled out the ground in my imagination into favourite districts. I made a point of dressing myself as if for a long walk; and then, putting on my gloves, and taking my book under my arm, stepped forth, requesting my wife not to wait dinner if I was too late. My eldest little boy, to whom Lamb addressed some charming verses on the occasion, was my constant companion, and we used to play all sorts of juvenile games together. It was, probably, in dreaming of one of these games (but the words had a more touching effect on my ear) that he exclaimed one night in his sleep, "No; I'm not lost; I'm found." Neither he nor I were very strong at that time; but I have lived to see him a man of eight and forty; and wherever he is found, a generous hand and a great understanding will be found together.

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BATTLING SURGEON

By

Dr. Charles W. Brook

It may seem rather unusual for an author to review his own work, but *The Word* is an unusual journal and *Battling Surgeon* is frankly intended to be an unusual book.

It is primarily an introduction to the life of a most vigorous personality—Thomas Wakley, who was born 150 years ago next July. Although now only known to a very few, Wakley was, in my view, by far the most important member of the British medical profession during the last century. Those who dislike the medical profession collectively will probably arrive at the conclusion that in the long run Wakley, as a medical reformer, was a very mixed blessing, for although he attacked the small ring of the hierarchy of his profession ("a gang of hospital surgeons," he called them) he did not break the ring but enlarged and substantially strengthened it. Wakley in fact created the medical profession which we know to-day and made it so powerful that it can, through its British Medical Association defy the Government and apparently get away with it.

Like Richard Carlile who was seven years his senior, Thomas Wakley was a Devon man. But unlike Carlile, he had a well to-do father who was able to have him trained as a surgeon, but had insufficient foresight to have him apprenticed at a high premium to one of the small clique of leading London surgeons who were led by Sir Astley Cooper and John Abernethy. Consequently Wakley after qualifying found that he was condemned to become a humble rank-and-filer, and this did not suit him at all. The opportunity to declare war on Cooper, Abernethy & Co. came about through a very strange incident, in which, personally, I think, the crafty William Cobbett had a hand. I hope that I have been sufficiently impartial in my narrative to allow readers to judge for themselves.

I can now relate a personal anecdote.

When I was in hospital recovering from an operation and planning this work as a relaxation, the Night Sister found me at 2 o'clock one morning comfortably propped up in bed and very much awake. "What are you doing with your light on at this unearthly hour?" she asked, very severely. "Well the fact is, Sister, I am trying to make up my mind whether a certain man was a 'Fire Bug.'" After a momentary look of horror she quietly, but very firmly, commented: "If I were you I should turn off your light and go to sleep." I did as I was told but with my mind not made up!

Whether my suspicions were well-founded or not, the incident was the turning point of Wakley's career, for with the insurance money he collected and with the active help of William Cobbett and two disgruntled surgeons, he launched his still living memorial, "The Lancet."

This was a strange little journal in those days but very typical of the vigorous Radical journalism which Richard Carlile was successfully championing from his cell in Dorchester Gaol. It was little short of a miracle that it ever survived its birth pangs, for its editor was soon in the Courts in a series of conflicts with the surgical hierarchy and editors of rival journals, culminating in a sensational libel action, which Wakley brilliantly defended in person, arising from a "Lancet" report which I have republished in full, of a most barbarous operation performed by Sir Astley Cooper's nephew at Guy's Hospital, with an implied accusation of manslaughter against the operator. The result of this case and Wakley's forcible ejection from the lecture theatre of the Royal College of Surgeons in London made him the undisputed leader of the medical reform movement, culminating in 1858 with the establishment of the Medical Register and the General Medical Council.

But it is not as the most important Medical Reformer that Wakley deserves to be remembered, for he was, perhaps, the greatest Radical Humanist of his time. Elected to Parliament as Independent M.P. for Finsbury, at no expense to himself, he made possibly the most impassioned speech ever heard in the House of Commons on behalf of the transported Tolpuddle Martyrs, and if there was any political persecution he was always chosen as the parliamentary spokesman of protest.

In the House of Commons he again and again vainly agitated against the flogging to death of soldiers, but it was as Coroner for West Middlesex that he abruptly put a stop to the foul practice. The story of the killing of Private White is full of drama; "Coroner Wakley seemed like a man compromised to infamy or worse. . . ." commented the editor of a rival medical journal, but Coroner Wakley got the verdict he wanted.

His continuous protests against the shocking cruelties perpetrated through the Poor Law Amendment Act fell on deaf ears in the House of Commons, but it was the statistics published in "The Lancet" exposing all the horrors of the concentration camps of those days which temporarily aroused the public conscience. Wakley was a great journalist, and his brilliant and ruthless exposure of the appalling adulteration of foodstuffs resulted in our existing Food and Drug Laws.

I have not glossed over his failings. Like Robert Taylor, "The Devil's Chaplain," he could exploit dramatic situations to his own advantage, and like Disraeli, he was foppish in his dress. He was shockingly intolerant to anybody whom he regarded as holding unorthodox medical opinions, and while there may have been some justification for his ruthless exposure of John St. John Long, the fashionable Harley Street charlatan, his treatment of the unorthodox Dr. John Elliotson, the most scientific physician of the period, was brutal and inexcusable.

Nevertheless, I claim that I have proved my contention that Thomas Wakley was the most important figure in the nineteenth century British medical profession, and it is not inappropriate that the Foreword has been written by my friend, Dr. Somerville Hastings, President of the Socialist Medical Association and leader of the present British Medical Reform movement.

The biography is unorthodox but, I hope, not too bewildering to the reader, for I have provided a running commentary, and discuss, among many other things, the rise of the medical profession which we know to-day, the immense power still possessed by the Medical Corporations, the composition and functions of the General Medical Council, the deficiencies of our present Food and Drug Acts, and have given even a gentle smack at Bernard Shaw.

There may be some factual errors in the book but, so far, I have discovered only one. I am now doubtful if Francis Place ever accepted hospitality from Wakley, for it was not Place's habit to accept hospitality from anyone. I am also, now, of the opinion that Place's influence over Wakley did not last very long, for it is likely that they were in violent conflict over the Poor Law Amendment Act, of which Place was a leading supporter and of which Wakley was the principal critic. Wakley, I have since found, allied himself with the revolutionary "Rotundanists" in their struggle against the reformists led by Place. Some time I want to delve into Place's voluminous manuscripts at the British Museum, for I am certain I shall find a good deal of hitherto undisclosed information about Wakley.

Guy Aldred has my special gratitude for tackling a job at which orthodox publishers would frown, but it is, for my own part, a further trifling contribution to what Aldred has rightly named "The Carlile Period," and it has also given me the opportunity of getting a few of my own views into print. Of one thing I am certain, and that is, that the present medical hierarchy won't like "Battling Surgeon" one little bit. But that doesn't worry me.

Seven Men Who Won't Obey

(A poet's reading of the N.Z. Herald report, 6/9/44).

* * Comrade Hansen has sent us a number of poems. All of these will appear in these columns. They tell the story of the Anti-Military or Anti-War struggle in New Zealand.—Ed.

They came before the Magistrate,
Those seven "striking" men,
And each, in turn, was asked to state
His "reasons" there and then.

This, Harold Hansen did achieve—
Which stirred official wrath:
At Strathmore Camp he would not leave
His hut, when ordered forth.

Then he, so peaceful and polite,
Who would not harm a sparrow,
Was handcuffed lest he try to fight—
And shifted in a barrow!

He told the Court that MEN could not
Submissively accept
Conditions that the Camps begot,
Nor meekly there be kept.

He also to the Court declared
An unchanged attitude—
For he, at length, had fully dared
And would not be subdued.

John Hamerton recorded well
How he three months remained
Alone within a compound cell—
Plus three long years detained.

Despite cruel cold and scanty food
This Stalwart held his ground;
From Christian Conscience, this accrued—
He would not "twist around."

Compliant he would never be
In pagan servitude:
God's truth for him meant Honesty—
No fleeting, fickle mood!

Roland Hall outspokenly
Declared the camps a blot
Upon New Zealand's history!
This made His Honour hot:

Retorted he (or nearly so):
"Your lot's a just requitement!
"The view of all the folk I know
"Reverses your indictment."

McAlpine to His Honour stressed
A Five-months-made decision:
He'd not obey, however pressed—
Stood true to inner vision.

Of Townend it was certified
That three months' prison still
Had failed to "penetrate his hide"—
Had failed to change his will.

The clothes he wore he'd not remove,
Nor dress by regulation,
And thus, by "forcing" force, did prove
A bother and vexation.

The Magistrate was not impressed
With what he dubbed "opinions"
The Law alone must be assessed—
And so we mould our minions!

Hugh Kelly, also Allan Yates
Were heard, but not reported.
Alas our hardened magistrates!!—
Men's lives so sadly thwarted!

For Hansen got three months in "clink";
The others got "duration";
But they have played their part, I think,
To rouse this fallen nation.

—RAYMOND H. HANSEN.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW

On SUNDAY, 3rd JUNE.

Speaker **GUY A. ALDRED.**

Subject:

"SOCIALISM, MILITARISM, AND THE ELECTION."

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. All welcome.

Chair Taken, 7 p.m.

Dear Comrade Aldred,

We intend to bring "Direct Action" out as often as the very sticky paper situation allows, so shall be pleased if you could mention it somewhere in the June "Word" Also we would be grateful if you would let all London comrades know that the Anarchist Federation of Britain (London Group) holds public meetings in Hyde Park every Sunday at 6 p.m.

Yours in the struggle,

KEN HAWKES (London A.F. Secretary).

REACTIONS TO WAR: A STUDY

By JOHN JENNINGS

[This essay was addressed to us in the form of a letter but it merits publication as an essay.—Ed.]

I am writing this believing that many people have thought and are thinking along similar lines, and that to express these ideas will help to formulate a definitely stated philosophy, a sort of common denominator of our ideas. At anyrate, it can contribute to the establishment of a bond of sympathy.

Obviously, the basic policies that motivate this letter are not original: they are inspired by writings by yourself, by the Duke of Bedford, by many other contributions to modern thought; I have merely tried to apply a synthesis, which may evoke the agreement of some and the disagreement of others. All the better; criticism is always an essential element in construction.

My own experience in regard to this war must be similar to that of thousands. I started out hating Fascism in so far as it is the political expression of Big Capitalism. It destroyed all opposition by violence, glorified war, and prepared for war. It supported reactionary movements, such as the Franco rebellion in Spain; and, in turn, reactionary movements in other countries supported Fascism and Nazism. The Chamberlain policy of "appeasement" served the Fascist-Nazi policies well. Munich cleared one great geographical and fortification barrier out of the way of the apparent direction of the coming Nazi thrust. The way was nearly clear for the Fascist-Nazi domination of Europe. It seemed as though the grand plan was for Soviet Russia (which many regarded as the place where, for the first time in history, Socialism was being "built-up") to be either conquered by Fascism or vitiated by a prolonged military struggle, which would leave the "Western Democracies"—Britain, America, and France—top-dogs in a devastated, potentially subservient world. But Soviet Russia threw a spanner into the works by signing a non-aggression pact with Hitlerite Germany at the crucial moment. Hitler reversed the schedule by attacking his commercial-financial enemies first, instead of concentrating his early strength against what many of us regarded as his prime political enemy, Russia, key-centre of the Third International. What precisely happened afterwards is clouded by the mists of censorship. All we know is that Hess came over here—perhaps with second-thought proposals that Britain and the U.S.A. should stand on one side while Germany, etc., waded into the Soviet Union. What reply, if any, Hess was able to get back to Berlin, we don't know; but it seems tolerably certain that Hitler felt sure that if he attacked Russia the Allies would not interfere. Whatever happened—deception or crass misjudgment—we don't know; but the results are obvious.

Now, to return to the matter of personal reaction. At the start of the war, I and those who thought the same way were too incensed over such matters as Hitler's intervention in Spain, his occupation of Czecho-Slovakia, and the "appeasement" of him by the British Tories, to regard Russia's eleventh-hour defection as anything but justifiable expediency, or the "Democracies" going to war as anything but necessary and long-overdue opposition to Fascism. We ignored the obvious self-interest of our finance capitalists and commercial interests. I was therefore one of the millions who, though hating war, chauvinism, and militarism, raised no objection to going into the Forces. I was invalided out about two years later, and subsequently pensioned on the grounds that my disseminated sclerosis was aggravated by military service.

Since then, much has happened to modify my opinions, and to bring me into sympathy with the philosophy expressed in *The Word*. First, there has been a growing loss of faith in the "building-up" of Socialism in the Soviet Union. I know, of course, that this cannot be done in the throes of total war; but Russia is busy developing a nationalistic, chauvinist philosophy, and her military and other policies seem to be in line, not with the aspirations of international Socialism, but with a policy of national aggrandisement and neo-imperialism based on State Capitalism. Either there is a superb control and propagandic editing of information regarding Russia, or Russia is going down hill. Secondly, there is a growing realisation that if there is no Socialism or promise of Socialism in Russia to defend, this war is, for the ordinary peoples, just a cruel, senseless orgy of slaughter between contending Capitalist interests.

Thirdly, there is the point, very effectively emphasised by the Duke of Bedford, that finance is the mainspring of every modern capitalist system. From the facts which he advances, I prefer to conclude that a monetary system based on the real wealth of domestic production plus imports offers the best economic method for the transition to the perfect social system—Communist anarchy. For it will be, I fear, a long process before the majority of the British people are converted to a knowledge of, and belief in, Communist anarchism. We must have commonsense now while we are waiting for full sanity. A reformed monetary system would offer the means of educating people for fundamental social-economic change; and to establish full national control of Finance would be a really revolutionary step.

A "reformed" money system, based upon goods and services instead of upon gold and the edicts of the financiers, must of course include in the computation of the resources which will give it value, *and to which it will itself be the title*, the great volume of *imported* goods, food, raw materials, etc., which form so large a part of the national wealth and of the requirements of both consumers and producers. This may complicate the foundation and operation of the new system, but it is far from being a real obstacle to its attainment. For the material basis of national wealth must be the whole of the resources available to the nation, whatever their origin, and is statistically computable wherever its location at the time of computation.

It is obvious from the nature of the arguments I have put forward that I regard the words "to the *nation*" in the last paragraph as integral. The nation must be the owner of the national wealth, not just a section of the nation; and, most vital of all, the fresh creation of an investment system, and the use of the new-based money as the motive force of a new imperialism (or the resuscitation of the old!), must be prevented. It must be remembered that although the fundamental task must be to render an (orthodox) financial system and an investment system unnecessary, the acquisitive instinct, the love of personal power, and the delight in the "sport" of gambling—on both the means of life and life itself—are strong human traits, which it will be a primary task of the new civilisation, for which some of us are striving, to eradicate.

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"PANGS OF CONSCIENCE"

Beneath this striking caption, *The Washington Post* for Wednesday, November 22, 1944, published the following balanced and powerful editorial comment on the treatment of conscience in the United States, as shown in the case of Dr. Don Charles De Vault:

When the Army finds a man physically unfit for military service, it sends him back to civilian life with the hope that his abilities will make a contribution to the war effort. When it finds a man psychologically unfit for military service, it does the same thing. But when it finds a man conscientiously unfit—that is, unable to render military service because of conscientious scruples—it treats him in quite different fashion. It packs him off to something called a Civilian Public Service Camp and assigns him to something called "work of national importance" without taking any account whatever of his ability to render more useful service in some other sphere.

Consider the case of Don Charles DeVault by way of illustration. When this country entered the war, Dr. DeVault was engaged in teaching and research in physical chemistry at Stanford University in California. He had earned his Ph.D. at the University of California the preceding year. By order of his local Selective Service Board, he was classified II-A and given a six-month deferment on occupational grounds, although he had asked to be classified IV-E as a conscientious objector, as, on his record and his beliefs, he was. Later, he was deferred again, this time in class II-B, indicating that his work at the university was considered essential to the war effort.

The following year, however, a Government appeal agent challenged his classification, and the appeal board placed him in 1-A-O for noncombat service. He refused induction into the Army, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to 18 months in the Federal Penitentiary at McNeil Island. When he had served half this term, he was paroled, reclassified IV-E (which was what he had requested originally) and sent to the Civilian Public Service labour camp at Mancos, Colo. There from 7.30 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon he dug ditches, picked up rocks and drove trucks. But in his leisure time he teamed up with another chemist in the camp and began research into the molds from which pencillin is produced. To carry on this research work more effectively he asked for detacher service. "As I work with a shovel or lean on it and drive a truck during the 51 hours per week that I am prevented from being useful in any way comparable to what I can do or to the world situation," he wrote, "I cannot help but worry about the problem. It is not that we object to making sacrifices, because we do not. It is the uselessness of the particular sacrifices that the authorities designate us."

The sole outcome of this plea was an order transferring him to the Government camp in northern Michigan where rebellious or "non-co-operative" objectors are concentrated. There he began again his pencillin research. He gave up his furlough time to carry it on. He purchased equipment out of the $5 monthly allowance granted to him by Selective Service. When his experiments had reached what seemed to him a fruitful stage and when his parole period had expired, he appealed again for detached service. He was refused. In turn, he refused to report for the regular camp assignments. "Henceforth," he declared, "I shall be reporting for work on pencillin or related subjects." He has been arrested and is now awaiting another sentence to prison.

If there is any sense in this wasting of a man's skill, we cannot see it. If there is any justice in this punishment of a man because of his conscience, it is beyond our discernment. We say that this is stupid and ugly—and unbecoming to a great free people engaged in a war for the freedom of the human conscience.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir—Only through The Word do I get any news of war resistence in other parts of the world, submerged as we are under the mass of propaganda. With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ipswich. (Mrs.) ELIZABETH ROBERTS.

Sir,—Conscription for the benefit of the rich, can be extended to abolish the rich, so why rail against the method?

There is no sense in going back to "Laissez Faire" for the benefit of the capitalist.

Let the rich who have exploited conscription, hang by conscription! I refer to the conscription of their wealth and services, and **not** to themselves for hanging.

Let conscription secure equality of income for all, and service from all who are fit.

Why should Mr. Stronglegs have to go into the firing-line, whilst Mr. Varicose Veins is left to make a fortune as a civilian, and because of conscription?

It is not the conscription that is wrong. What is wrong is, that it is not sufficiently extensive and equually applied.

Why should hoteliers in the East Coast lose all, whilst those on the West Coast are able to sell out for fortunes and so on?

Conscription universal and equal in incidence is the cure and no nonsense.

Yours faithfully,

Paignton, 3/4/45. **CHARLES E. BERRY.**

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have received and read with interest and enjoyment (intellectual, I hope), the April number of the "Word," and I am enclosing a cheque to help the Deficit Fund a little..

Tom Brown's letter regarding War Commentary came as an unpleasant surprise. If, what he says is true, and there is nothing to cast doubt upon his veracity so far as I know, then it is a very disturbing and surprising state of affairs for an anarchist organisation. Of course, a man, or a woman for that matter by calling himself an anarchist, does not automatically purge himself of self-seeking and pride. By this we come back to the old question of salvation, a new and better world will come, not as the result of external changes alone, but by a change of heart working inwardly and outwardly. I hope you will forgive this preaching, but it brings me to the remark you made in your address on "Jesus and Humanism," as reported by Hugh Lambert.

I know I am biassed, but I cannot see how you can honestly contend that Jesus was made the superior to Buddha in that Jesus made his actions compatible with his words.

Words without action can be needless vibrations of the atmosphere. But this cannot be said of Gautama Buddha. Buddhism does not rise or fall by the words, however noble or inspiring, of the Buddha, but by following his example, adapting his actions to our particular needs. There is no theory or dogma in Buddhism—it is a way of living, an ethical philosophy. The Buddha showed mankind a way to end suffering, but he did not do this until after he had reached the goal himself. Everything he taught or spoke about was on the result of his personal experience.

Buddhism is a teaching, not concerned with metaphysics, the existence or non-existence of God, but one leading to hope, comfort and happiness for even the most unfortunate.. It is a teaching that offers even to the most wretched of criminals, prospects of final perfection and peace, and this not through blind belief or praver, or asceticism, or outward ceremonies, rites and rituals, but through walking and earnestly persevering on the Noble Eight-fold Path of Inward perfection, purity and emancipation of heart, consisting in Right understanding, Right mindedness, Right speech, Right action, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right attentiveness and Right concentration and peace of mind.

With all this I do not wish to say that the actions of Jesus do not march with His words. I do not wish to criticise the teachings of Jesus at all, especially unfavourably, for one shows respect best for one's own religion by respecting other religions. But I did feel that your remark called for some sort of defence from the Buddhists.

Finally, I must say how much I appreciate the "Word." It has, amongst other virtues, sincerity, which seems to be so sadly lacking in modern life.

With best wishes and kindest regards.—Yours, faithfully,

London, E.10, April 1. **G. W. LODGE.**

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Would you please send me another copy of the April number as I wish to preserve the letter by Tom Brown. It will, I think, be a valuable document.

The whole affair is very disturbing and may well break up the Freedom Press Group. If the people in question retain their hold on War Commentary it is bound to degenerate into a middle-class "arty-crafty" effort which will alienate the working classes—the people who matter

Certain elements connected with "War Commentary" also appear to have a leaning towards armed insurrection as opposed to working-class industrial action. Can we lay this at the same door?

Fraternally yours,

Cranbrook, 5/4/43. **A. W. SMITH.**

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have read your appeals, and I am writing to say I hope readers will reflect, for a few minutes, the thousand pities it would be should you be forced to discontinue publication through lack of support. It is not everyone who realises with what tireless energy and devotion you must work to give us our paper each month, and it would seem so few realise your activities are not actuated by any selfish motives, but from a genuine and sincere desire to help your fellow-men.

I have often said your paper, albeit edited by an Atheist, is doing more to bring nearer to this planet a Kingdom of Peace and Goodwill, than most of the religious publications of Christendom put together.

Generally speaking, the Press, as we know it, are only deceivers and being deceived themselves, our journalists must, for ever, be a barrier to all real progress.

If the Word were increased to 1/- or more, I would have it just the same (and I am a very poor man). To ensure that you would not be short of funds to keep us well informed and put up a fight for those who are placed where they cannot fight for themselves, I suggest that your readers should voluntarily subscribe 6d. per issue, that is, 7s. per year, to receive it post free.

With best wishes.

Romsey. J. DUNCAN.

Dear Aldred,—As you have found my name in the archives you have been so profitably delving in would you be good enough to publish the following:

I attended the Conference with the Communist Party in September, 1931, in my capacity as Whip to the I.L.P. Parliamentary Party. The decision to take part in these conferences was made by the National Conference. I was strongly opposed to the decision but attended the conferences, when necessary, out of loyalty to the Party decision. Naturally the "Daily Worker," as usual, reports mainly the C.P. speakers. Various I.L.P. speakers, including myself, put unpalatable points of view which they did not think it helpful (to them), to report.

I may say that it was the I.L.P. flirtation with the Communists at that time which finally made me leave that Party. I had hoped once we were free from the Labour Party that the I.L.P. would offer a really effective and honest alternative to the workers. The "Brockway" policy of truckling to the strong body of "outside" Communists inside the I.L.P. made this impossible and led to the gradual and painful dissolution of the I.L.P. which we have witnessed during the past ten years.

Yours, etc., **JOHN BECKETT.**

Rickmansworth, Herts, May 12.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I hope you will be able to carry on your work for many years to come. I heard a lot about you during the last war. Then nothing much until this one. I suppose you left London but you kept to your principles not like some of them who sold themselves. I have enclosed £1 towards the deficit fund. I wish I could follow Mr. Burgess' example.

It is strange people will stand in queues to pay their pennies for the capitalistic lies but an anti-war paper which is worth reading has a difficulty in paying its way. But do not despair.

I am, yours very sincerely,

Twickenham, April 6, 1945. **FLORENCE THOMAS.**

Dear Comrade,—Last June I forwarded to you a money-order for 10/- as a subscription and donation to your monthly paper, "The Word." At the same time I sent an airgraph to advise you. However, a short time later I received the airgraph back from the censor, who explained that your paper was not allowed into New Zealand. I did not bother to write again for some months, and then I decided to ask my aunt, who lives in London, to forward this letter to you.

I should be pleased if you send me a copy of "The Word" each month. I know that copies do get into the country as I have seen some of them, and liked them very much.

I knew Sidney and Monica Townend, whom you featured in one of your issues last year, while they were in Dunedin.

With best wishes. I am, yours fraternally,

P. A. CLIFFORD.

Dunedin, N.W.2, New Zealand, January 20, 1945.

Dear Guy,—Many thanks for "The Word": the December issue to hand. I like those articles on South Place and similar institutions. We are very much in need of similar humanist and ethicist institutions here. A similar work was suggested in this city recently sponsored by the Lord Mayor and some leading clerics at the Melbourne Town Hall. Humanist work ought to be carried out on a large scale, throughout the Australian Commonwealth.

W. E. COSTAR.

Melbourne, N. 16, Vic., Australia.
January 1, 1945.

Dear Guy,—I have been very interested in reading "The Word" accounts of the activities and speeches of Francis Russell, Duke of Bedford.

I notice that the Duke together with Albermarle, Derby, Lauderdale, and Stanhope signed a protest against the suspension of "Habeas Corpus."

Readers of "The Word" may be interested in this account of the Earl of Stanhope, culled from "Everyman's Encyclopaedia," 1931-32 Edition:

"Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Stanhope (1753-1816), an English politician and scientist, born in London. He entered Parliament in 1780 as member for Wycombe and advocated the cessation of the American War and parliamentary reform. He also opposed the coalition of Fox and North, and attacked Pitt's proposals for a sinking fund. He succeeded to the Peerage in 1786 and became chairman of the "Revolutionary Society" in 1788, openly avowing his republican sentiments. A choleric and arbitrary man but inspired by high motives, he was a remarkable public character in his time, and his thin ungainly figure was mercilessly caricatured by Gillray and other cartoonists. His "Principles of Electricity" (1779), sets out his theory of the 'return stroke' resulting from the contact with earth of lightning; which theory he worked out in fuller detail in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1789. His daughter was, of course, the famous Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839).

I feel that we, the heretics and rebels during this war, have a bond of interest with those revolutionary peers of long ago, and that across the gulf of a century and a half we can, in spirit, shake hands with the rebels and heretics of a bygone age, and sing with William Morris:

"Some had name, and fame, and honour;
Learned they were, and wise and strong;
Some were nameless, poor, unlettered,
Weak in all but grief and wrong.

Named and nameless, all live in us:
One and all they lead us yet,
Every pain to count for nothing,
Every sorrow to forget..

With all best wishes on the struggle.

Yours fraternally,

Spalding, Lincolnshire. **NORMAN LEVERITT.**

BOOK REVIEW

Mrs. Gladys Bing is a well-known advocate of Social Credit. Her pamphlet, published under the challenging title of *In Defence of Luxury*, makes a vigorous plea for an order in which real freedom can be enjoyed. She defines "luxury" as "the pleasure of enjoying real wealth; the pleasure of creating beauty and living with it and so receiving its eternal gift of joy." "Make no mistake," she goes on, "a man who spends earnest hours creating a thing of beauty with his own hands reaps a lasting reward in his contemplation of it, as a mother with her children, or a gardener with his plot of land." In the second chapter of the pamphlet Mrs. Bing makes a vigorous attack on the compulsory discipline and planning of life by a bureaucracy, into which we are being dragged. She even advances the interesting theory that physical training of the drill variety has a definite mental effect, inhibiting thought and conditioning the workers' minds to the life of the conveyor-belts of the factories.

Many otherwise enlightened Socialists, in their desire to prevent exploitation by the privileged classes and to secure economic security for the under-priviledged, are rather apt to lose sight of the importance of real freedom for developing the human personality; and real freedom means freedom from the tyranny of bureaucrats as well as freedom from the tyranny of employers. To such, and to readers of many other schools of thought as well, Mrs. Bing's little book may introduce, or emphasise, an important aspect of that realisable Utopia which we all desire, but towards which, at the moment, we are making singularly little progress.

"In Defence of Luxury" is published by the Yeoman Press, 72 Station Road, Taunton, Somerset, and the price is 1s.

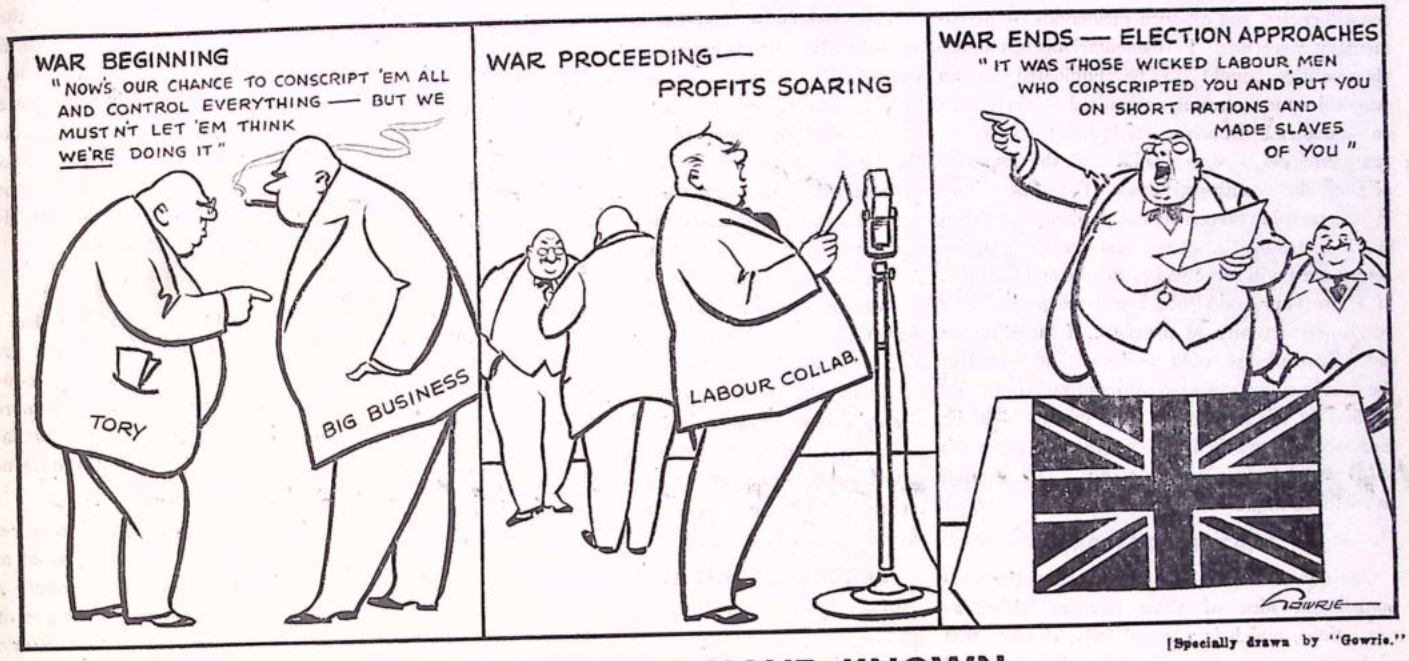
BEDFORD.

Printed and Published by The Strickland Press,
104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.
Printed in Great Britain

GENERAL ELECTION, 1945

Central Division, Glasgow

Guy Aldred's Election Address



[Specially drawn by "Gawrie."

THEY MIGHT HAVE KNOWN

NO SLOGANS ON HOARDINGS.

Fellow Citizens,—You will not find my name on the hoardings. I have issued no huge posters inviting you to "Vote for Aldred." I have placed no appeals in the windows of the shop at 104 George Street, which is my printing office. I reject all these methods of parliamentary electioneering. I do not even burden the postman with copies of my election address. True, I have sent an address to the Services, because the soldier and sailor and airman abroad needs to learn something about what is happening at home. Actually I do not believe in election addresses. For they are full of bogus promises. The candidate wants you to do something for him. As a rule, if you do not elect him, he seeks another constituency and your struggles are forgotten. *He wants you to do something for him.* He is *not* concerned to do something for you. As distinct from the other four candidates who are seeking your votes in this division, I am *not* asking you to do something for me. I am *not* seeking a career. I want you merely to give me such status and support as will enable me loyally to serve you. I am the only candidate in this election who has not issued a picture of himself. I take it I am known to you all for I live and move among you freely every day. Anyway, I have no desire to impress you with a fancy picture. My one desire in these dull, dreary, and deadly days, is to use what talents I have to serve you in two ways: to assist you fully in the daily struggle under capitalism; to evolve the struggle under the system into a struggle against the system, until, by our joint efforts, a system of social happiness is established for every one of us. I stand for Socialism and justice, for freedom and plenty.

FORTY-ONE YEARS A SOCIALIST.

I have been forty-one years in the Socialist movement. I was seventeen years of age when I first joined the old Social Democratic Federation. I could not spend a lot of money on electioneering if I wanted to do so; and I would not spend money if I could do so. I have remained poor because I have been loyal to the workers' struggle. I have defended my Socialist ideals in the dock at the Old Bailey, in the High Court at Glasgow, and in the High Court at Edinburgh. Always, I have pleaded my own case and not depended on lawyers. Apart from the High Court, as Glasgow people know, and as your newspapers' records show, I have defended the cause of people constantly in the Police Courts and Sheriff Courts of Lanarkshire. Before that, and since, I have done so in the London Police Courts. The battle for Socialism has been, for me, over a period of forty years, one constant untiring struggle. I believe I have earned the right to represent you, or, at least, to be the delegate of your wrongs. I promise you that I will not betray your trust nor surrender my own integrity.

THE WAR ISSUE.

I wish to say some words on the war issue. I am opposed to war. My opposition to war began with the South African war. Although only a schoolboy I was opposed to that war and participated in the Labour and Socialist protests against it. I have been opposed to war ever since. I opposed the last war; suffered four courts martial: went on work and discipline strike in prison; was released twice under the Cat and Mouse Act, and continued my struggle after my release from prison. I am opposed to war and to the secret diplomacy and the organisation of financial interests that make war possible.

The last war was to give us a land fit for heroes to live in. You know *what happened* to the heroes when they returned. You know *what is happening* to the heroes to-day. But the different candidates are much concerned, *on paper, and as a preliminary to getting your votes,* about housing. They *say nothing about secret diplomacy.* Whilst houses are being promised to you, secret treaties are being made, your control of foreign policy is made impossible still, and a Third World War is being plotted.

AGAINST ALL CONSCRIPTION.

For that Third World War they want conscription. Military conscription means perpetual industrial conscription. Industrial conscription means control of labour. You have won the war and lost your freedom. I am opposed to con-

scription. I am opposed to the control of labour. Control Finance. Control Foreign Policy. Control the social use of all wealth that is socially produced. But control the individual freeman or freewoman by controlling and directing his or her own labour power! I say no. My programme is: end all control, all direction of labour; end conscription and regimentation.

NO ELECTION PROMISES BUT A PLEDGE

I do *not* propose to set out a list of promises and reforms on this programme. I am known to you all and my word is my bond. I do *not* believe in political caucuses, the nursing of constituencies, and all such incidentals of parliamentary careerism. Parliamentarianism, talking-shop-politics, ought to be liquidated in an economic and culturally organised society, with an industrial franchise, and direct control of representation at every point by the common people: the wealth-producers. I do not believe in irresponsible careerism and parliamentarianism but I do believe in loyalty and service. If you return me I will serve you faithfully and usefully. If I lose your confidence I will resign and give you an opportunity, at the polls, of throwing me out. Such pledge could be drawn and placed in the hands of representative organisations of the electors in the division. The details could be discussed and worked out completely. *I am the only candidate to give this pledge.* It is sound and will be implemented.

FRATERNIZATION.

One question has arisen—apart from the war-punishment idea of slave German labour as reparations, which is a grand folly of war—that of fraternisation. The four candidates opposed to me uphold the Government's decrees of non-fraternisation, and the imposition of penalties on soldiers who do fraternise. When war is over, the soldier becomes a missionary of peace. Fraternisation is his contribution to the healing of the wounds of war. But I do *not* say that soldiers should be compelled to fraternise. I say that the common soldier won the war with his suffering, and if he wants to fraternise, no Government and no politician should be permitted to stop him from fraternising. *The soldier has earned the individual right to decide in every case.*

CHURCHILL, HITLER, AND MUSSOLINI

But *for* the support given by the Tory and Liberal Parties, and especially by Churchill, to Mussolini and Hitler during their rise to power, notwithstanding their political persecutions and concentration camps, this war would not have occurred. The Tory and Liberal candidates should be rejected, whatever their individual war record, since the pre-war political record of their parties prepared the way for the debacle of war.

Both these parties stand for conscription in peace-time, which means the regimentation of labour. When the soldier returns to civvy street he will curse himself and his relatives if his vote and their vote perpetuate conscription. I am opposed to all military and industrial conscription and to all controls and direction of labour. I would control finance not labour-power. The doctrine of social credit cannot be substituted for Socialism, but the idea that money is merely a medium or measure of exchange, and *not* a commodity in itself, is a sound one. Money, so long as money is tolerated — and I believe in the complete abolition of the money system—should be reduced to true use-function and not be permitted to exist as a parasite exploiter of labour, the organiser of secret diplomacy, and the vested interest dabbling in, rejoicing in, and manufacturing wars. Labour ought to be free and wealth, which is social, ought to be socialised. The enjoyment of wealth should be individual. Its use, in the creation of further wealth, ought *not* to be a private monopoly.

COMMUNISTS AND HITLER.

The Communist candidate refers to his war record and recalls his exploits in Spain. The real opponents of Franco were the Anarchists of the C.N.T. As regards the present war, let it be recalled that my Communist opponent supported the Peace Convention and stood at Greenock as a Peace-with-Hitler candidate in June, 1941. He was withdrawn because Hitler violated the pact with the Soviet Union on Sunday, June 22, 1941, in favour of the Labour War candidate. Ribbentrop signed a Pact of Friendship with the Soviet Union, at Moscow, on August 23, 1939. *This pact freed Germany from all fear of attack by Soviet Russia and made war on the Western Front, against France and therefore, Britain, inevitable.* Let this be remembered. The Communist candidate is *not* a real Communist and he merely obeys the voice and interest of the Kremlin.

LABOUR CANDIDATE'S RECORD.

I am told that the Labour candidate has nursed the constituency. What a record! The country has been at war. Europe has been devastated: suffering consumes the entire world, and a Labour candidate, nominally a Socialist, dares to tell us that he has *nursed* the constituency. What for? For your good? For the good of the returning soldier? For the good of the soldier's wife or children? For the good of the ordinary tenement dweller? or for his own good?

When it was announced that I was standing, the papers stated that I said I expected to lose my deposit. It was added that my campaign was not to be taken seriously. The statement is false and the comment expresses the pious hopes of my opponents and of the capitalist class. I do not expect and I do not aim to lose my deposit. Because I do not disfigure the hoardings with posters, it does not follow that I expect to lose. I aim to win but I am prepared to lose.

THE HOUSING QUESTION.

The *Glasgow Herald* (20/6/1945) says that.

The need for better homes—the Central Division can certainly show some wretched examples of bad housing—and social security are being stressed by all the candidates now, with news of Mr. Guy Aldred's intervention as an Independent Socialist, numbering five.

But why now? Why because I was intervening? And why the desire to have my candidature not taken seriously? Why am I the outsider?

The retiring Tory member has held the Seat since the death of Bonar Law in 1923. What has he done for housing in the division? The Labour candidate has represented the Townhead Ward in the Council for two elections. What has he done? I am the outsider, the untipped and much derided horse. I say: Back the outsider to win and so give the know-alls their answers.

When the polling is over, the Tory, Liberal, official Labour and "Communist" candidates will be inclined to tear off the last posters themselves, from the fear that their electioneering slogans will recoil on their own heads, and mock them through the remaining days of their public life. My election manifestoes will stand and be reissued as definitions of the struggle. I use no slogans but remain with you in the struggle, witnessing against war and want until both are conquered, and happiness becomes the lot of mankind from the cradle to the grave. To me, this is not a special contest from which I want to emerge a glorified careerist. But it is part of a great struggle in which I want to be your voice. Elect me—and see how I will fight. If I do not fight for you, recall me and dismiss me. I place my promise to resign if I cannot fight for you in your hands. But I will fight for you—loyally and well. Give me the sporting chance.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

No candidate can do anything for you that I cannot do. In the daily struggle I can serve you as well as any other candidate. This you know. And in the social struggle I will serve you more thoroughly because I am inspired by a fundamental principle that I have held to in imprisonment and poverty for over forty years.

I am opposed to war. I am opposed to secret diplomacy and secret treaties. I am opposed to indirect control of Foreign Policy through a League of Governments, miscalled a League of Nations. I am in favour of a definite World Government and World Federation. What this means, and how it means and spells Peace for ever, I will explain at my meetings, or to any elector who, individually, questions me.

HOSPITAL ISSUE: TREATMENT OF NURSES: A PLEDGE.

The fact that the Royal Infirmary is situate in the Central Division directs attention to the organisation and administration of hospitals. Of course, hospitals should be publicly supported and socialised, which is *not* the same as being nationalised and controlled by a bureaucracy. The conditions under which the nurses work and live is one of inadequately rewarded tyranny. I promise to go into this matter fully with the nurses concerned and to see that the wrongs are ventilated and remedied as far as possible, pending that coming change that can come only with the establishment of Socialism. I will throw a searchlight on hospital conditions.

I can say no more.

I ask for your vote. By my record and my struggles I am the one candidate who should command it.

My literature will be circulated at my meetings. Essays and pamphlets I have written over the years will be distributed freely. I have withdrawn not one pamphlet from circulation for my views are not changed. I am unrepentant of all my thoughts and writing. If you believe in social freedom and security, you will vote for me.

Yours in Citizenship.

GUY A. ALDRED.

THE AUGUST DAYS OF "COMMUNIST" DIPLOMACY

STORY OF PICTURE ON PAGE 4

RAMSAY MACDONALD ARRIVES AT STRESA, 1935

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, being received by Signor Mussolini on his arrival at Stresa for the Three-Power Conference which began yesterday.—Picture by Wire.

The picture is reproduced from a newspaper cutting of the time. The caption above the picture read: "Prime Minister at Stresa."

Printed by the Strickland Press and Published by Alexander Smith, Election Agent, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

PARLIAMENTARIANS AND FASCISM

WHEN THEY HONOURED MUSSOLINI

IN THE ROMAN FORUM
His Late Majesty King George V. shaking hands with Signor Mussolini in his first year of office. Marconi and the world watched the event.

In eulogising Mussolini, the Tory, Liberal, and Labour parliamentarians built up Fascism and made the Second World War inevitable. You have paid for it in blood, toil, sweat, and tears.

In 1923, Britain was living under the Tory Government of Stanley Baldwin, later Earl Baldwin.

On May 6th, 1923, King George V conferred the Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath on Signor Benito Mussolini. A number of Mussolini's lieutenants were made Knights Commander of the Royal Victorian Order. Sir Benito was the first foreigner to receive this distinction since General Deniken, when the latter was warring on the Soviet Workers' Republic in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, and the pioneer Socialist believers in the Soviet Union.

Churchill was a party to both these honours being conferred.

Speaking in Rome on May 11, 1923, in reply to a welcome from the municipality, the British Monarch said of Fascism and its chief :—

Knowing, as I do, the traditional qualities of the Italian race, their loyalty, their valour, and their determination: recollecting, as I do, the crisis from which they have recently emerged under the wise leadership of a powerful statesman, I look forward with confidence not only to the future association of our two peoples in the cause of peace and progress, but to the continued triumph of the high intellectual and spiritual ideals which they jointly represent.

Churchill and the Tory Press approved of this speech made in the name of the British people. The Tories laid the foundation of Fascism.

But Ramsay MacDonald, evolved into a statesman by Labour Parliamentarism, also approved of Mussolini.

NAZI-SOVIET PACT

(See Picture, page 3)

August, 1939: Stalin's Agreement with Nazi Germany. Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister has come to Moscow. He signs on August 23, 1939, the Pact of Friendship between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Molotov and Stalin stand behind him. This Pact freed Germany from all fear of attack by the Soviet Union. It made World War inevitable and allowed Hitler to march.

The Communist Party of Great Britain then organised the Peace Convention and opposed the war against Germany. This caused "The Daily Worker" to be suppressed.

In 1941, My Communist opponent was nominated against the War Coalition Labour candidate at Greenock as a Communist Peace-with-Hitler candidate. The pact was broken, without warning, at dawn, on Sunday, June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, without troubling to make a formal declaration of war. Stalin had faithfully kept his pact with Hitler to that date, and the "Communist" line in Britain was anti-war. Hitler broke his pact with Stalin—and the "Communist" candidate, no longer anti-war, was withdrawn from Greenock in favour of the Labour Coalition War candidate. This is the "Communist" record. A foreign Government dictates its programme and policy.

Find out your correct Polling Booth before the day of voting. There are two polling stations in each ward. Call at 104 George Street and we will tell you where to vote if you are in any doubt.

BLYTHSWOOD—**Y.M.C.A., Bothwell Street.**
Central Halls, 25 Bath Street.

EXCHANGE —**Dovehill Public Hall, 252 Bell Street.**
Trades Hall, 85 Glassford Street.

TOWNHEAD —**Townhead Public School, Rotten Row.**
Allan Glen's School, 134 North Montrose Street.

"Mr. Aldred has certainly the courage of his convictions, and stands openly in the face of men."
Glasgow Herald, 2nd Nov., 1922.

THE GUY THEY ALL-DREAD

VOTE THUS—

ALDRED, GUY A. - - - -	**X**

GUY A. ALDRED

Independent-Socialist Candidate,

Will Address the Electors of CENTRAL DIVISION
at the following

MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JULY 1st

GUY A. ALDRED will Address an OUTDOOR DEMONSTRATION at

ALBION STREET
at 3 p.m., also
CENTRAL HALLS
(25 BATH STREET),
Commencing at 6.30 p.m., and
KING'S CINEMA
(See United Peace Campaign announcement in "Evening Times").

EVE OF POLL MEETINGS.

MONDAY, JULY 2nd:
DOVEHILL SCHOOL, Bell Street (Exchange), also OPEN-AIR MEETING at ALBION STREET and TRONGATE.

TUESDAY, JULY 3rd:
ALLAN GLEN SCHOOL, North Montrose Street, also OUT-DOOR MEETING at HANOVER STREET.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 4th.
ST. MUNGO'S BOYS SCHOOL, Glebe Street, also OUT-DOOR MEETING at CATHEDRAL SQUARE.

THURSDAY, JULY 5th:

VOTE FOR
ALDRED AND SOCIALISM

Week-night INDOOR meetings commence at 7 p.m.
OUT-DOOR meetings commence at 8 p.m.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 4s. 0d.

Vol. VI. No. 12. JULY, 1945. Price: THREEPENCE (U.S.A., 5 Cents)

[Specially drawn for "The Word"

"Verily, I say unto you—!"

ELECTION STOP PRESS.

The printing and publishing of this issue of "The Word" has been delayed owing to the fact that a few comrades of the United Socialist Movement and the United Peace Campaign decided to raise the Pacifist Socialist challenge in the Central Division of Glasgow at the General Election, with Comrade Guy A. Aldred as the candidate. As most of our readers know, Guy Aldred and his supporters have no faith in Parliament, but they felt it was their duty to challenge militarism, conscription, and war, and to ask the workers to register their protest against the continuation of war and the Nationalist Imperialist policies which, if continued, must lead inevitably to a Third World War. Imperialism is supported by ALL the parliamentarians from blue to red, with the not-too-emphatic exception of the I.L.P.

Tremendous propaganda meetings have taken place in the district and thousands of manifestoes have been distributed. There has been great sympathy and understanding for our point of view.

All this has involved us in heavy financial difficulties. Apart from the necessary candidate's deposit, printing expenses have been heavy. WE APPEAL TO ALL COMRADES TO RALLY TO OUR SUPPORT AND HELP EASE THIS BURDEN. This is your challenge. It must be your responsibility.

A copy of the election manifestoes and leaflets will be sent to any comrades who wish it, post free.

Address all letters to the STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

THIS SCANDALOUS ELECTION

By C. H. NORMAN

A good many years ago the present writer composed a pamphlet entitled "The Conspiracy against the People," the argument of which was that the real purpose of political parties was the deception of the people concerning the quality and nature of the government suffered by them. The late Lord Brentford paid it the compliment of seizing and destroying all the copies during an industrial upheaval. The present election could not be improved on as an example of the truths propounded in that little pamphlet.

Consider the facts.

A number of people have been united in a Cabinet which has been carrying on a ferocious war by the methods of barbarism for some years when suddenly the war ends. These persons (who had been lauding each other and their chief, Mr. Churchill, in language which would have been extravagant if applied to the noblest of mankind) suddenly decided to part company, as the public, apparently, must be entertained by a clown's harlequinade after the grim pantomime of the anti-German war. In the period during which the war had been carried on, these people had agreed in denying their constitutional rights to the voting masses.

All kinds of measures were passed, for which there was not a shadow of authority given to these ministers or their supporters in the House of Commons at the election of 1935. The electors, one would have thought in the circumstances, might have been invited to express some opinion on this exceptional abuse of the authority reposed in the Ministers and members of the House. Not a bit of it. Are the electors to be asked to pronounce upon the propriety of industrial conscription? None of the Party leaders has mentioned the subject. Are the electors to be asked to indicate their approval or otherwise of the Japanese war? Not a bit of it. However one may disapprove of the "methods of barbarism" being used against the Japanese, both sides are agreed that the war against Japan will be carried on by these foul methods of concentrated bombing whoever is elected to office. Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of female conscription? Not a bit of it. Silence reigns supreme on that subject. Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of the continuance of military conscription? Not a bit of it. Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of the income tax on wages? Silence! Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of a system of rationing which Colonel Llewellin, the Minister of Food, told the Surveyors' Institution in February last, had reduced the food consumed by the community by 50 per cent. per week since September, 1939? Certainly not.

Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of a system of the distribution of food which costs £1 to secure the distribution of £1 in value of food as against 5/- per £1 in value Silence is complete on both sides. Are the electors to be asked whether they approve of the use of the balances in the Unemployment Fund for the purpose of financing food subsidies instead of being built up for the object for which the Fund was instituted? Not a bit of it. Silence is complete on boths ides. Are the electors to be asked to pronounce on a financial system which debases the money in which wages and salaries are paid to this extent, as stated by Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on June 1, 1945, in the House of Commons: "The domestic purchasing power of the pound sterling, taking 1914 as twenty shillings, was 12/10 in 1938, and 8/4 in 1944." That means that a wage of £3 a week in 1914 was worth 25/- a week in purchasing power in 1944 and is certainly worth less to-day. The silence of the politicians and of the Press is absolute on this question. Neither "The Daily Herald," nor "Reynolds News," nor "The New Statesman," referred in any way to that momentous admission. Why not? Because Governments, all drawn from all political parties, have been in office since 1914, but none has checked this currency debasement.

Need one enter on any further demonstration of this political chicanery which is kept going by the bribes of paid posts and honours lists? The question in the constituencies will be, which of two or three persons, who are going to keep up this conspiracy against the people shall one vote for? Indeed, it is a pretty dilemma.

One can understand the necessity to inflame the agitation about war criminals in Europe. But for this agitation the attention of the British people might be turned upon the war criminals at home. Some questions which might be formulated are these: Who was really responsible for entering into the Polish guarantee? What was the purpose of it? Supposing Mr. Churchill had not been Minister of Defence could the war have been ended in 1942? Was not the war unduly prolonged by perpetual incompetence in the high military, naval, and air commands? How many times were British troops or Allied troops bombed by their own aircraft? How many prison camps in Germany have been bombed by Allied aircraft? What are the facts about the abuses committed by the American Army of Occupation in Britain against the British civilian population? What are the facts concerning the abuses connected with the billeting regulations and the damage done by the British forces to British homes where they have been billeted? What are the facts about the Calais, the Norwegian, and the Arnhem expeditions?

These would all appear to be matters upon which the public might properly expect information hitherto denied it by the operations of the British censor. But are the political leaders or the Press organs offering any information on these points? Not a word. Silence

reigns supreme. What has been going on in the military detention barracks on the Continent and elsewhere? What was the truth about the sinking in the Channel of the Arandora Star? There has been a great decline in public vigilance in this respect compared with the last war. An inquiry was held then into the Mesopotamia disaster and Dardanelles fiasco. An inquiry was held into the sinking of the Lusitania. The fact that war was proceeding against Germany was not regarded as an excuse for wholesale hushing-up between 1914-1918. Mr. Churchill has every reason to fear an investigation into his conduct of this disastrous war: but he has protected himself by the clever device of incriminating and involving the leading members of the other parties, so that all have a common interest in maintaining "hush-hush" on the gross and shocking abuses which have been the feature of the government of Britain in the last ten years.

"CONCHIES"

CLEARING UP SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

By Arthur Deeson.

Are the "Conchies" receiving a square deal in the minds of the public? I think not. Fostered by some newspapers very many injustices have been perpetrated against them, if not in action at least in thought. I am not arguing for or against pacifism, I myself am not a registered pacifist, but I do think that people generally might realise that they are fighting for, amongst other things, tolerance. The freedom of expressing one's own view freely is surely the hallmark of democracy, and if an opinion is sincere, it should be treated with respect, if understanding is not possible.

During the last few months I have worked in a community, which although not avowedly pacifist has a large membership of C.O.'s. They are engaged on social relief work of a general nature in the East End of London, and in work and recreation I have had many opportunities for observing them closely. Also I have made a point of collecting some views on "conchies," coming from a fairly average cross-section of the people of this country. Three views are particularly widespread, damaging and in my experience, inaccurate.

The first is perhaps the least widespread. This is the opinion that the C.O. is a coward. Least widespread because a few minutes intelligent thought will disprove of the theory.

Only think for one moment what it means to be a pacifist. On a declaration of his views he is at once separated from 99 per cent. of a war-time population; he may lose many of his friends, receive the condemnation of his relatives and wherever he goes he will have to defend his faith against numbers of hostile arguers. The pacifist in war-time is a lonely person, his nerves are sometimes stretched to breaking point by the antagonism of his fellow beings. Then he has to face a tribunal and if he cannot satisfy the adjudicators he is sent to prison. When he is released he is allowed to do work of a certain nature, agriculture, social service, or something of this sort. He works for little or no pay, his chances of employment after the war are meagre.

Can this rigorous and solitary life be called cowardice? No, surely it is much easier to follow the crowd and serve in the army than to be individualistic and lonely because of an intangible ideal.

The second view, probably the most widespread, is that the Pacifist is lazy. Early this summer the *Sunday Express* gave much prominence to this opinion. "Farmers rage at 'sunbathing conchies.'" "They spend their time behind the hedges reading." "They cannot be sacked for loafing" ran the headlines and under them two anonymous farmers were quoted, criticising unspecified C.O. land workers. The influence this article had on public opinion was tremendous. However, the C.B.C.O. Bulletin (Central Board for Conscientious Objectors), (Official Magazine of Pacifists) published a reply in the June issue. It was reasonable in its style and tone if not altogether convincing. It did not pretend to clear up every allegation against the C.O.s, that was obviously impossible, but it did at least destroy some of the sensationalism of the *Sunday Express* article and that paper's follow up was considerably fairer in outlook. "Some bad, some good, is the verdict" ran their headline. But the damage had already been done. Their premature and lurid sensationalism had had its desired effect. The C.B.C.O. had made their reply, but as they themselves pointed out their circulation is three to four thousand while the readers of the *Sunday Express* number nearly two millions.

Writing from my own experience I regret I cannot give the C.O. an entirely clean bill in this respect. I have met C.O.s who are ashamedly selfish slackers. They are usually intensely impractical and over-intellectualised, in some cases definitely psychologically unfitted for manual labour. But these types are in my opinion, greatly in minority and at the community from which I am writing there is only one man who tends to be a slacker—it is only a tendency—but unfortunately he cannot claim any excuse.

For the rest of them I can find none of the pettiness and shoving off of responsibility which characterises so many factories and offices. Little or no supervision is needed and the Borough for whom we work recognises this. I am proud to say that whatever job they allot us, even if it is a new one, receives no outside supervision. They know they can trust us to do the piece of work as quickly as possible, and we are left in peace. This summer this community has worked much harder (and with an immeasurably better will and a surer conception) than the majority of the civilian population. Fifteen people, they answered every call of this much bombed Borough, often arriving with their canteen before the Civil Defence. Several incidents often took place in the area in one night, two or three cars might be called out and that would mean that the whole house was aroused, boilers had to be stoked, urns of tea made, sandwiches cut. But the next day breakfasts would be at 6.30, as usual, stores deliveries and school dinner deliveries would be made, the attendants would go to the local scabies clinic, blast walls, Morrison and Anderson shelters would be erected, all these duties would be done just as usual although nobody had had more than two hours sleep. Flying bombs fell twice within twenty yards of the house, till this day it bears the scars, every window is boarded up, the ceilings are down, many of the interior walls are cracked and broken. But nobody quit, they all, these "lazy Conchies," carried on.

Very closely linked with the opinion I have just examined is the view that pacifists are "pansies," "cissie boys," long haired impractical idealists. To this I can only reply that out of the fifty and sixty C.O.s I have known reasonably well since the war started, only one answered in any way to this description, and she was a woman. Some of my pacifists friends are not so encouraging in their verdict. They say that they have met several of this type early in the war, but none recently. Strange—can the "pansies" all have died, or has it been knocked out of them?

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW

On SUNDAY, 5th AUGUST.

Speaker **GUY A. ALDRED.**

Subject:

"THE ELECTION AFTERMATH."

Doors Open 6.15 p.m. **All welcome.**
Chair Taken, 7 p.m.

SOCIALISM — THE ONLY WAY

By JOHN JENNINGS

We are now living, and suffering, in the throes of what is probably the final and most highly developed stage of the development of capitalism. Monopolistic production, bank capital, and in the field of politics, Fascism, are its salient characteristics. As a matter of fact, the system is going one beyond the phase of gargantuan private enterprises, and State Capitalism is the coming thing. Soviet Russia is State Capitalist; so, with differences of procedure, is Nazi Germany, though there (early 1945) big *private* concerns are still the order of the day. A similarly directioned trend is apparent in other highly developed countries. "Controlled" Capitalism bids fair to become fashionable in Britain, and this is what the almost inevitable post-war victory of the Labour Party is likely to attain. State investment, and/or control of private investment, is likely to become popular in the United States. "Spheres of influence" — and exploitation — are important facets of modern imperialism.

All this helps to lead to the already inescapable conclusion that the establishment of — real— Socialism is the only way to get a decent social order anywhere. And that must involve the abolition of the wages system, the inauguration of "production for use instead of profit," and the absolute ending of the *capitalist* system (with emphasis on the adjective "capitalist"). Neither money nor things must function as *capital* (*i.e.*, something to which labour power is applied to produce profits: it matters little whether the ownership be private or "public"—"State": capitalism is always capitalism: Karl Marx foresaw the emergence of State Capitalism).

The outstanding, the most terrible, debased, cruel, inhuman feature of capitalism is the fact that it leads to war. Contending, competing interests must inevitably sooner or later collide; and the State must go with its economic interests —for the State is nothing but the Social Power of those interests—under private capitalism and State capitalism, the State is the *social* power of the economic system on which the nation operates —at one time of society, yet *above* society; dragging society with it to the heights, and the depths, of its crises; at the worst, plunging society into the bloody vortices of its inevitable wars.

Reform of the monetary system would, I agree, solve many of our social problems; but I fail to see how it could assuredly prevent war. For this, we must *abolish* capitalism and the wages system. There must be NO capital, eventually no money, even as an easy medium of exchange. But instead, a plenitude of goods and services, and the only title to the use of them, need, and the fact that one had contributed whatever one was able to the necessary work of production, distribution, etc. Socialism is essential; and I am sorry that in coming to this conclusion I must conflict with the Duke of Bedford, with whose advocacy of monetary reform I should be wholeheartedly in agreement if I believed that under capitalism there was any hope for humanity at all. Integral in all forms of imperialism is investment, which always necessitates territorial domination, and motivates conquest and defence.

THE WALDON ROUND ROBIN AND FELLOWSHIP

Philip and Eleanor Mayer of 177 Front Street, Brea, Ohio, are engaged in perhaps the most unique and significant type of liberal religious program anywhere in this country. It is Humanistic without bearing the label, or any label at all for that matter, unless it be that of Naturalism which is closely related to the philosophy of Humanism. They edit and publish a most delightful periodical, "The Walden Round Robin," which is "A digest of friendly letters among seekers of Overflowing Life." Membership in "The Walden Fellowship" is only $1.00 a year.

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE, I.L.P. ROOMS, 543 London Road, Bridgeton, Glasgow.—Men and Women C.O.s invited along on FRIDAYS, at 8 p.m.

NOTES AND COMMENTS
BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

On May 7th, Count von Krosigk, the German Foreign Minister, broadcast the following statement :—

We must now face our fate squarely and unquestioningly. Nobody can be in any doubt that the future will be difficult for each one of us, and will exact sacrifices from us in every sphere of life. We must accept this burden, and stand loyally by the obligations we have undertaken. But we must not despair and fall into mute resignation. Once again we must set ourselves to stride along the path through the dark future . . . In our nation justice shall be the supreme law and the guiding principle. We must also recognise law as the basis of all relations between the nations. We must recognise it and respect it from inner conviction.

Respect for treaties will be as sacred as the aim of our nation to belong to the European family of nations as a member of which we want to mobilise all human, moral and material forces in order to heal the dreadful wounds which the war has caused. Then we may hope that the atmosphere of hatred which to-day surrounds Germany all over the world will give place to a spirit of reconciliation among the nations without which the world cannot recover. . . . We may hope that our freedom will be restored to us, without which no nation can lead a bearable and dignified existence. We wish to devote the future of our nation to the return of the inmost and best forces of German nature, which have given to the world imperishable works and values.

On May 3rd, Reich Minister Speer, a Nazi, spoke of "meeting the enemy with dignity and self-assurance" and of "becoming more unassuming in ourselves and exercising self-criticism."

Both these utterances by German statesmen show dignity and good feeling and contrast very favourably with the announcement of plans for America's part in the military government of Germany, which appeared in the *Times* of May 12th :—

The function of military control is not to please the civilian population or even make them comfortable, but to enforce regulations and to maintain order. Moreover, the military government is not concerned with feeding the defeated Germans or rehabilitating their cities. The principal aim of the military government will be to cleanse Germany of Nazism and to re-establish the rule of justice and equality before the law.

American officers in high position have been responsible for a good many very unpleasant utterances, some considerably worse than the announcement just quoted, and it will be well for the future peace of the world if enlightened public opinion in America takes prompt and vigorous steps to keep them and their policies in proper control.

* * *

It is beginning to look more and more as though the projected trial of war criminals is going to result either in a somewhat ludicrous fiasco, (which is probably the best that can be hoped for); or in an ugly display of vindictive spite and hysterical anger, at variance with all the best traditions of civilised countries. As I have said before, I have no objection to the trial of genuine war criminals, provided that a really impartial tribunal can be set up and the whole results of the trial are made public. Is it, however, possible at the present time to secure either of these conditions? The gilt is, moreover, taken off the gingerbread of the justice of these trials by the unfortunate fact that there are quite as many war criminals and persons guilty of brutal administration of concentration camps on the Allied side as on that of the Axis.

* * *

The behaviour of the French Government and of many other governments of liberated countries, in treating all collaborators, if not as war criminals, at any rate as traitors, is particularly repellent and serves only to demonstrate the extent to which the faults of the Axis governments are shared by their opponents. Once a country has been completely defeated and occupied, collaboration with the occupying Power is frequently an act of patriotism and common sense, as it can be used to temper the severity of the occupation and reduce the number of enemy officials.

* * *

At the time of writing (June 1st) it looks as though there is at least a possibility of our resuming war with our gallant French Allies. When they were first defeated by Germany, we killed a good many of them in Syria and Madagascar because they objected to our occupying their territory for strategic purposes. When Hitler occupied the Netherlands for strategic purposes, it was somehow *quite* different, but then he was a brutal Nazi and we are the champions of freedom and the rights of small nations, particularly those in Eastern Europe. What a game!

* * *

It is recorded in the Press that an Oxford don, visiting the "infamous concentration camp at Belsen," found there fifteen hundred little children, who told him that they would like to sing, and after he had taken them as far away as possible from the corpses, they proceeded to do so. It is further recorded that in the camp was an orchestra maintained by the S.S. and composed of prisoners from seven countries. The inmates of this camp must have been remarkably musical or else it would appear that the conditions were not *quite* so "infamous" as the Press would have us believe!

* * *

Forward has, during the past few weeks, contained many admirable leading articles. In the issue of May 5th, the Editor, writing on the subject of starvation in concentration camps, calls attention to the fact that whereas British people and Parliamentary leaders express the utmost horror when German opponents of the government are starved by German officials, no similar feeling was experienced when, after the last war, German women and children were deliberately starved by the blockade orders of British officials until, in the words of *The Observer*, "our own sound-hearted manly troops, seeing it, could not endure it." A starvation blockade was also carried out against Russia, with equally terrible results, but so far no propaganda films of the victims have been shown in this country. Is it strange that foreigners call us a nation of hypocrites?

* * *

At a time when it is not as easy as one could wish to find anything pleasant to record about Russian policy, it is gratifying to learn that a sharp official snub has been administered by the head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to Ilya Ehrenburg, the Vansittartist editor of *The Red Star*.

It was also reported a few months ago that Russia had been giving a fair amount of help to Finland in the matter of obtaining food supplies.

* * *

Roy Walker, in an article in *Peace News*, writes :—

Which is easier—to persuade national governments to renounce the use of arms, and therefore the ability to manoeuvre for power, or to persuade the peoples to refuse armaments and the power to declare, even to their governments?

* * *

In a train not long ago I overheard the conversation of two prosperous-looking Englishmen. One said that he had recently met two English soldiers returned from Germany, one of whom had on wrist watches from wrist to shoulder of one arm; while the other had gone up to a German civilian and asked him the time. The German pulled out a gold watch and told him the time, whereon the English soldier said, "Thanks. I'll have that," and walked off with the gold watch. My fellow-travellers seemed thoroughly amused by what they evidently considered a smart bit of work. Although the treatment of prisoners by both British and German soldiers is normally friendly and decent, dirty dogs do occur, but they are not an Axis monopoly!

* * *

A leading article in *The Catholic Herald* contains some wise words of warning :

Victory can hasten a process of decline as certainly as can defeat, and it can indicate far more accurately the stage we have reached. . . . To-morrow we or our children may not be victorious. Should we wish to be judged then by the standards we are setting and in terms of the propaganda we are putting over? Could mankind survive above an animal level if our present behaviour were universalised?

* * *

Socialists are rather apt to regard Franco's regime with extreme disfavour and to have a sympathy for the government which he displaced. Starting with an inclination in favour of the latter, information I have received from time to time has led me to conclude the provisional judgment that whatever the faults of Franco's régime may be, his party is, on the whole, less objectionable than were its opponents, the Anarchists excepted.

A writer in *The Evening Standard* states that an absence of low wages and high cost of living is one of the most satisfactory attributes of the Franco régime. Franco appointed non-political architects and engineers to reconstruct towns and villages ruined in the civil war. Agricultural labourers' cottages are so good that they would be described in England as detached villas. The State pays the entire cost of these houses, workmen being charged five days' earnings per month according to regional standards—an average of about 10/- a month's rent.

Workmen's flats in the suburbs of Madrid and other big cities are far ahead of L.C.C. construction. The State again pays all the costs, demanding an average of five days' earnings per month as rent.

* * *

That incomparable fountain of emotional humbug, The National Savings Committee, concerned with presenting anti-inflation taxation in a pleasing guise, has published a sketch of a young woman, apparently one-legged, and, if one could see her face, possibly also one-eyed, who is contemplating a sunrise in an attitude of ecstasy! At the side is written :

A great day has dawned. With our hearts filled with thankfulness for victory, let us make this great resolve! Let us continue in our striving for a land free from anxiety and want—that the sacrifices of war may not have been in vain.

* * *

It would be difficult to conceive anything more unimaginative or unconvincing than Field Marshal Montgomery's explanation to the German people of the reason for the non-fraternisation policy and the aim it is intended to achieve. Have English leaders in war-time lost all power of putting themselves in the other fellow's place and realising how, human nature and circumstances being what they are, he will inevitably react to certain arguments?

What does it matter, as far as the chances of securing lasting peace are concerned, whether the Germans do, or do not, admit that they were beaten in the last war? Lasting peace will depend solely on the absence of grievances and injustice of a kind which will provide material for war propaganda in the future. "The German people, after the frightful sufferings of the last few years, lacks all means of defending its honour by external action. Yielding to overwhelming force, but without, on that account, abandoning its views in regard to the unheard-of injustice of the conditions of peace, the Government of the German Republic, therefore, declares that it is ready to accept and sign the conditions of peace imposed by the Allied and Associated Governments." Even if these words had not been spoken by the German delegation before agreeing to the Treaty of Versailles, would the British nation, or any other nation of spirit, lie down under permanent injustice and be deterred from a fresh trial of strength, even if they had admitted that, largely by the weight of superior numbers and superior economic resources, they had been overpowered on a previous occasion? Would they not always hope, with new weapons, new allies, and more perfect leadership or organisation, to be able to do better next time?

Field Marshal Montgomery apparently attempts to revive the old idea of Germany's

sole responsibility for the last war. How can he expect the Germans to accept this when our own former Prime Minister and several other distinguished non-German political leaders have admitted that responsibility for the last war by no manner of means rested solely on Germany? How can he expect them to believe that their leaders "wantonly" unleashed war in 1939 when they quite naturally believe that we encouraged the Poles to resist not unreasonable demands for Danzig and a route across the Corridor, yet have since allowed Russia to take far more Polish territory, and interfere far more with Polish freedom, than Hitler proposed doing by the terms he offered in 1939?

Field Marshal Montgomery goes on to suggest that orders of non-fraternisation are issued in order to bring home to the German people their responsibility for supporting the Nazi leaders and their policy. He completely ignores the large section of the German population who have always been anti-Nazi, and how can he possibly expect even pro-Nazi Germans to feel particularly guilty when Mr. Churchill has attributed the rise to power of the Nazis to the mistakes made by the Allies after the last war, and himself, at one time, warmly commended Hitler as the kind of leader the English would have been fortunate to find had their position resembled that of Germany? How can he blame the Germans for not resisting a government ruthless towards political enemies at home and unmindful of the rights of small nations, when we are perfectly willing to fraternise with the Russian people, in so far as we are allowed to do so, who are guilty of precisely similar offences, if offences they be?

Field Marshal Montgomery complains that the German people applauded their Nazi leaders during the period of German victories. Did not British people belonging to the Liberal and Labour Parties applaud Mr. Churchill under similar circumstances, although now they seem disposed to become highly critical towards him?

Judging by some reports which are reaching us, the Russians are by no means disposed to imitate the absurd policy of non-fraternisation. Putting on one side all considerations of Christian duty and ordinary common sense, does not sheer political expediency suggest that the sooner we come to our senses on this matter, the better it will be for Europe and the entire world?

General Eisenhower is reported to have said that the non-fraternisation order is being relaxed in the case of relations with very young German children. Would it not be a good plan if relations between the occupying troops and the people of the defeated countries were no longer conducted after a fashion which one would expect only from a very young schoolboy?

o o o

A singularly contemptible example of kicking a man, and even a man's wife, when he is down, has recently been provided even by the supposedly more reputable of our daily papers, in their references to the wife of William Joyce ("Lord Haw-Haw") as "the woman alleged to be his wife," or "the woman living with him at the time." It is a well-known fact that Joyce was legally married in a perfectly normal fashion, and his marriage is a good deal more respectable than some of the liaisons of the owners or editors of those sections of the Press which, without a shadow of foundation, have gratuitously suggested that he is immoral in his private life.

o o o

It has been recently reported that two German boys, aged 16 and 17, were executed for spying on United States troops last February, when the war, of course, was still in progress. Had conditions been reversed, boys similarly engaged in England would be acclaimed as little heroes and if they had been executed, those responsible for their death would have been added to the list of war criminals. If conscience tends to make cowards of men, how much more does war tend to make men hypocrites!

THE CHURCH & CONSCIENCE

THE SUPREME COURT CHALLENGED

By LOWELL H. COATE, M.A., Ph.D.
(Superintendent, the Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

(*Concluded from page* 126)

It is a well-known fact that literally millions of Christians in many countries during the past twenty centuries have gladly chosen a martyr's death rather than violate their consciences, when merely to raise an index finger would have saved their lives, thereby indicating their willingness to renounce their freedom of conscience and religion. At such a price has freedom been purchased, and no worthy son or daughter of that faith will remain silent while intolerant tyranny undertakes to raise its head in the new western world which was built on the fundamental foundations of freedom.

How extensive this conscientious objection to war has become was disclosed when more than ten thousand American Protestant clergymen registered their purpose not to take part as combatants in, nor give their blessing to, any future war. Less than one-half of the 53,000 Protestant ministry in the United States was canvassed. Out of 19,372 who replied to the questionnaire more than 10,000 took the definite position against war. This result was a relevation even to the peace leaders themselves. It clearly indicated that the Christian conscience was reaching the point of complete emancipation from the traditional fallacies and rationalisations with which it has long cloaked its compromise of the name of Christ with that which is most antithetical to his religion. As *The Christian Century* avers:

These ministers can have no doubt of the gravity of their decision. It is without precedent since the early days of the Church before Constantine flattered Christianity into becoming a private chaplain to the state. These men did not reach their position thoughtlessly. That is inconceivable. Many a hand must have trembled when indicating its answer to the questionnaire.

Other millions of Christian citizens will unite in sentiment with the proclamation of this courageous *Journal of Religion* to defend, in the name of both religion and patriotism, the ten thousand ministers who did register their declaration that they were "*done with the butchery and barbarism of war forever.*"

Dr. Macintosh was declined a re-hearing by the United States Supreme Court.

How many readers who followed the discussion of this case are prepared to consider this matter closed for all time? How many Christians will consent that the Supreme Court shall tear out of their Bibles the foundation text of all their spiritual teaching, "Behold brethren, we ought to obey God rather than man." How many Christians will dare to stand with Dr. Morrison, editor of *The Christian Century*, in declaring:

For one, I, a native-born citizen of the United States, will not give my consent to this new doctrine. I will give everything I have for the well-being of the state, including my life, but I cannot give my conscience. That belongs to God. I repudiate the obligation which the Supreme Court would impose upon me, and declare that the imposition of such an obligation is the essence of tyranny. I refuse to be bound by it.

This nation was founded upon the principle of the separation of church and state, but if we are no longer permitted to have a conscience which the state will recognise, and if the state presumes to interpret "the will of God" to every citizen, what is left for the Church. Its separation from the state is only an empty echo and possesses no meaning whatever.

There seems to be one quite definite course open to all freedom-loving American citizens, and that is to resist this outraging of our consciences by inaugurating a campaign of opposition by Passive Resistance methods including persuasion, education, publication and broadcast of information by every available means. Never in the history of our country did ever a group or body of citizens have a more worthy principle for which to contend, and, if necessary, to sacrifice.

The churches of America have already properly inaugurated this campaign by official action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in their recent conference in Indianapolis, at which they have issued the following important statement to their constituent bodies, including more than thirty leading denominations:—

FEDERAL COUNCIL'S ATTITUDE ON WAR.

We believe that war is contrary to the spirit of Christ and incompatible with the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess. It is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts humanity. The methods used and the passions aroused by war outrage Christ's conception of a kingdom of God in which men shall trust, love, forgive, and help one another. We see in war's cruelties, made more terrible and devastating by modern scientific progress, not only a menace to civilization, but also a repudiation of the Prince of Peace.

We hold that the agencies of our churches should never again be used in preparation for war, but should be used in the promotion of peace. The church of Christ, as an institution, should not become an instrument for the fostering of international suspicion and hatred. It should not sanction war nor bless it. To support war is to deny the gospel which we profess to believe.

God alone is Lord of the conscience. We hold, therefore, that citizenship should not be conditioned upon the willingness to bear arms, contrary to conscience, or to take part as a war combatant, in contradiction to moral convictions. We believe that to base citizenship upon such a test is not only unjust to the individual, but contrary to public welfare and in conflict with the ideals of a nation into whose very structure the principle of political and religious liberty has been built. Our country needs citizens who unswervingly follow the dictates of conscience, making allegiance to God the supreme guide to life and conduct. Since sixty-two nations have, in the Pact of Paris, renounced war and pledged themselves to seek only the methods of peace in the settlement of their controversies, applicants for citizenship should not be required to make pledges that conflict with the spirit and intent of this Pact. We recommend such changes in the present laws that citizenship shall not be conditional upon willingness to bear arms. Civilian educational institutions should not make military instruction compulsory.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, in his personal appeal for a "Christian Conscience About War" which he made before the League of Nations Assembly service at the Cathedral at Geneva, September 3, 1925, said:

Speaking from this historic Christian pulpit to Christians of many races and nations gathered here, one finds himself inevitably concerned with that matter—addressing as it were the conscience of Christendom about war. The destinies of humankind depend upon the arousing of that conscience. Here in Geneva you once more are setting your minds to the high task of working out the technique of international co-operation. In this sanctuary we set ourselves this morning to consider the dynamic without which all technique will fail—the conscience

Doubtless we represent here many different kinds of Christianity. We belong to different churches, hold various theories about ecclesiastical polity, subscribe to diverse creeds. But one thing does unite us all. We all start with and include the Master himself. To all of us He is the Lord and His way is the way of life . . . It has been said again and again that if another war befalls us and shakes civilization to its foundations, as it surely would, the Christians of the world will be to blame. Surely that is true. The continuance of war will advertise that 576,000,000 professed Christians on earth have not had an earnest conscience about their Master's view of life; it will be evidence that while they have called him "Lord, Lord," they have not been willing to do what he said. . . .

The old appeals for war in the name of a good cause fall coldly now on the instructed ear and cease to carry conviction to thoughtful minds. "Would you not go to war to protect the weak?" men ask. The answer seem obvious. A modern war to protect the weak?—that is a grim jest. See how modern war protests the weak: 10,000,000 known dead soldiers; 3,000,000 dead civilians, 20,000,000 wounded; 3,000,000 prisoners; 9,000,000 war orphans, 5,000,000 war widows; 10,000,000 refugees. What can we mean—modern war protecting the weak? The conviction grows clear in the multitudes of minds that modern war is no way to protect the weak. A World Court could protect the weak. An international mind, backed by a Christian conscience that would stop the race for armaments, provide co-operative substitutes for violence, forbid the nations to resort to force, and finally outlaw war altogether—that would protect the weak. But this is clear; war will

not do it. It is the weak by millions that perish in every war.

So it becomes increasingly clear that thoughtful citizens in general and Christian citizens in particular are encountering serious difficulty in trying to reconcile their conscience to the growing radical type of nationalism which seems determined to raise its power above man's conscience.

In his discussion of this subject Sherwood Eddy, in *Abolition of War*, pp. 93-94, proceeds to raise a series of practical present-day questions which makes it applicable to any situation in which the individual may find himself to-day. He asks :

If the Kaiser calls a German Christian to fight for the Fatherland and the latter, after having thought the whole question through deliberately and conscientiously, cannot do so without violating his conscience, is he under moral obligations to obey the Kaiser, which is the German word for Caesar, or obey the Christ?

If the commander who sunk the Lusitania is under orders from the Kaiser and Admiral Tirpitz to sink the ship, but hears the still, small voice of conscience telling him to save the women and children, is he under moral obligation to obey Caesar or Christ?

If the Czar, which is the Russian name for Caesar, should call you to serve with the fifteen millions of Russians in the last war would you be under moral obligation to obey Christ or Caesar, God or man, the state or the enlightened Christian conscience?

If you had lived at the time of the Mexican war, which was condemned by Lincoln, Grant and others, and you had believed it to be unjust, would you have been disloyal if you had spoken out against the war, or is the state absolute and supreme in war and peace?

If Fall, who while Secretary of the Interior, seemed most anxious to have us go down and "clean up Mexico," had succeeded in his aims, with Daugherty, Doheny, Sinclair and the yellow press in full cry, would you be under obligations to obey the state or your Christian conscience in such an event? Or would you deem that the question should be left to the World Court, or League of Nations, or to the Hague Tribunal, or other method of arbitration? Would you say that any power that insisted on violence and refused arbitration was in the wrong in its methods, whether my country or another? Or, let us suppose a war for a righteous end, in a cause similar to that of the last war. If you believe that warfare between modern nations is wrong in its methods and in its result and that it is unchristian, which would you count supreme on the moral issue, the state or the autonomous Christian conscience?

He then concludes by answering his own question thus :

The exact line of demarcation between the right of the state and the right of the individual in matters of conscience has not been clearly defined and established in law. But I hold to my ultimate moral right to refuse conscription on a fundamental moral issue. I believe in an adequate police force, municipal, national, and, with adequate safeguards, international. I would make full provision for the state, and the protection of life and property. I would render to Caesar, in the duty of good citizenship, the things that are Caesar's. But I would render to God the things that are God's; and nothing is more his than the moral sphere of the conscience. If the secular government is supreme here we have displaced God from the holy of holies of religion and have enthroned instead the idolatry of the state.

For myself, I believe in liberty of conscience, on a moral issue. If ten men are called to the colours and nine feel they should go, I believe they should follow their conscience. If the tenth feels that he can no more commit what to him is public murder than he could private homicide, I believe that he, too, as well as the other nine, should follow his conscience. I believe he should say, "I love my country and will gladly give my life for it in the only way which I believe is effective. . . . I am ready to die, but not to kill; to take up the cross but not the sword." With Luther I say, "I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be right for a Christian man to speak against his conscience. . . . Here I stand. I can do not other. God help me."

The United States government admitted the principle of the genuine conscientious objector in the First World War and exempted from combatant service Quakers, Dunkers, Mennonites, and members of other churches which are officially committed against war. Great Britain admitted the principle by establishing special courts to examine individual conscientious objectors and sift them out from slackers and cowards. These were administered scandalously but the principle was affirmed legislatively. Perhaps a refusal to engage in war will seem to some to-day as impractical, as unpatriotic and as disloyal as the stand taken by Jesus and his followers for the first three centuries seemed to the Roman state and to the Jewish church.

If thou release this man thou art not Caesar's friend. We have no king but Ceasar. Crucify him.

So cried even the religious people of His day, and so many of them may cry again when the final issue comes between war and conscience.

During the First World War a few hundred genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It was only fair to expect that in view of a more enlightened conscience the Second World War would see not a few hundred, but many thousands who would prefer to go to prison rather than take any destructive part in what they believe, with the Federal Council of Churches, "is the world's chief collective sin."

"CONCHIES"

CLEARING UP SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

By Arthur Deeson.

(The following is the conclusion of this article inadvertently omitted from page 134.)

Summing up and once again writing from personal experience I find many of my C.O. friends and acquaintances come into the category of "passive pacifists." They are decent, thinking, fellows, who have decided war is wrong but have done little about it. Before the war they signed the pledge, and left it at that. Probably, after the war, they will return to their jobs. During the period of hostilities they are making the best of a bad one. They do their work, cheerfully and with good will, they work hard, but at the back of their minds is a secret glow and they are only waiting for the day they will be able to return to their quiet and harmonious studies and careers.

Then there is the minority, the inspired C.O., the out and out idealists who is also practical. He is grimly determined to make a new and better world and is ready to sacrifice his whole life to this end, his battle will never cease. David of this community is a typical example. He is twenty-eight, a grave and thoughtful young man. The son of a Wesleyan minister, he is a M.A., and a LL.B., and before the war was an up and coming solicitor in Scotland. Now, in his quiet and undramatic way, he has decided he will put all this aside and devote himself to social service. When I questioned he said simply : "I think I can be more help that way."

Did I say C.O.s like that were in the minority? On second thoughts I'm not so sure. In this community there are twelve men, three women. Seven of the men and one woman went to social service for a considerable post-war period. Is this at all typical of pacifists?

Lastly I am convinced that much of the dislike of pacifists arises from sheer ignorance.

It is very easy for a war widow or a bereft mother to curse the unknown pacifist who lives in "safety" whilst her son or husband has died defending his country. People who have known Germans, who have lived amongst them, counted them as friends, cannot hate with such blind unreasoning brutality as those who only know of the race through the newspaper, radio and screen. Similiarly with the pacifists. If only the widow, the bereaved mother, knew some C.O.s personally they might be surprised to find that they are in the main, as sincere as their own husband or son who went off to fight.

It is part of our job here to deliver goods to various schools. Whenever we visit a school for the first time the kitchen staff invariably knows we are "conchies" and invariably our reception is cold and even hostile. But after a few visits, when they have found us to be normal people, perhaps a little more polite and helpful than the average delivery man, they slowly come round. I venture to say we are even popular, for at almost every kitchen we are now offered tea and cake, and as we do not like to refuse their generous gestures, we are often hard pressed towards the end of a circuit.

THE NEW JERUSALEM

By M. CHERRY

In the land of the New Jerusalem the Peoples were free.

Sickened of the crudities of politicians, they had cast off the yoke of National Governments, and formed a Universal Commonwealth of all the Peoples of the Earth.

You see, they were so very well equipped morally for this stupendous change, for when the governments, just before their total eclipse, had conscripted practically every man, woman and child in the world, they had armed them with the weapons of warfare, so that the Peoples had practically all the bloody weapons of warfare in their hands. And what, you may ask, did they do with them?

Well, I'll tell you—they simply threw them into the sea, and such a big splash did they make as to cause a wave so high that its foam actually washed the skies, but just before this the Peoples had confiscated all the executive powers from the governments, particularly in regard to money, and goods.

What a good idea, I can hear you exclaim! But what, you ask, did the Peoples do with the money and goods they had taken from the governments?

Well, so as to prevent the poor people being taken into slavery by the old-fashioned regulations of daily toil and so forth, they divided up the money and goods among the poor, so as to give them sufficient capital to make them independent, which enabled them to become properly equipped for whatever form of work they chose to take up.

Splendid, wasn't it! But now you want to know what the People did about the governments?

Ah! Now I come to the cream of the story, for the Peoples put every man-jack of the governments' crowds upon an old age pension of ten shillings a week.

Gosh, what a good idea! I can hear you exclaim.

Yes, indeed, it was a jolly good idea, for you see, up to this time the governments had never used their brains, for nobody with brains could have got the world into the mess they had. But now they were compelled to use their brains, or what there was left of them, trying to think how to make two ends meet. In fact, so busy were they conjuring with the problem of ways and means, that it kept them out of mischief for the rest of their days.

Then GOD BE PRAISED, we all cry.

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MURDER WILL OUT

A STUDY

This is a story that has nothing to do with the war. It deals with no war except the social war. It is a story of peace-time struggle and suffering. It is the story of Police-Captain Schaack, Anarchist-baiter; the story of a period when people conceived of Anarchists as the only bomb throwers and did not vision, as something normal, the wholesale destruction of civilisation by huge bombs dropped from the skies to express the organised destructive proclivities of government.

The story was recalled nine years ago by the memorial service held at the Bricklayers' Hall, West Monroe Street, Chicago, on the afternoon of Sunday, April 12, 1936, for Nina Spies, the good comrade rather than widow of August Spies, who was hanged on November 11, 1887, for championing the cause of the Eight-Hour Day.

The Chicago Anarchists were good trade unionists rather than Anarchists. Their gospel was Syndicalism or Industrial Unionism. But each had a personal idealism, and a flair for the libertarian struggle, a concept of freedom and breadth of vision that ranked him as an Anarchist by temperament and in conduct. In doctrine, they were reformists and not revolutionists.

Nina Spies died on Thursday, April 9, 1936, after a life devoted to the labour movement and the exoneration of the men who were hanged on November 11, 1887, for the Haymarket Protest Meeting. Shortly before her death she asked the Industrial Workers of the World, which she had always considered as carrying on the splendid traditions of the Haymarket Martyrs, to arrange for her burial. In accordance with this wish, and knowing well her wide sympathy with all phases of the labour movement, the I.W.W. invited all labour organisations to participate in the Memorial Service. She was buried near Spies and his comrades, in Waldheim Cemetery, Monday, April 13. Her age was 74.

The speakers at the memorial service included:

Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert R. Parsons, the most outstanding and idealistic of the Haymarket Martyrs, who refused to save his life. Lucy Parsons wrote a life of Albert R. Parsons and a history of the Labour Movement in America that merits reprinting and wide circulation to-day, as a message, an inspiration, and a warning.

Frank Cedervall, of the I.W.W.

Walker F. Alderton, Professor of Social Pathology, Chicago Theological Seminary.

Dr. Ben. Reitman, Nina Spies' friend and physcian, the sometime friend of Emma Goldman and outspoken U.S. "Hobo" leader. At the time of this meeting, Ben Reitman, who had been tarred and feathered and jailed for his views in San Diego, Cal., was a most respectable member of society and the author of some expensive but wide-selling books on pathology.

Al Goldman, of the Socialist Party.

Arthur Hopkins, of the Young Recruit, I.W.W. Youth Organ.

D. W. Dwyer, of the James Connolly Club.

Irving S. Abrams, of the Free Society Group.

Vera Busch, of the Communist League of Struggle.

Other speakers were Schoenfeld, an eye-witness to the Haymarket Tragedy; Helen Gaul, of the Plebian Forum; Dan Horsley and Fred W. Thompson, of the I.W.W. After the memorial service, which was well attended, the entire body paraded to the undertaking parlour.

The story of Nina Van Zandt Spies is a tragic romance of the Labour Movement in the United States on its highest plane of struggle and devotion. It merits telling and re-telling till the world is free and mankind lives in joy and the contentment of mutual service.

Nina Van Zandt was a young well-to-do graduate of Vassar in 1886 when August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden, Adolf Fischer and Michael Schwab were charged with conspiracy to murder and held in the old Cook County jail with hundreds of their friends. They were there because they had called a protest meeting in the old Haymarket Square, on Randolph, near Desplains, over the action of the police in shooting pickets at the McCormick Reaper works. It was an orderly meeting, with Mayor Carter H. Harrison present. Shortly before it was due to adjourn a sprinkle of rain began to fall. The police attacked the meeting. Someone threw a bomb, and the Haymarket Martyrs, those who had arranged for or spoken at the meeting, were charged with conspiracy to murder on the ridiculous legal contortion that if they had not called the meeting the police would not have been there to get killed.

Nina Van Zandt's mother was the welfare worker in the jail. Her father was a wealthy chemist in Philadelphia. She got interested in the men and was surprised to find them vastly different from the loathsome descriptions given in the daily press. In particular, she was interested in the fiery young German editor, August Spies. Collaborating with him she produced his memorable Autobiography. Impressed with his ideals, she astonished the world by marrying him shortly before he was hanged. The marriage was merely a ceremony of loyalty and a challenge to false society. It was a pure mating of the spirit. And it inspired Nina Van Zandt for the rest of her life. It was a magnificent gesture of loyalty to the condemned.

Throughout the years Nina carried on the unfinished business of August Spies and his fellow-workers in the quest for more justice, more freedom, and more of the good things of life for the working class. Like Lucy Parsons, who helped found the I.W.W. in 1905, much of her effort was given through the wobblies, although, since she was not a wage worker, she was denied the membership she craved.

Nina Spies often said that it was not merely because the I.W.W. made its annual pilgrimage to Waldheim and honoured the Haymarket eight-hours fighters every May and November, that she loved the I.W.W.. To her mind, it was the one organisation that was attempting to complete the splendid work for which the Chicago martyrs gave their life.

October 9, 1935, she wrote:

"Dear Comrade Velsek: Your kind and cordial invitation to speak at the Memorial Meeting for the Martyrs on November 10th has been accepted by me with great pleasure. It really touched my heart, because I always considered the I.W.W. as my own organisation. Life is uncertain. I never quite realised how much so until now. I narrowly escaped being burned alive in a bus accident coming from Toledo last Friday night. This made me remember that I promised my remains to the I.W.W. when I die . . . I shall write a definite outline of what the comrades to do after I 'pass out.' Please just note that I desire you, good people to bury me in Waldheim Cemetery. This is all for the present. I hope to live to add my bit to the Memorial Meeting.

"Cordially and fraternally yours—

NINA SPIES."

She added her bit at the memorial meeting, not knowing that this would be the last memorial meeting she would address. Yet she spoke with more power than she had spoken at previous meetings, although she spoke with power and sincerity always. Perhaps she sensed that this would be her last public tribute. Yet, well as she spoke, even Nina Spies did not know the full story of police villainy.

As stated, Nina Spies was buried at Waldheim. The funeral procession left the Beaumont Undertaking Parlours and went by way of the scene of the old Haymarket Square, where all stopped in silent tribute to the martyrs of the 1886 meeting, and then went on to Waldheim. A short ceremony was held at the grave with Ralph Chaplin and Irving Abrams speaking.

Foremost in defending what has been termed "loranorder" *as distinct from law and order*, in baiting the Anarchists of Chicago in 1886; foremost in responsibility for the Haymarket tragedy of that year and the Anarchist executions of November, 1887, was Police-Captain Schaack who used his official position for hounding radicals, and lent his name to a voluminous work "exposing" Anarchism throughout the world, and labelling the Anarchists of the United States as Public Enemies of the people. The disappearance and murder of Dr. Cronin, three years after the Haymarket bomb-throwing, and two years after the Anarchist executions, put Captain Schaack in a new and sinister light. It exposed his criminal corruption and that of the Police Department over which he presided. Yet the Anarchists, themselves, failed to link up the factual indictment with the man's 1886-87 conspiracies. To our mind, a strange failure.

Mr. Conklin, a prosperous saloon-keeper, lived on North Clark Street, Chicago, in 1889. With him and his wife, then resided Dr. Cronin, who was a very dear friend of the family.

"It's a case of life and death," pleaded the messenger who called at the Conklin residence on the peaceful evening of May 3, 1889. Against the wishes of Mrs. Conklin, the doctor responded to the plea. He stepped into a weather-beaten buggy, drawn by a mangy white horse—never to be seen alive again.

Then began a most extraordinary investigation. The police department of the great middle-west city, that had conspired to murder innocent working-men two years before, again conspired to strangle truth. Insiduous police-forces, bar-room politics, secret societies, sought to block a dastardly crime from being solved. Where was the point of murdering Anarchists, if crime could not stalk the city, clothed in the garments of respectable politics, protected by business interests, and even flaunting the policeman's badge?

Just as the Chicago Police Department had discovered the Anarchist to be criminals and assassins, so it now laboured to prove that Dr. Cronin led a Jekyll-and-Hyde existence, and had been compelled to disappear. Mrs. Conklin answered the police suggestions with vigour. "Let them keep dragging their red herrings," she told a reporter. *"Murder will out!"*

And so it proved!

On May 17, two tots of four, a boy and a girl, were playing on the walk near the corner of Evanstoun Avenue and Fifty-Ninth Street. The girl was teaching the boy how to play Jacks, by way of consoling him for breaking his hoop. Teasing her, he picked up the small solid-rubber ball, and tried "to bounce it to the sky." The ball bounced along Evanstoun Avenue to the corner and disappeared. The children concluded that it had rolled into the vent that served as an inlet to the city sewer system at that point. The boy, belly-flopping, peered down into the murky depths.

"P'ew, dat smell awful," he told his companion. The child gave up all idea of recovering the ball. That night they informed their parents of the stench that arose from the sewer-opening at the corner of Evanstoun and Fifty-ninth. Next day the neighbours knew.

The weather grew warmer and the terrific complaint of the city. On May 22nd, the City Public Works Department directed a trio of neighbours to investigate. The smell was so nauseating that they were forced to take turns at the job of excavating. Shortly before quitting time, John Finnegan made a discovery with his shovel. "My God! Look at this!" he cried. "There's a body in here, sure enough; its enormous, the body of a giant."

Murder was out!

The corpse was the earthly remains of Dr. Cronin, swollen to twice its normal size, through seventeen-days immersion in waste-water, utterly nude, and horribly mutilated. Around the neck a towel had been knotted tightly. Hanging from it was a Catholic emblem, an Agnus Dei.

The corpse was that of a Catholic, and most likely the murderer or murderers were Catholics also. The head had seven hack wounds, from one to several inches long. And the torso had several smaller wounds. Police-surgeons, who performed the autopsy at the City Morgue, de-

cided that an axe had been used on the head and a chisel on the body.

Mrs. Conklin and Dr. Cronin's brother identified the remains. Murder was out and Dr. Cronin had led no Jekyll-and-Hyde existence. The corpse had once been Dr. Cronin. Why had the police department lied?

An answer to that question was to be found by James Clancy, who had taken part in the Irish uprising of 1867, and had been jailed by the British Government for complicity. In America he had made good as a distinguished reporter, and was sent to Chicago from *New York* by the *Herald*, to get to the bottom of things.

Clancy knew that Doctor Cronin had opposed Alexander Sullivan in the Clan-na-Gael. The doctor had maintained that Sullivan had made patriotism his profession, sucking the life-blood of the Clan. The murderd man clearly had intended to depose Sullivan from his racketeering leadership, and had planned to attend the coming Convention for this purpose. Cronin had said of Sullivan: "That man has no more blood than a fish, and would not hesitate to take my life."

Feeling that he had the clue to the murder, Clancy, on reaching Chicago, went directly to Lake View, for an audience with Pat O'Sullivan, the ice-dealer with a political pull. Clancy accused O'Sullivan of being a party to the murder and published his interviews. The result was that State-Attorney Joel M. Longenecker summoned O'Sullivan to appear at his office. The ice-dealer found Captain Wing, of the Lake View Station, and Captain Schnettler, from Headquarters, there also.

In the Conklins' flat there had been discovered an advertising card, with the pen-and-ink drawing of a team of horses hitched to an ice-wagon, different from the business cards ordinarily distributed in the interests of the O'Sullivan Ice Company. O'Sullivan was was asked to explain, and recalled a queer occurrence.

Across the street from his own home, on Ashland Avenue, Lake View, was the Carlson Cottage. Two young men had rented this cottage in March, and had moved in some cheap furniture.

"They told the landlady they had jobs with me, which they didn't. Maybe, it was one of them that gave the card to Cronin."

It will never be known why O'Sullivan told this story. The police-officers hurried out to the two-storeyed gabled cottage. Twin splotches of blood greeted them on the pathway. Other, once-crimson stains could be seen on the steps. They bashed in the door, and within a pregnant scene met their eyes. Bloodstains had changed completely the original design of the wall-paper, and great chunks of plaster had been dislodged from the wall. A rocking-chair was upturned, with the right-arm broken off: and here there was more blood. All evidence of a terriffic struggle.

"Looks like a slaughter-house," commented Captain Schnettler.

Upstairs, Captain Wing discovered a small flat key, which was found subsequently to fit the lock of the trunk which had been found in the ditch skirting Evanstoun Avenue. The back of a dressing-case had a dealer's name: A. R. Revell & Company, Chicago, furniture dealers.

This very conservative firm kept elaborate and complete records. The furniture had been sold on February 17 by W. T. Hatfield, to J. B. Simonds. He was able to describe the purchaser.

Mrs. Carlson, the landlady of the cottage, also described her tenant. He had paid the first month's rent of 12 dollars in advance. He had given her the name of Frank Williams, not Simonds. This was on March 20th.

Her husband stated that "Williams," after completing the negotiations, had walked across the street, where he encountered O'Sullivan.

"Well, it's rented," Carlson overheard "Williams" tell the ice-dealer.

Later, O'Sullivan acknowledged that he knew the young man. "I'll pay the next month's rent" O'Sullivan promised, "if Williams fails to—ah—show up."

William Mestes, a milkman, stepped forward and declared that, on the night of Dr. Cronin's murder, he was in the neighbourhood of Ashland Avenue about 9 o'clock. He saw the buggy, in which two were seated, drive up to the door of the cottage. He described how the door was opened, and also the horse, a light sorrel, with a white-face. Before going away, Mestes heard loud, angry cries coming from the cottage.

Mrs. Pauline Hoertle, a German washerwoman, was in the neighbourhood of Ashland Avenue, at the time that Dr. Cronin went into the cottage with his bag. She described his arrival, saw him enter, and heard him cry: "Oh! God." She heard the thud of many blows, a heavy fall, and an agonized cry: *"Jesus!"*

This evidence enabled the police to reconstruct the murder of Dr. Cronin. Evidently he had battled against odds and had been attacked with an ice-man's hatchet. Pat O'Sullivan was implicated. Although the investigation had got so far, it was half-hearted. And the Department wanted to arrest further enquiry.

Mrs. Conklin again demanded to be heard. She asked for all the white horses in Chicago to be paraded, and she offered to point out the one that drove Dr. Cronin to his doom!

Mrs. Conklin's demand carried headlines in the papers. Patrick Dinan, livery stable-keeper, saw them and headed for the Chicago Avenue Station House. Detective Daniel Coughlin met him on the steps and exclaimed:—

Don't go off the handle, Pat. It'll only get me in trouble, maybe you, too. Let it wait, and I'll see you to-night, as soon as I'm off duty.

Dinan retraced his footsteps, but the detective failed to find him at home that night. Patrick Dinan was closeted with Captain Schaack at the latter's home.

The police captain learned that Coughlin had stopped at the livery stable to tell Dinan that a friend of his would call for a rig that night; that he should give it to the man and forget the incident afterwards. Coughlin had promised to be responsible for the horse and buggy's safe return.

Later, a man who gave the name of Thomas Smith turned up, but protested when he saw the horse was white. He wanted an animal that would be less conspicuous. Dinan told him the white horse was all he had left; spooners had taken their pick of the crop earlier that balmy spring evening.

Cursing, the man took his leave. He returned at 9.26, and Dinan complained that the horse was nearly exhausted and had been abused. "Smith" told the liveryman to cry on "Coughlin's shoulder."

Mrs. Conklin, reading about Dinan's white horse, pinned her ostrich-plumed hat to her pompadoured hair, and set forth for Patrick Dinan's livery-stable. She readily identified the nag as being the one which drew the death-buggy.

Captain Schaack refused to act. He covered Detective Coughlin in every way and accepted his explanations, even eulogising Coughlin to the newspaper reporters. Mrs. Conklin declined to accept Schaack's decision, and persuaded John Cronin to swear out an information on May 27, charging O'Sullivan, Coughlin, and others unknown, with the murder of Dr. Cronin. The newspapers were apprised and the warrants issued. The ice-dealer and detective were arrested that day and indicted by the Grand Jury on the following day.

The Coroner's inquest opened and held daily sessions till June 12. At its conclusion, O'Sullivan and Coughlin were held for murder, and the arrest was ordered of Alexander Sullivan.

The evidence at the Coroner's Court showed that Sullivan was born in Canada, the son of an English soldier. He crossed the border and as a young man, opened a shoe shop in Detroit. Here he married Margaret Buchanan, a teacher in the public schools. The couple moved to Chicago, when his wife secured a newspaper position as an editorial writer, and Sullivan obtained a job in the Public Works Department. At night he studied law, and was admitted finally to the Bar.

In 1876, Sullivan was charged with the murder of a school-teacher, Mrs. Francis Hanford, but was acquitted.

After this, Sullivan became a power in the Clan-na-Gael, where his authority was challenged by a vigorous minority, headed by Dr. Cronin. Sullivan was chosen President of the Irish Land League of America.

It was proved, in the evidence sifted by the Coroner, that, in 1892, Sullivan had deposited one hundred thousand dollars in currency in the Continental Bank in New York. This deposit was recorded following the leader's return from Paris France (not U.S.A), where he was charged with having blackjacked Patrick Egan, treasurer of the Irish Land League, of the money, threatening—if refused—that he would "burst open every Clan-na-Gael camp in America." Brokers' records proved that Sullivan had lost this money in speculation.

Further testimony showed that Sullivan was on most amicable understanding terms with Le Caron, the notorious British secret agent, and that the two conspired to place Irish patriots in British dungeons. Dr. Cronin had documentary evidence of Sullivan's treachery and had predicted his own death if he succeeded in checking the realisation of Sullivan's ambition to rule Irish-American affairs. But Sullivan was a big man in Chicago, and it was difficult to trace his connection with the conspiracy. So he was dismissed from trial. The case against O'Sullivan and Coughlin stood.

Detective John Collins discovered that "Williams" was a member of the Clan-na-Gael, Camp No. 20, and that his name was Martin Burke, alias Delany. He was arrested in Winnipeg on June 16, and after lengthy extradition proceedings, returned to Chicago. "J. B. Simonds" was proved to be Patrick Cooney, but he was never apprehended. After his death, it was learned that he hid in New York all the time.

The trial got under way the last week in August. Judge McConnell presided. Forty-two days were spent in examining 1091 prospective jurors. 927 were "excused for cause." Several admitted that they had been offered 1,000 dollars each to go on the jury and vote acquittal. On October 25, five months and three weeks after the murder of Dr. Cronin, State-Attorney Joel M. Longenecker opened the case for the prosecution. He said, in part:—

"The word had been passed that Doctor Cronin was a spy, and that he would soon appear across the water as another Le Caron. It was possible that the actual murderers were led to their work by this belief. It was certain, at least, that the dastardly attempt had been made by the hidden hand to spread the spy theory after the Doctor disappeared. Men had been told to do such acts as would lead the public to believe that the physician was still alive, and so successful had they been that only by mere accident was it that their plans were revealed, and they were caught and shown in their true colours."

On November 16, the State closed its case. *None of the defendants entered the witness-box to deny the charge.* For each accused had someone come forward to plead an *alibi.*

Detective Michael Whalen swore that he saw Detective Coughlin at the Chicago Avenue Station-House from 7.30 until 12 o'clock on the night of the murder.

Mulcahey took oath that he had been in O'Sullivan's company all of that fateful night.

Martin Burke had to have his alibi as well. A saloon-keeper, Matt Danaghy, asserted the defendant had shaken dice with him during the time that Doctor Cronin was being hacked to death.

The Defence even provided an alibi for the famous white horse! A witness, imported from Hoboken, New Jersey, who gave the name of Louis Budenbender, testified that he witnessed the departure of Doctor Cronin from the Conklin flat, but that it couldn't have been Dinan's white horse, for the horse was a dark, speckled gray.

Perjury? Let the reader judge for himself.

The Defence rested on November 25th.

The jury members locked horns for 70 hours before the foreman announced their arrival at a verdict. This was December 16th, 1889.

John F. Beggs, head-man of Camp No. 20 of the Clan-na-Gael was acquitted. John Kunze, who drove Detective Coughlin to the sinister cottage, was sentenced to three years' penal servitude for manslaughter. Coughlin, O'Sullivan and Burke were found guilty of murder and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

So, in spite of crooked politics, falsified testimony, a law enforcement corps, at least, partially dishonest and dishonourable, the mystery of Chicago's vanishing doctor was solved.

In conclusion, no words could be more fitting than an extract from the statement of the Honourable Luther Laffin Mills, associate counsel for the State.

"The plot was the most damnable and hellish that has ever been concocted to defeat the ends of justice. It cannot be exaggerated. It extends all over the country, and its ramifications are so numerous and far-reaching that it seems incredible that we have made such progress in marking them out. This miserable effort to befoul the laws of Illinois is without parallel in the history of legal jurisprudence. When all the facts are known, as they are sure to be, sooner or later, the whole civilised world will be shocked—as it was when the news of the conspiracy that ended in Doctor Cronin's death was sent out."

And the police of Chicago who entered heart and soul into the plot, Captain Schaack who tried so hard to cover up the murderers, sent innocent men to their death because they were Anarchists!

SOME COMMENTS ON THE GERMAN SURRENDER

By C. H. Norman.

It is clear from unanimous reports on the condition of the larger German towns that the methods of barbarism, as illustrated by unrestricted, concentrated area bombing, have been the main element in forcing a German capitulation. The Germans knew, with the fine weather of summer, the terrible attacks of the autumn and winter by the Anglo-American Air Forces were to be much increased in volume. The enormous Russian tanks were a great element counting in the success on the Eastern front, coupled with the prodigal sacrifice of Russian lives which the German generals were not willing to emulate, whatever the Nazi Government may have desired. Reuter's Berlin correspondent, as recorded in *Evening Standard*, May 10, declared that the Russian losses had been "between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000 dead, of whom about half were soldiers and half civilians. There were times, said a Russian general, when we had to lose 500,000 men at a time to save the army itself." These are rather crptic utterances; but they are confirmed by Stalin's own assertion that the main contribution of Russia to the war had been "blood."

There were other considerations, however, which influenced the German High Command and the Nazi leaders. The invasion of Germany had been more extensive than was anticipated, as the low-flying and terror-bombing attacks could not be easily met after the loss of German supplies of oil and the consequent contraction of their air force operations. The effect of this invasion coming in the sowing season was serious on the possibility of getting the ground cultivated in time for next season's harvest. Secondly, the food situation in Germany itself, owing to the bombing of the food stores, had become so critical that there were only two months' food supplies in Germany on May 8th. There was no chance of getting in food from outside while the European war continued. The only thing to do was to capitulate in such a form that the responsibility for feeding the German population would be thrown on the four occupying Powers. The water supplies of the towns had been so ruthlessly and deliberately bombed that there was a general shortage of pure water threatening even in the most well-watered districts, with the possibility of typhoid epidemics breaking out generally.

A second element was the currency question. The division of Germany by the invading armies had created an extremely difficult situation for the German financial controllers, who were faced with an almost complete collapse of the mark in the next few weeks. The occupation of Germany by the Allies will also necessitate the Allies using their resources to keep up a stable currency, otherwise the position of even the occupying armies would become almost impossible. Whether the Allies will be able to maintain a quadruple military government of Germany on the principles which have been laid down without producing a general economic catastrophe in Europe may be open to doubt. Like it or not, the fact is that Germany was the centre of the economic life of Western Continental Europe. The kind of occupation of Germany which has been foreshadowed is something without precedent in history. It is much worse in its moral and economic consequences than Germany imposed on the countries occupied by her armies, as the central structure of those countries was left in the hands of the native populations. The defeated countries, France and Poland, were treated rather differently; but the terms imposed on France were light and generous compared with those being dictated to Germany by the Allies.

The economic character of the war is clearly revealed already. Russian Imperialism has completely swallowed the pretence of Communism, which has entirely disappeared since Lenin's death, leaving the Russian system as an exploitation of the masses by the State, with such little improvement in their lot that the last return of the International Wholesale Co-operative movement put Russia fourth from the bottom in the standard of life of the countries of the world; while under the Czars her position was about midway. Stalin is also busily carrying out the proposals set forth in that curious Russian political programme known as the Will of Peter the Great. The independence of the following states is gone apparently for the time: Persia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. The independence of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugo-Slavia is extremely dubious, but certainly those states are overshadowed by the Russians. The position of Turkey and Austria is hardly any better; while it has been announced that the Russians intend to retain the part of Northern Norway which is in their occupation. The moral of this state of things may strike different minds in different ways; but it is worth remembering that the two features of the Nazi rule most disliked in England; the ruthless suppression of opposition by concentration camps and other cruel methods; and the presentation of only one side of any matter were borrowed from Russian "Communism," and are still in active operation in that country, which has pressed its ruthlessness to the extent of declining to permit any International Red Cross activity on behalf of the Russian prisoners of war in Germany or on behalf of the German prisoners of war in Russia. Stalin regarded all Russian prisoners of war as for the time being people who had lost their Russian nationality by virtue of their surrender, and, therefore, the Russian State had no further responsibility for them. Nothing was permitted to be done by the relatives of Russian prisoners of war in the way of sending parcels of food or clothing to the Russian prisoner of war camps. Many Russian prisoners strayed into Switzerland, which Government set up camps for them and incurred considerable expense on their behalf, with the result that the Russian wireless proceeded to denounce the Swiss camps as of a like to the German concentration camps, which have been the subject of so much comment. Certainly it would seem that the Russian "Communist" Government regards the Russian peasant as cannon fodder to an even greater extent than the old Czarist Government, which did not adopt this kind of policy towards Russian prisoners of war between 1914-1917.

The Left Wing and Labour Movement in this country are faced with the situation that their support of the war, aided by the sacrifices of the Red Army, has made certain the continuation of capitalism in Britain for a long period, unless some world catastrophe should supervene as a result of the war. One may wonder what the working classes of Britain will think when this fact, for fact it is, strikes their dull intelligence. It is surely plain that there is no hope of dislodging capitalism in Britain by supporting the capitalist class in the wars which it has continually plunged the country into in order to save itself and secure a further lease of life. The Boer War, the War of 1914-1918, the European War of 1939-1945, and the War against Japan are wars of this category: partly to extend the Empire, partly to destroy the trade of rivals, but mainly to keep the capitalist state going by the psychology of national unity and patriotic bunkum.

On the general situation, the following passage from "The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Literature and Drama," published in 1937, represents the state of the European and Anglo-American mind: "The brutal and cowardly nature of the military trade is testified by these leading examples of the treachery of the military mind," referring to cited examples from many countries: "Nor is there any improvement to be seen in the latest addition to the military arm. What more bestial occupation can be conceived than the dropping of bombs on civilian aggregations of men, women and children, who have no means of defence against this cowardly form of attack. People who adopt this trade are surely the most despicable that the human race has yet conceived." These are the kind of people who are now dominating the world. The irony of the situation is that the German people are going to have imposed on them a rigid military rule under which their wireless stations, their newspapers and the education of their children are to be controlled by their enemies, who have conducted the war against Germany by methods of barbarism unparalleled since the days of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan. And are Messrs. Churchill, Truman, Stalin, de Gaulle, Stettinius & Co. fitted to educate anyone in a better way of life? The question has only to be formulated to receive its answer.

Two other points merit immediate reference. It is plain from the statements of German generals that any invasion of Britain was never contemplated, let alone attempted. So another gigantic hoax of the Churchill Government on the British people is revealed. All the effort of the Home Guard and the money spent on that body were sheer waste, due to Mr. Churchill's misplaced sense of humour. One may well wonder whether the thousands of victims of this grim joke will appreciate that kind of humour. What will the Auditor-General, if he does his duty, have to say about this vast expenditure of time and money on a Cabinet hoax?

The second point is that no statement has been issued concerning the terms of the so-called "unconditional surrender." The bulky nature of these documents would seem to require some explanation. It is an interesting fact that the general public (whose concern it is as they are paying the salaries of the persons engaged in these negotiations) is never permitted any information concerning the literal terms of these documents. Even years and years after, no publication is permitted. Are these instruments also gigantic pieces of make-believe, by which the general public are gulled into thinking something great has been effected when, in reality, nothing has been achieved? Publication alone will afford the answer.

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CHURCHILL, HITLER, MUSSOLINI

On December 8, 1944, Churchill was reminded in the House of Commons that he had supported Mussolini in 1928. Churchill admitted his support. He declared that he had made

speeches to say that it was a very good thing that Italy was not plunged into Bolshevism.

Shinwell asked :—

Where was the righ hon. gentleman's democracy then?

Churchill replied: "Armed violence was being used against democracy by Communists." McGovern commented that Churchill thought that Fascism was better, and Churchill replied :—

Mr. Churchill—I am not a bit afraid of anything I have said in a long political life. (Cheers.) I certainly thought, at that particular time, that the kind of regime set up in Italy at that time was better than a general slump of Italy into the furious Bolshevist civil war which was raging in many other parts of Europe.

Shinwell, who has delivered several Imperialist speeches during the war, has nothing to exclaim about. At one time Shinwell was a member of the Glasgow Anarchist Group, and most active, but found it impossible to last the distance as a revolutionary street-corner orator. Shinwell's career is exposed, in part, an page 62 of *Socialism and Parliament*, Pt. II. He is in the same category of insincere and worthless parliamentary carcerists as Churchill.

Churchill's remarks were applauded by his Tory henchmen. We hope that none of Labour-collabs cheered his remarks. But they might have done. In any case, his excuse is a lie for Italy was *not* threatened with a slump into a furious Bolshevist civil war. Also, the civil war in Russia itself was foisted by the Czarist Anti-Socialism intrigues of Winston Churchill. And Churchill's disgraceful alliance with Mussolini made it possible for the sawdust Caesar to boost his empire. It laid the train of the Second World War. Churchill could not have become War Premier in the Second World War but for his own impecunious political past. That record has been paid for by the blood and suffering of the common people of Europe, including Britain itself. The duty of the working class is clear. Despite the pro-war hysterical broadcasts of William Gallacher, M.P., made at the time of Churchill's illness, Churchill should be cast into political oblivion. Dundee did this in 1922 when it returned Morel and Syrymgeous and revealed Churchill as a man who could not accept his Dundee defeat. He has never forgiven Dundee for this rejection. But parliamentarism is only play-acting and mocking the people's struggle with pretence. Dundee rejected Churchill in 1922, and Epping gave him a safe Conservative seat in 1924. Thus elevated, he flirted with the dictators he survived after a world deluge of blood.

Mussolini Charmed Churchill.

Churchill admits his 1928 speeches in defence of Mussolini. But at a Press Conference held in Rome on January 20, 1927, Winston Churchill, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Baldwin's Cabinet, paid this tribute to Mussolini :—

I could not help being charmed, like so many other people have been, by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise in spite of so many burdens and dangers. Secondly, anyone could see that he thought of nothing but the lasting good, as he understood it, of the Italian people, and that no lesser interest was of the slightest consequence to him. If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from the start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism. I will, however, say a word on an international aspect of Fascism. Externally your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. The great fear which has always beset every democratic leader or a working class leader has been that of being undermined or overbid by someone more extreme than he. Italy has shown that there is a way of fighting the subversive forces which can rally the masses of the people, properly led, to value and wish to defend the honour and stability of civilised society. She has provided the necessary antidote to the Russian poison. Hereafter no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against the cancerous growth of Bolshevism.

Churchill did not wait until 1927 to express his admiration for Mussolini and his work of Fascist reaction. Churchill was *in Florence in October, 1925, when 50 shops were looted, 7 people killed, and a host wounded and bludgeoned by Fascist thugs.* The

1925 FASCIST VIOLENCE APPLAUDED BY CHURCHILL

was used against unarmed and disarmed people. There was no Bolshevist civil war in Europe in 1925, and there was no possibility of Italy slumping into Bolshevism.

On July 2, 1921, Mussolini had stated correctly, that :—

to say that a Bolshevist peril still exists in Italy was owing to interested motives to substitute fears for reality. Bolshevism had been vanquished.

But in 1925, Churchill, who was aware of this 1921 declaration, and knew its truth, allowed interested Florentine reactionaries to bamboozle him, by treating him as their honoured guest, and taking him to see the looted shops. He expressed his admiration for Fascism!

Churchill and Hitler.

Suppose we leave 1925, 1927, and 1928. On September 3, 1938, *Collier's Magazine* published an article, entitled "Dictators on Dynamite," by Winston Churchill. It was a study in *unconditional tribute* to Hitler.

Written in England sometime in July 1938, Churchill's article says of Hitler :—

"Revolted against the crude Marxist catchwords. "Was unmoved by threats of physical violence . . . . He felt himself born to greatness . . . . He was convinced that Socialism and International Jewry were the twin dragons that he, a new Sigfried, was called to combat."

Churchill says that, in the after-war crisis, the modern Siegfried was *"an instrument of destiny,"* who embodied

the revolt of Germany against the hard fortune of war, the soul-compelling surge of a warrior nation against defeat, its passion for rehabilitation and revenge . . . The Bolshevik fever threatened to spread beyond the bounds of semi-Asiatic Russia . . . . By a supreme effort, defeated Germany threw it off.

Churchill pictures Hitler as representing this supreme effort of civilisation to throw aside the ravages of Communism or Bolshevism. Thus Churchill built Hitler up and gave him the aid of a foreign political opinion to bolster up the authority of his concentration camps in Germany.

Yet, to-day, the British Tommy, who has won the war, is not permitted to fraternise, if he wishes, with the common people of Germany, *because they are responsible for all that Hitler—eulogised and applauded by Churchill—did!*

Churchill continues :—

Adolf Hitler is Fuehrer because he exemplifies and enshrines the will of Germany. He is the child of revenge, grief and defeat. He is the embodiment of Teutonic reassertion . . .. He harnessed all prejudices and add difficulties to the wagons of wrath and hate . . . . He broke the paper bonds with which the now chattering and divided Allies sought to restrain this colossus . . . . In five years he has restored Germany to the most powerful position in Europe . . . . He may yet see the day when what is left of Europe will be prostrate at the feet of Germany . . . . Austria has fallen to him without a blow . . . . Here were new resources of men, arms, and money; here were Jews in plenty to maltreat.

Churchill (1938) on Mussolini.

Churchill turns to Mussolini. His enthusiasm knows no bounds. Mussolini, avers Churchill,

is not the prisoner, nor the instrument, of forces outside himself. He used the events and circumstances of post-war Italy as he would have used those of any other clime and century.

After the First World War, says Churchill, Italy was in a state of anarchy or chaos. If Anarchists object that chaos is not a true definition of anarchy, let them be comforted. Churchill did not mean merely anarchy but also Leninism. Actually, any and every possible phase of Socialism and social struggle.

In the full tide of his reaction, Churchill described the situation—and Mussolini's triumph—thus :—

Everyyhere one read scrawled upon the wall, "W. Lenin," meaning "Evviva Lenin." Everywhere in the streets and villages Communist bullies murdered their political opponents and terrorised the mass of the population. The workmen seized the factories and tried to work them, not even for the benefit of the community, but as private properties of their own.

The name of Italy was despised by the Italian people. Officers in uniform were insulted whenever they appeared, pulled out of trains and belaboured. The trains themselves ceased to run with any reference to the time-tables. The national flag was spat upon. Then suddenly a few hundred men, taking their lives in their hands, challenged all this squalid and ferocious truculence. The struck back. They entered the streets and confronted the Communists, ready to die and resolute to kill. At the head of this desperate band was Mussolini . . . .

To him patriotism was real; it was a passion in the blood. It had separated him from his Socialist colleagues. It now steeled him to resist this monstrous Bolshevism against which Italian politicians and parties, the police and the armed forces of the crown alike seemed powerless and spineless. In the twinkling of an eye, in a thunderclap, Fascism was born.

Mussolini's appeal to the traditions of ancient Rome proved more potent and compelling than the promise of a Communist Utopia to be secured by killing (!) the landlords, the capitalists and the employers, and having everything managed by officials. He marched to Rome, where the constitutional king, but yesterday the butt of Communist malevolence, welcomed him with tactful and timely confidence. The first Fascist state was born. The world had learned that democracy, taken in the best way at the best moment by the best men, could just as easily be led to the right as to the left.

No reference here to Mussolini's mistress! And note how the first Fascist State, according to Churchill, was conceived by democracy—democracy of the right protesting against the coercion and tyranny of the left!

We make no comment on Churchill's ignorance, appalling ignorance, of the struggle in Italy. But he has remained ignorant ever since, and is as ignorant to-day as when he wrote this eulogy of Mussolini, *one year to the month before the outbreak of World War which doomed both Hitler and Mussolini.*

Churchill, writing as the democratic apostle of the great man theory, describes how Mussolini's elevation to supreme power

"changed the whole mood and division of the Italian people. All, or almost all, set to work with enthusiasm to build up the greatness of their country. Authority was respected. The flag so lately trampled underfoot was hoisted by ardent and innumerable hands. The trains ran punctually. The factories resumed productions. The peasants tilled their fields with a new vigour and a new hope. Everyone individually felt proud to be an Italian. Nothing like this transformation had even been seen in the secular history of the world.

Benito Mussolini has made modern Italy. Italy is the expression and the instrument of his will."

In the same way, avowed Churchill, Hitler *was the expression, the natural and inevitable expression, of Germany.*

Churchill's Miracle Men.

Mussolini and Hitler, as late as 1938, were Churchill's two miracle men. He acclaims them for having rescued Europe from Bolshevism, but trusts to their wisdom to act well. Mussolini, he says, is a wise man. And he wrote : *" France will love you.".*

He describes the sensitiveness of the dictators to the penetrative ideas of democracy and describes thought as being alive in Germany, despite ceaseless Nazi propaganda and parade. The crimes against humanity perpetrated by Mussolini and Hitler at this time left him untouched. He says nothing about the horrible deaths of Socialists in Mussolini's concentration camps, of the murder of Matteotti in 1924, of the war against Ethiopia, of the intervention in Spain. He admits that "the standard of life of the Italian workers may be low," but he eulogises, in contrast, Fascism's new motor highways, new railways, new canals, water-works, and electrical development schemes. He even speaks of Mussolini being trained to be ruler under a democracy.

Churchill believes in Fascism. Mussolini and Hitler had to go, not for their crimes, but because they blocked the path of Churchill's ambitions, and knew not how to play a subsidiary part to High Finance and the British Empire.

Hitler and Mussolini have gone. Let Churchill follow them into oblivion. Only thus will our children be saved from the guns, only thus will motherhood not be called to bear and rear cannon-fodder.

CANADIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY NOTES

By The Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn.

There has recently come into my hands a copy of the Congressional Record of the 78th Congress of the United States. This contains a speech given by Mr. Harry Paxton Howard, newspaper man, at the Community Church Forum, New York City. Hon. William Langer of North Dakota asked permission to have this printed in the Record at private expense. The contents of this document are so startling that one cannot conceive of the U.S. Congress agreeing to publication in the Record unless it knew nothing about them, and the only reason why this would not bring about a new American Revolution would be either because the public would place no credence in it, or, more probably, would never take the trouble to r ead it. Of course the fact that it was printed in the Record implies no Governmental guarantee of accuracy. That stands or falls according as it corresponds with the facts. Mr. Howard appears to document all his assertions. Even so I would not presume to make this digest of the speech if it had not been given to the public in the Record.

Mr. Howard makes two assertions of interest to those who disbelieve in war, and so do not expect any war to live up to its alleged aims, and do expect a post-war understanding of its causes to modify considerably the case originally promoted to justify it.

He affirms that Japan was not an aggressive, imperialistic power until inspired, encouraged, and assisted to become such by Britain and America. He also affirms that the United States Government knew before Pearl Harbour that war would break out, because it had presented an ultimatum to Japan which it knew that country could not accept. These are serious statements which should be challenged if it is possible to do so because when they become generally known they will have grave effects upon the confidence of the people in their rulers. Mr. Howard spent 24 years in the Far East, being deported from Japan because of his sympathy with Japanese labour, and dismissed from the *Shanghai China Press* by Nazi influence for outspoken editorials on the Reichstag fire. His book, *America's Role in Asia*, appeared last year.

The subject of the speech was, Britain, Russia, Japan, and America's Role in Asia. Mr. Howard believes with Frances Gunther that World War II is in essence a war to preserve the British Empire. He quotes the *New York Daily News* as saying—paraphrasing Mr. Churchill, that a proper slogan for Mr. Roosevelt might well be, "I did not become President of the United States to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." He also quotes two newspapers and the *Christian Century* in regard to President Roosevelt's statement to a press conference, that after this war it was hoped "there would be no more war for at least the lifetime of this generation," implying doubt that peace would endure for more than a generation, that is, about 25 years! Secretary Knox also puts himself on record as saying:

I am not one of those foolish enough to believe that we can banish war. But I believe we can banish it for a while.

Mr Howard traces the expansion of the British Empire to the east in competition with Russia, and describes how Japan was brought in as a counterweight to Russia. Before 1867 Japan was feudal despotism, but with a remarkably peaceful record, in contrast with that of some European nations. The rise of the monarchy

was deliberately fostered and promoted by the British and American Governments for imperial purposes.

In the civil war of 1867-8 the British actively intervened on the side of the monarchists and we followed suit.

Japanese militarism and imperialism was built up, first as a weapon against China, in the hope of estranging and instigating Japanese militarists against the Chinese.

The Chinese were forced to pay a big indemnity to Japan, but they had to borrow the money abroad.

The British induced the Japanese to take a good bit of it in the form of naval armaments and other munitions.

Japan was taken into partnership with Britain and other powers in the exploitation of China.

Then in 1902 the British concluded a formal alliance with Japan, with the specific purpose of encouraging the Japanese to make war against Russia.

How does it happen that we are now at war with Japan? To most Americans the reason is simply Pearl Harbor. But every American who reads the Roberts Commission Report on Pearl Harbor knows that the Japanese attack there did not come as a surprise to Washington. For the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Department of Military Intelligence had all notified their subordinates at Hawaii on November 27 that negotiations with Japan had ended and that an attack was to be expected at any time, but that we must not make the first overt act.

Remembering that many opponents of war were swept into approval of America's war with Japan by what they were led to regard as a brutal, unprovoked, and so inexcusable and treacherous attack by Japan, we wonder just what apprehension of this new aspect of affairs will do to their thinking. In particular we wonder just how it would affect the thinking of Dr. Morrison of the *Christian Century*, who came down on the side of war approval on the morrow of Pearl Harbor on the ground that it was his nation and his President, and therefore his war. Does that now imply approval of the process by which Japan was induced to make the first overt act of war? Does it imply agreement with Westbrooke Pegler in the *Kansas City Star*, as quoted by a correspondent in the *Christian* Century of December 31, '41?

We all know that most of the arguments that the America First crowd used against the President were true. He puts us into war by evading the Constitution, and his promises that American boys would not be sent to a foreign war were campaign trickery to get himself elected. But we may thank him for it now, and be glad he tricked us into a great advantage which otherwise have been lost.

Those of us with memories of the last war and its aftermath of disillusionment knew, even in those black days when it seemed as tho' militarists had now the best case war-makers have ever had, that within a few years of the close of this war, we would discover significant differences between what we had been told to get us to approve of this war and the actual facts as they became known. We hardly expected that the truth would begin to come out even before this war is over.

I have declared that if this war were to justify itself as the proper and effective response to diabolic evil, I would be obliged to repudiate Jesus Christ as demonstrably mistaken. At the same time I affirmed my confidence that I would never have to repudiate Jesus. I suggested that in ten years or so after the end of this war we might be in a position to decide whether it had, or had not, justified itself.

I now know with complete certainty that this war can never justify itself, either in the story of its beginnings, or in the tale of its results.

The intention of this commentary is partly to do a job of continued fundamental thinking into what is involved in a pacifist conviction, partly to grapple with criticisms of that conviction, and partly to comment on current events as they relate to it.

We have expressed the feeling that disillusionment, which we expected to arrive within ten years or so of the end of the war, is already at work and its results beginning to appear. Those we mention are, we believe, typical of others. In each case, while the disillusion has not gone to the length of the justification or avowal of the pacifist rejection of war, we feel that it does tend to justify the pacifist contention from the beginning, that war is inherently and inescapably futile, and cannot possibly bring about the idealist ends and aims claimed for it, but on the contrary cannot fail to create immense additional evil, at a cost far higher than would be likely in any sacrificial pacifist technique.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade Aldred,—The Duke of Bedford's reply to my query confirms the impression that he had misinterpreted the statistics he quoted in "The Word" for April. He said, for example, that in "1927 and 1928, Australian factories produced 416 million pounds worth of goods, but distributed only 130 million pounds in wages, salaries and dividends," and proceeded to argue as though these were total figures for production and incomes in Australia. This they could not be since the population of Australia is 7,000,000 and the income per head would have been just over £9 per annum.

We must assume, therefore, that the figures given are for CERTAIN SELECTED FACTORIES or industries, although the Duke does not explain this point and continues to argue in his reply as though the figures were for the whole country. I was interested because to my knowledge, no estimate of total value of production and incomes for any country has so far been attempted or is even likely to be attempted. The reason for the difference between the 416 millions and the 130 millions now becomes clear. It is the amount disbursed for fuel, power, raw materials, transport, partly finished goods, replacement of machinery and ancillary services by the factories in question. The whole of the difference of 286 millions is thus eventually distributed as wages, salaries or profits through a chain of firms and can be spent in buying the whole product.

This is not a defence of Capitalism. Often the purchasing power is in the wrong hands. Often factories are closed down, although the LOWER INCOME groups are in dire need of their product. The purchasing power distributed to THE POORER CLASSES does not approach the NEED to consume of the poorer classes. But arguments like the one examined above are used by "Social Creditors" to attempt to show that Socialism is unnecessary and that by juggling with the issue of money, well-being for all can be secured and still retain the parasitical owner of capital in full control of industry; to try to prove that it is unnecessary to change the basic motive of industry from the pursuit of maximum dividends to the production of maximum real wealth for distribution according to need.

...I will only touch on one other point in his reply to me in the May issue. The Duke puts forward one of the favourite Social Credit arguments in a curious form. He says "during any given period, more money is being collected, through prices, and put into depreciation funds for prospective renewals of worn-out funds for current renewals." How on earth can he prove that? At times there will be more money being PAID OUT in renewing plant than is being put into depreciation funds, because the depreciation fund has been allowed to accumulate for just such a big expenditure.

I regret to find myself again disagreeing with the Duke for the simple reason that there is so much in his activities for me to admire. His fearless anti-militarism, his trenchant attacks on secret diplomacy, and his no less powerful exposures of financial rackets, for example, his exposure of the British bond-holders' rake-off from the Greek National Debt, kindle my admiration and claim my support.—Yours fraternally,

J. L. CRAIG.

Ballieston, May 30.

JOHN MACLEAN

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HUMANIST FRIENDS' PROGRESS

By LOWELL H. COATE, M.A., Ph.D.

(Superintendent, the Humanist Society of Friends, U.S.A.)

[The following article is reproduced from "The Humanist Friend," Annual Number, 1945, published in Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.]

1944 was a year of definite advance for Humanist Friends despite the preoccupation of most people's minds with the war and numerous matters associated with the defense activities. In addition to the consolidation of our gains as a Society by having become officially and legally established with the various state and federal departments of the Government, we have also been able to expand numerically, particularly in the British Isles and in Australia and New Zealand, where our new Superintendents are demonstrating exceptional efficiency in their respective fields as well as exhibiting a superior knowledge of the movement and its opportunties by the excellent techniques which they employ in their official capacity and activities.

THE BRITISH ISLES

Particularly note-worthy has been the progress and achievements of Dr. Guy A. Aldred, Superintendent of the British Isles, with headquarters at 104 George Street, Glasgow, Scotland. In addition to his services in the defence of civil liberties in war-time and as Editor and publisher of THE WORD, a monthly magazine which circulates throughout the English-speaking world, Dr. Aldred has found the time and energy to bring within the Humanist Friends' fellowship two outstanding Unitarian Ministers together with their fine, strong congregations at Manchester and Portsmouth, respectively. Dr. Micklewright, Minister of the historic Manchester congregation, is well known to many Americans because of his frequent articles which appear in our Humanist publications in this country, as well as his books, which circulate freely among the liberal reading public. Rev. Charles H. Cole, a native of New Zealand, and a well-known pacifist, has remained steadfast to his principles in the face of strong opposition, but retains the confidence and support of his loyal friends and congregation. We bespeak great success for both.

I desire to take this opportunity to suggest that all Humanists become acquainted with Dr. Aldred's splendid work by subscribing to his magazine, THE WORD, at only $1 a year. This will enable American Humanists to keep in close touch with the various interesting activities and developments of our good Humanist cousins in the British Isles. In addition to the Humanist Ministers already mentioned, the principle and most regular contributor to Dr. Aldred's magazine is the Duke of Bedford, one of the youngest and most liberal members of the British House of Lords, who is also now an Ordained Minister of the Humanist Society of Friends, of whom we are all justly proud. Congratulations, Dr. Aldred, for the splendid work you are doing both as Superintendent of the Society and as Editor of that challenging Magazine. As we Americans are fond of saying: "More power to you!"

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Mr. A. Hall Skelton, prominent attorney and leading Rationalist of Auckland, New Zealand, is Superintendent, and has taken the necessary legal steps to have the Society officially established there, and reports a lively interest and good progress.

Rev. W. Bottomly is both the Humanist Friends' Superintendent of Australia and Minister of the Unitarian Church in Melbourne. He also edits and publishes a monthly magazine of wide circulation, copies of which we always enjoy reading. We anticipate a fine future for Humanism in Australia under the leadership of Rev. Bottomly.

Dr. Sherman D. Wakefield, of New York City, has recently conducted an original and outstanding work of research, the results of which appear in his remarkable article in this first issue of "The Humanist World" magazine, titled "Humanists in History." Dr. Wakefield deserves the enthusiastic gratitude of all Humanists everywhere for this timely and significant contribution to Humanist History, for certainly no one can read the names of these great "Humanists in History" without feeling a keen sense of pride in being a Humanist.

In fact, we herewith nominate Dr. Wakefield as official Historian for the Humanist movement. Perhaps later he may be persuaded to prepare a similar list of "Contemparary Humanist." Meantime his "Humanist in History" is being reprinted in pamphlet form, copies of which are available at 10c each or 12 for $1.00, at the office of the Humanist World, 2405 West 23rd Street, Los Angeles 16, California.

The past year has been one of exceptional and significant activity on the part of several of our Humanist Friends officials and leaders. Dr. Hugh E. Macbeth has done outstanding work in connection with his efforts towards interracial co-operation both as Director of that Department in the Humanist Friends Society and under the auspices of the "United Races of America," of which he is President and Founder. He made two trips to Washington, D.C., and two visits to Mexico City, where he and a party of about 40 Humanists, were guests of President Camacho at the opening of the Mexican Congress in September. Hugh E. Macbeth, Jr., accompanied his father on another visit to Mexico where they planned and discussed an extensive educational Humanist programme for Mexico in connection with the University there. They brought back enthusiastic reports of progress and future prospects for Humanism in Mexico. Hugh, Jr., has recently returned to his home in Los Angeles from the University of California at Berkeley, where he spent three years as a law student and enjoyed living and conducting Humanist meetings in the great International House, where students of many different nations and races reside in beautiful, peaceful and harmonious co-operation.

Mr. Earl R. Card, Treasurer of the Society, and Mrs. Card, were among the large party of guests of President Camacho.

Here at home in California two fine groups of Humanist Friends have continued consistently regular programmes both in Los Angeles and in Hollywood. Eric Marlor and Frank Card have conducted Humanist meetings regularly every second and fourth Sunday of each month, and Dr. James C. Coleman, Jr., and William McClarty have conducted meetings every Sunday evening at the Unitarian Church Parlors, with a special Humanist Friends' programme every third Sunday of each month. These meetings have been of unusual interest, especially the two different occasions when Chief Pharmacist Mate Barney Taylor, previously on the Hospital Ship Utah when she was bombed up-side-down in Pearl Harbour, and later U.S. District Health Officer of one of the Samoan Islands, told of his many interesting experiences and of how he made Humanists of several thousands of natives of those Islands, in recognition of which he was unanimously elected Humanist Minister in charge of the Islands in the Pacific, where his work and activities chiefly centre. We anticipate further interesting and successful achievements by Chief Taylor.

Others here in California have been occupied with numerous Humanistic services, Dr. J. C. Coleman, General Superintendent, has combined ranching and writing. Dr. Edward McLarty, Vice-President of the Board of Trustees, has been unusually active throughout Los Angeles County as an official Health Officer, thus saving many lives by scientific humanistic methods.

Professor Harold L. Orr, Secretary of the Board, continues his busy life in charge of the Commercial Department at Edison Junior High School, and as President of the American Teachers' Federation in the Los Angeles district. He has built it into a strong, live, successful organisation—one of the best in the country.

Dr. D. Herbert Heywood has the honour and distinction of having his new book, "Personal Development," published in the midst of the busy war period. Congratulations, Dr. Heywood!

As Chairman of the Board of Trustees I have been rather more pre-occupied than usual with the multiplicity of duties imposed upon me as an educator both with the Los Angeles City School System and with the new Pacific International University, which was formerly known as Chapman College. This is one of the most remarkable and significant developments in education of modern times and will doubtless exercise a world-wide influence on education throughout many years to come.

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THE PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

By DOROTHY HUTCHISON

At the beginning of this war Prime Minister Churchill said, "We have no desire to humiliate, crush, or defeat the German nation. Peace to be lasting, must result from the agreement of all, and not from the dictation of a few nations." And at the time when the United States entered the war, President Roosevelt said, "In victory we shall not seek vengeance but the establishment of an international order in which the spirit of Christ shall rule the heart of men and nations." Yet now these promises of a peace free from humiliation and vengeance have given place to the Yalta agreement which proposes for Germany territorial dismemberment, extensive deindustrialisation and payment of reparations in kind, long term occupation by conquering armies, and punishment for all individual Germans responsible for war crimes.

As the moment approaches for these punishments to be administered, it is imperative that the United Nations citizenry think through this practically and morally complex problem. We must ask ourselves how many of these punishments of the Germans are right, wise, and necessary for the future safety of the world. And just where is the line between the accepted procedures of war and war crimes? Who are the war criminals? And what practically effective and morally justifiable means are at hand for punishing them?

To many it appears that starting a war is *the* great crime overshadowing all others and that the German and Japanese nations are therefore the war criminals and must be punished en masse. But let us examine the practicability of the devices proposed for the punishment of Germany. *Territorial dismemberment* is recommended as a humiliating punishment which would also give compensation to Germany's neighbours who have suffered from her aggressions. But lopping off the Ruhr and Silesia would deprive Germany of more than 90 per cent. of her coal supply on which her steel, oil, and textile industries depend. According to the London *Economist*, this alone would transform many of the great cities of central Germany into places of "mass unemployment, mass undernourishment and perpetual political tension." And the *Economist* adds, "Can this really be called a recipe for peace?" Moreover, the psychological effect of dismemberment will hardly be the strengthening of internationalism in Germany, which is what we want, but rather the intensification of nationalism such as that demonstrated by Poland after her various partitions.

Deindustrialization is urged, not only as a punitive measure, but as a necessary safeguard against the secret rearming of Germany. But can we blame this war on secret rearming? Long before the war the whole world knew that Germany was rearming. The Germans bought much of their new military equipment from French and British firms and invited prominent Britons and Americans to inspect their magnificent air force, while we all congratulated ourselves that these armaments were a valuable protection against Russia. The fact is that no nation can arm secretly for modern warfare. A small international inspection commission with access to the import figures and the industrial plants of all nations could discern any rearmament program in embryo.

So the deindustrialization of Germany is not necessary for the world's protection but it certainly would be a drastic punishment. It is estimated that half of Germany's present population could not maintain life in a deindustrialized Germany. Moreover, the deindustrialization of Germany would work a terrible hardship on all of Europe of which Germany has long been the industrial hub. The supplementary plan of exporting German slaves by the millions to Russia and elsewhere might relieve unemployment in Germany but would pauperize their dependents left behind, would cause economic dislocations in the countries to which these slaves were sent, and would be open to all the terrible abuses which attend any system of slavery—a system which the civilized world long ago repudiated in principle.

Long-term military occupation of Germany by the conquering armies is hardly necessary for the world's safety. A small international police force, kept informed by the international inspection commission mentioned above, and authorized only to arrest and bring to trial guilty individuals of all nations who break treaty obligations, would be better peace insurance than would armies of occupation because it would not inspire the antagonism which the mere presence of foreign armies inevitably engenders and it could act against war fomentors everywhere — in United as well as Axis nations. Long term occupation is open to obvious abuses but, even if it were administered perfectly in the interests of Germany herself, i.e., for establishing order and a democratically elected government, it would tend to block German reeducation for democracy, which is one of our professed objectives. Resentment is poor soil for the germination of democratic ideas. Germans, like everyone else, learn more from the example and experience of democracy than from ideas forced down their throats by bayonet. And no democratic government in Germany could long survive as a United Nations puppet for the administration of a punitive peace.

The threat of any or all of these punishments has undoubtedly prolonged the war in Europe. When Goebbels said to the Germans, "It is certain that we would have only hell on earth to expect if we were to lay down our arms," and backed it up with the details of our official and semi-official plans, is it surprising that the Germans fought on like fiends?

In the last analysis, the crime of which the Germans were guilty in preparing for and fighting this war is the crime of putting devotion to nation above devotion to humanity and moral law, a crime of which all nations are to some extent guilty when they make either offensive or defensive war. And though Germany's guilt is great, is not her just punishment inherent in the war itself? Political chaos, economic ruin, devastation, disillusionment, and the collapse of morale which follows defeat! Are we morally obligated to devise punishments to add to these?

Maybe it is neither practically nor morally justifiable to punish a whole people but what about the Nazis who have committed known crimes? Here, too, certain problems present themselves.

We can hardly condemn army leaders for fighting a war as efficiently as possible by whatever means for have not *we* used mass starvation, obliteration bombing, and flame throwers in the name of military necessity? War is war and crimes against humanity are its stock in trade. Even if we draw a more or less arbitrary line and say that the use of certain instruments, such as the robot bomb, is a crime, who are the criminals? The soldier who released the bomb under order? The military official who ordered its manufacture and use because he was persuaded that it would shorten the road to his nations' victory? The industrialist who manufactured it as his duty in supporting the war effort? The scientist who invented it to serve his country's military need? Every one of these may have prostituted his conscience at the behest of the State but was not every one of them a patriot in the sense in which we, too, use that term?

But what about the atrocities, the expressions of pure sadism like Lidice and the death camps? Here again whom shall we punish? Unless we know where the orders originated, we shall allow the great criminals to escape and punish only the lesser criminals whose crime consisted in obeying orders which they knew to be morally wrong but which they believed themselves morally obligated to obey.

However, for the sake of argument, let us assume the impossible, i.e., that we can objectively decide what instruments and acts of war are "illegal" and that we have an accurate list of the Germans morally responsible for war crimes. It has been estimated that there will be in the neighbourhood of 50,000 of these war criminals.

Millions of Germans have suffered more than anyone else at the hands of these Nazis during the past twelve years and will want to punish them. The chances are that the Germans, if left to their own devices, would deal with their Nazi terrorists quite as sternly as we. But, if we insist upon taking this task of punishment, imagine the manhunt upon which we are launching. The 50,000 would scarcely be human, if they did not try to escape. And can we expect their fellow-Germans, even those who have suffered cruelly under the Nazi tyranny, to help us bring these hunted men to justice? Does the farmer, even though his hen coop has been robbed, betray the panting fox, which limps into his woodshed pursued by huntsmen and hounds in full cry? How much less would one betray a blood brother (even a guilty one) pursued by a foreign army! Before long our manhunt will involve millions of Germans who have aided the original criminals to evade justice, and we shall probably have either to retire ingloriously or else organise a reign of terror beside which Lidice will pale into insignificance.

We are told that, if the Nazis are permitted to survive, they will plot future war. But even if every Nazi is slaughtered, someone will arise to plot and lead a program for German revenge unless Germany is promptly rehabilitated as a prosperous and self-respecting nation. Our best strategy is, therefore, to help restore Germany to such economic, political, and phychological health as will deprive plotters of a following among the German people.

Is it necessary or useful to make martyrs of Germany's unsuccessful Nazi politicians? People repudiate leaders whose glowing promises have resulted only in disaster unless these leaders are martyred for their failures. Making martyrs of the Nazis may only delay the awakening of the Germans to the weaknesses of their ideology and program.

The price of each of the punishments proposed for Germany and individual Germans seems to be out of all proportion to its practical value as peace insurance. And the result, in every instance, threatens to be the delay, rather than the acceleration of Germany's becoming a genuinely peaceable member of the family of nations.

Instead of condemning any or all Germans to annihilation, humiliation, poverty or frustration, let us give them the practical help in reconstruction which will strengthen the hands of democratic elements inside Germany; let us open to them economic opportunities the lack of which was one of the major causes of this war; let us minister to their self-respect by welcoming them into an international organisation for the welfare of all nations, including themselves. The sin of aggressiveness becomes the virtue of enterprise, when it is channeled into constructive rather than destructive action. And the best protection against future military aggression by Germany is to free German enterprise for co-operation in the unprecedented task of reconstruction which the world now faces and to let Germany share as an equal in the prosperity which shall accrue from our common effort.

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